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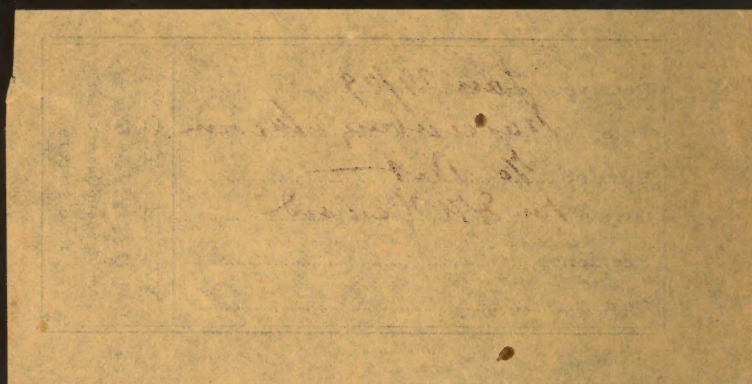


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EDITED BY

T. G. APPLE, D.D.,

PROFESSOR IN THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, LANCASTER, PA.

Unus Christus Jesus dominus noster. veniens per universam dispositionem, et
omnia in semet ipsum recapitulans.—IRENÆUS.

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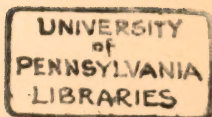


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THE MERCERSBURG REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1877.

ART. I.—THE TESTIMONY OF JESUS.*

THE general subject we propose to discuss under this title may be appropriately introduced by the following quotation from the Apocalypse :

“ And I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunderings, saying, Alleluia: for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth. Let us be glad and rejoice, and give honor to him: for the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready. And to her was granted that she should be arrayed in fine linen, clean and white: for the fine linen is the righteousness of the saints. And he said unto me, Write, Blessed *are* they which are called unto the marriage supper of the Lamb. And he said unto me, These are the true sayings of God. And I fell at his feet to worship him. And he said unto me, See *thou do it* not: I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren that have the testimony of Jesus: worship God: for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy. And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse; and he that sat upon him *was* called Faithful and True, and in righteousness he doth judge and make war. His eyes *were* as a flame of fire, and on his head *were* many crowns; and he had a name written, that no man knew, but he himself. And he *was* clothed with a vesture dipped in blood: and his name is called The Word of God. And the armies *which were* in heaven followed him upon white horses, clothed in fine linen, white and clean. And out of his

* An essay founded on the first part of an address, delivered by particular invitation before the Synod of the Potomac, at its meeting in York, Pa., October, 1876; the publication of which also was asked for by vote of the Synod at that time. Justice to the *whole* theme of the address will require a similar amplification hereafter, by Divine permission, on the other part of it, namely, the *Spirit of Prophecy*.

mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations; and he shall rule them with a rod of iron: and he treadeth the winepress of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God. And he hath on *his* vesture and on his thigh a name written, KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS."—Rev. xix. 6-16.

We have here, in burning central splendor, what must be considered the governing light of this strangely mystical, divinely fascinating book: "The Revelation of Jesus Christ," as it solemnly styles itself, "which God gave unto Him, to show unto His servants things which must shortly come to pass, and which He sent and signified by His servant John; who bare record of the word of God, and of the testimony of Jesus Christ, and of all things that he saw" (i. 1, 2).

The testimony of Jesus Christ may be taken in two senses; as meaning either the testimony of which He is the object, or the testimony of which He is the author. There is a clear distinction between these conceptions; but it is a distinction, in this case, more formal than real. For, as we shall see, the two sides of the testimony flow together at once, so as to form an undivided and indivisible one. As Jesus Christ is the beginning of His own testimony or word, its *terminus a quo*, so is He also the end of it, its *terminus ad quem*.

This is involved immediately in His memorable answer to the challenge of the Roman governor (John xviii. 37): "Pilate said unto Him, Art thou a king then? Jesus answered, Thou sayest that I am a king. To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice."

Here we have the object of the testimony in its universal or whole form, namely, the *truth*; and at the same time the witness-bearer, Jesus Christ, as being Himself one with what He thus testifies—the universal *voice* of the truth, which every one that is of the truth heareth; the hearing here, as we see at once, not being at all the test or measure of the voice which is thus heard, not an outside judgment upon it in any way, but the evidence simply of real comprehension in the truth on the part

of the bearer. Just as it is said in another place: "My sheep *hear my voice*, and I know them, and they follow me; and I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish" (John x. 27, 28). Or again: "He that *heareth my word*, and believeth on Him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation; but is passed from death unto life" (John v. 24).

Truth, in the awakening word to Pilate just quoted, is represented as being a kingdom, in which and over which then our Lord Himself reigns as a King. The case is not one of outward comparison merely, as those are apt to imagine whose sense of substantial existence is bounded by things seen and temporal. So the matter appeared to Pilate, on hearing his prisoner talk of reigning over a kingdom not of this world, and made up wholly of spiritual objects, relations and interests, expressed by the general term truth. He turned away, we are told, with a heartless *What is truth?* and "went out again unto the Jews," whose spirit he could understand. The actual fact is however, that here, as well as universally elsewhere, the spiritual leads the way in whatever parallelism there may seem to be between it and the natural. It is not because there are kings and kingdoms "of this world," as they are called, that Christ is exhibited to us by the Bible as a King, and His government as a kingdom (the kingdom of God, the kingdom of heaven), in the spiritual and eternal world. Just the contrary; it is the order of things in heaven reaching down into the condition of things on earth, that serves to impart to these any significance they can ever have in the way of resemblance to heavenly things. And then of course it is the earthly or mundane, and not the spiritual and celestial, that must suffer by immeasurable inferiority always in the comparison. The things which are seen, on the earthly side, are temporal, shadowy, evanescent; while the things which are unseen, on the spiritual side, are full of boundless positive reality and life that shall have no end. Thus it is that the whole kingly office among men has its origin and force

rightly only in our Lord Jesus Christ, who for this reason bears in the Holy Scripture the title of King of kings, and Lord of lords. And thus it is, moreover, that kingdoms and governments among men draw all their rational sense from the idea of order, righteousness and truth, which has been declared to be heaven's first law, flowing forth in fact from that Divine Wisdom whose seat is no other than the bosom of God; and to which is ascribed in the Bible such lofty speech as this: "Counsel is mine, and sound wisdom. I have understanding; I have strength. By me kings reign, and princes decree justice. By me princes rule, and nobles, even all the judges of the earth" (Prov. viii. 14-16).

The kingdom of truth being thus one, in the way we have seen, with its ever-glorious King—a constitution holding throughout in the *hearing of His voice*, that is, in the participation of His being, as this issues forth from Him in the way of living speech—it follows at once that it must be a realm of most positive substance and life in all its parts. Truth is not something abstract, existing only as a notion or unsubstantial thought in the minds of men. It is actual being and substance, and lives everywhere instinct with the life of God Himself. It is not an accidental, outward and separable quality of other things anywhere, but the very inmost essence and sense of all things, the original necessity of their existence, and the self-active force and power by which they continually subsist. This character of substantiality and vitality belongs to truth, first of all, only in the Lord Himself; He is the absolute truth, as He is for that very reason also the absolute life, the one thought involving the other; but what is thus inherent in the very nature of both truth and life, is not for that reason left behind, when the absolute passes out into the form of relative created existence. The infinite and uncreated, in such case, is still that which lives and works in the finite; so that those then who think of either life or truth as having in itself any real existence for either men or angels in separate view, or as something dis-

parted from life and truth in God, may be sure that they labor here under fundamental mistake. And thus it is that we say that substance and life, in the strictest sense, belong to all truth, and must be predicated of the universal kingdom over which our Lord reigns and presides as the King of truth.

Living in this way from the life of the Lord, truth of course can never be thought of rationally, as being anywhere in the condition of mere passivity or immobility. That is the signature of death, the impress of the grave. But truth is life in its very constitution, the eternal opposite of death. It is no less than a hideous satire indeed, to think of it, or speak of it, as being anywhere, or in any shape, an outward *traditum* or *depositum* in this way, to be passed onward mechanically, from youth to old age, from master to pupil, from priest to people, in dead inert form. Only think of it. The truth that is in the merely natural world is forever bursting the cerements which would hold it in any such inaction as this; there is not in it a germ of either vegetable or animal life, which carries not in itself an effort or nisus toward the indefinite production of ever new forms of existence—a process that is thus a continual reaching toward the fulness of the infinite, which is in this way shown to be in fact the animating power of the movement from first to last. And shall truth, then, as the seed of life in the spiritual world, be thought of as any *less* energetic or prolific? Shall the production of substantive forms of intelligence and affection here, the true peopling of this higher range of creation, be less actively multitudinous or less gloriously diversified in expression and show, than the leaves of the forest or the innumerable creatures that fill air, earth and sea with their vitality in lower form? The question answers itself. There can be no comparison between the activity of truth in the world of nature and its activity in the spiritual world, in the view here presented. The word of God, says an apostle, is not bound. “If ye continue in my word,” our Saviour says (using the same term on which so much stress is laid in the passage, John xv.

4-10—if ye *abide*, μένητε, in my word), “ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall *make you free*.” How should it be otherwise? The voice of the Lord, the Psalmist tells us, is upon many waters; the voice of the Lord is powerful and full of majesty; the voice of the Lord breaketh the cedars of Lebanon, divideth the flames of fire, and shaketh the wilderness of Kadesh. And how should it not then work mightily also in the minds of men, where there is inward hearing to give it admission, causing old things to pass away, and all things to brighten into the light of a new creation? so as to verify in full the closing word of the Psalm: “The Lord sitteth upon the flood; yea, the Lord sitteth King forever. The Lord will give strength unto His people; the Lord will bless His people with peace” (Ps. xxix. 10, 11).

From all that has now been said, holding in mind that Christ as the King of truth is Himself the absolute first and last of the entire kingdom of truth over which He reigns, we may see at least in a general way what is to be understood by “the testimony of Jesus,” as it falls under our present consideration. It is the uncreated Word or Wisdom of God, the origin and ground of the universal being of the world, reaching down into the depths of our fallen human existence through the ever-adorable mystery of His Incarnation, so as to make room and way for the recovery of mankind to the communion of God, which is eternal life, when this had come to be otherwise forever impossible. So much lies plainly in our Lord’s own declaration made to Pilate: To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. That was the one grand object of His becoming man; and it belonged essentially to His office as King over the universal kingdom of truth. His coming in the flesh was not simply for men living after that time; it took in the need of the world as this had existed through ages before; more still, it was necessary in some way to establish and confirm the order of the spiritual universe in general. For there are not two or more kingdoms of truth.

The very idea of a Divine Kingdom or Order, forbids any such thought as that. What exactly the assumption of our humanity on the part of the Divine Word may have had to do with the universal order of the heavens; in other words, what is the sense, precisely of St. Paul's *ανακεφαλαίωσις*, the recapitulation or summing up of all things in Christ, "both which are in heaven and which are on earth" (Eph. i. 10; Col. i. 15-20); this, we say, is a profound mystery, which we may never be able in the present world to comprehend or explain. But that is no reason for calling it in doubt. It is involved in the universal spirit of the Bible. The unity of God's creation demands it. It lies in the idea of the Divine Logos from first to last.

Especially are we made to feel this in the Apocalypse; where the whole heavenly world is so directly brought into view as having part in the grand dramatic movement of the Christian redemption, while all is made to turn at the same time centrally on the coming of Christ in the flesh. Whatever the relations of the Logos to the universe may be otherwise as having place back of this, or as taking in the sweep of being, so to speak, outside of this and beyond it, these relations are here manifestly regarded as in some way all meeting together in the Majesty of the Man Christ Jesus, and there reaching their fullest and last sense. All in strict correspondence, as we at once see, with St. Paul's celestial catholicism just noticed; and suiting well at the same time to the magnificence of his prayer in behalf of the Church on earth, which we cannot do better than to quote here in full: "May the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, give unto you the Spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of Him; the eyes of your understanding being enlightened; that ye may know what is the hope of His calling, and what the riches of the glory of His inheritance in the saints, and what is the exceeding greatness of His power to us-ward who believe; according to the working of His mighty power which He wrought in Christ, when He raised Him from the dead, and set Him at His own right hand in the heavenly

places, far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come: and hath put all things under His feet, and gave Him to be the head over all things to the Church, which is His body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all " (Eph. i. 17-23).

The Apocalypse is, we may say, the actual unfolding of this superterrestrial greatness and glory of the kingdom of our Lord, in which heaven and earth are in the first place married into one by the mystery of the Incarnation; and the new creation is then pictured in vision as running its course through conflict and judgment, till all issues at last in the triumphant sight of the New Jerusalem, "descending out of heaven from God, and having the glory of God;" by which is to be understood of course the second advent of Christ, His ultimate and full appearing in the world (whatever that may mean), completing the sense of His first advent, and surpassing it immeasurably in spiritual magnificence and power.

And all this is what the Apocalypse means by the testimony of Jesus. Not the testimony of Eternal Wisdom sounding itself forth from the bosom of God, the voice of the Word which in the beginning was with God and was God; not this, we say, but the testimony of that same Word made to be flesh, in the *fulness* of time, which is no other then than Christ the Lord of life and glory; of whom, it is said, that being thus found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. Through which vast humiliation, we are told, God hath highly exalted Him, and given Him a name which is above every name; that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth (Philip. ii. 6-10).

It is in this form of supreme glorification, that the Son of Man, Jesus Christ, comes before us in the whole book, which is called The Revelation of St. John the Divine. Nothing could well be more grand and august than the way in which His pre-

sence is announced in the first chapter, as a vision disclosing itself in the spiritual world. First, the great voice, as of a trumpet heard in the rear of the prophet; and then, as he "turned to see the voice" that spake with him, the illumination which fell upon him from the aspect of the transfigured Humanity of the Lord, in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks; at whose feet he sank down as in himself dead, till new life entered into him through the touch of the Saviour's hand, and the accompanying power of His word: "Fear not; I am the first and the last; I am He that liveth and was dead; and, behold, I am alive for evermore, Amen; and have the keys of hell and of death." And so He it is, and no other, to whom is attributed in this chapter, without any sort of reserve or qualification, the fulness of self-existent being comprehended in the name Jehovah, the *I AM* of the Old Testament. For what less than this is the declaration: "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty."

In full keeping with this, accordingly, is the style of authority in which the churches are addressed in the second and third chapters, based as the addresses are on the assertion of the most absolute omniscience and omnipotence from beginning to end.

And then when the scene of the fourth and fifth chapters opens upon us, representing the array of judgment in the heavenly world, by which room was to be made for the revelation of the Church in its millennial or last form, it need create in us no surprise to find the Divine Man, Christ Jesus, seated on the throne of heaven itself, in full heavenly glory; as in the vision which Isaiah saw centuries before, when he beheld His glory, and spake of Him (Is. vi. 1-4, John xii. 41); saluted and adored in this case, as in that, with the unresting acclamation, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come." An adoration, which attains to the highest conceivable grandeur, when the universal celestial world, through all its spheres, is found joining with full orb'd harmony in

the song of our human redemption : " Blessing, and honor, and glory, and power, be unto Him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever."

This is enough. It is not necessary, for our object here, to go farther. Jesus Christ it is, and no other, who binds the universe into one, and to Him alone is due the sacramental anthem ; " Thee, mighty God, heavenly King, we magnify and praise. With patriarchs and prophets, apostles and martyrs ; with the holy Church throughout all the world ; with the heavenly Jerusalem, the joyful assembly and congregation of the first-born on high ; with the innumerable company of angels round about Thy throne, the heaven of heavens, and all the powers therein ; we worship and adore Thy glorious name, joining in the song of the cherubim and seraphim, and with united voice saying—*Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth, heaven and earth are full of the majesty of Thy glory.*"

It is all one system, conjoined in its parts just as intimately as the economy of the human body ; in which is involved necessarily a common working from first to last ; and hence, the last act of the Divine Logos in clothing Himself with our fallen humanity, for the purpose of raising it into full unity with His divinity, necessarily takes hold of the entire process of creation going before it, and becomes thus a re-constitution of its universal order. In this sense His coming into the world, that He might bear witness to the truth, was not simply for men on earth, but for the whole spiritual creation at the same time, which has its basis and ultimatum mysteriously in the natural world. It was the principle of the first creation, by which in the beginning " all things were created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers ; which is before all things, and by which all things consist ;" this same principle, we say, now in the fulness of time, deepening itself to the point of the last extreme need into which the universe had come through sin, so as to overcome what was wrong, and thus bring

in a general rectification of the disorder, a new reign of truth and righteousness that should be felt through all worlds; at the head of which then the conquering Redeemer should appear ever after, in full human form, as "the Beginning, the first-born from the dead—that in all things He might have the pre-eminence." For it pleased the Father, we are told, "that in Him should ALL FULLNESS dwell; and, having made peace by the blood of His cross, by Him, to reconcile all things unto Himself—by HIM, whether they be things in earth, or things in heaven" (Col. i. 15-20).

How the coming of our Lord into the world was to work thus principally for the reconstruction and harmonization of the universal order of things in heaven and things on earth, we are not directly told; and no doubt the whole subject belongs to those "deep things of God" the knowledge of which can never reach for us here beyond the most unclear and imperfect apprehension, as it must transcend also forever the full intelligence even of the angelic world. We know very little indeed even of those points, in which the manifestation of Christ in the flesh is supposed to regard most immediately the personal salvation simply of men, separately considered in their present earthly state; and hence our common theological and homiletical talk on such doctrinal themes as the Trinity, the humanity of our Lord, the atonement, justification by faith, regeneration, and so on, is for the most part, as all thoughtful minds can easily see, little better than a confusion of tongues and the darkening of counsel by words without knowledge. How much more, then, must we be incapable of taking in what this great mystery of godliness means in its universal scope and range, as having to do, in the way we have now seen, with the consummation of all things in the heavenly world?

Still we are not absolutely without light in the case. We have at least the general primary purpose of the great central and fundamental fact of the Incarnation affirmed from the lips of our Lord Himself, and we owe it to ourselves as well as

to Him not to submit to its being wrested from our grasp, but to hold fast to it as the sheet-anchor of our Christian life.

“To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth.” So speaks the Amen Himself, the Faithful and true Witness, the Beginning of the creation of God. This much, then, is sure, whatever else may be dark. Manifold other things lie involved of course in the carrying out of this great purpose, both as regards the economy of grace in our earthly world, and as regards the broader economy of everlasting righteousness in the heavenly world; but then these other things must be viewed as secondary only, and as having their significance wholly in that which is primary. Order here, as everywhere else, is heaven’s first law, which can never be disregarded even in things otherwise right, without ruinous wrong. Particulars, to be true, must ever be comprehended in their proper general; and that general here is what has now been stated. Christ came into the world that He might BEAR WITNESS UNTO THE TRUTH.

The general proposition here, however, goes farther than this. It sets before us directly the way in which only it was possible for Christ, the King of Truth, to bear witness to it; that is, to affirm and uphold it, in the circumstances into which the spiritual universe had come at the time of His advent; and in doing this it clearly determines at the same time the fundamental nature of the actual testimony itself which was thus the object of His mission. The testimony was not to be accomplished in the way of any merely outward speech or work, flowing down miraculously into the world from the throne of God in heaven; nor yet in the way of any doctrine or work simply on the part of our incarnate Lord Himself when in the world, proceeding from His incarnation as a supposed *sine qua non*, or merely instrumental, external condition, without which such redemptory activities could not have come to pass, according to the record we have of them in the Gospel. As if the angels could spend their eternity, and find their heaven, in the earnest

study (1 Pet. i. 12) or adoring contemplation of such a Corliss engine as that brought in to run the machinery-hall of the Apocalypse! Let us be glad and rejoice, together with the angels, that the reign of all such theology is fast passing away, we may be sure, never more to return. The testimony of Jesus in the Apocalypse, and in the Word of God at large, means no such miserable abstraction as this. It holds altogether, first of all, in the living and life-giving transaction of the incarnation itself; and just that, and nothing else, is what He means when He says, To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I might bear witness unto the truth.

The witnessing, we say, lay essentially in the mystery of His advent itself. That includes in it we know a whole universe of other things, flowing forth from it as "rivers of living water," or salient from within it as "water springing up into everlasting life;" but with all this, the entire Gospel of the grace of God is the work which Christ wrought out, first of all, when He "humbled Himself to be born of the Virgin," and so came into the world by a real (and not merely phantasmagoric) taking on of our humanity, in the way of all true human development and progression, running through infancy, childhood and youth up to mature manhood; the whole process conducted by Himself (in vast and mighty conflict with all the powers of hell), so as to move steadily onward in its course WITHOUT SIN, till it ended in the full glorification spoken of in His great pontifical prayer (John xvii.). Of which end or triumphant conclusion it is said: "When Thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, Thou didst open the kingdom of heaven,"—that is, the kingdom of truth, righteousness and everlasting order, otherwise barred against men,—“to all believers.”

It belongs to the instrumental or mechanical notion of Christ just noticed, to make no account whatever, for the most part, of His taking on of our humanity in the way here mentioned, as being itself the substantial sense of His advent

or coming into the world, and thus the substantial sense at the same time of the work which He came into the world to accomplish; namely, the affirmation of eternal righteousness, the union of earth with heaven, and hereby the making of redemption and salvation possible for men. Those with whom that wrong notion reigns will have it that the incarnation was at once at its end where it began, in our Saviour's birth; or at least, that it matured itself subsequently by simply passive growth without tasking at all the powers of His own spiritual life; that it is only unprofitable speculation at best to inquire (as the angels are forever doing) into the nature of the hypostatical union, since that has nothing to do with practical and experimental religion; that the public outward ministry of Christ joined with His atoning death on the cross, without any real wrestling whatever with the powers of the unseen world, exhausted the entire significance of His human life on earth; and that His subsequent glorification, therefore, is to be regarded in the light of a reward simply bestowed upon Him for His perfected work going before. But such thinking most assuredly falls short of the Scriptural view of this great subject; and one can hardly help feeling that it requires some measure of wilful blindness not to see, in the face of the plain teaching of God's word, that the idea of our Lord's glorification in particular carries with it a meaning that transcends infinitely the whole order of thought thus brought into view.

There are two states, we know, in the life of our Lord Jesus Christ, a state of humiliation and a state of exaltation. He humbled Himself and became obedient unto death; and therefore God hath highly exalted Him. He endured the cross, despising the shame; and in consequence is set down at the right hand of the Throne of God. All this at the same time, as we know from Himself, through His own will and power. These two states existed in Him to a certain extent synchronously during the "days of His flesh;" the higher then

being, however, more or less under veil of the lower, with only occasional and partial manifestations of its proper inherent glory ; while the reigning relation between the two states was plainly, nevertheless, that of sequence, in which the state of humiliation was required to pass away ultimately altogether in the state of exaltation. So much was involved in the very idea of Christ's being born and coming into the world. The Divine in the Lord thus taking hold upon the human, in the way of egress from the bosom of the Father, must by the process of the incarnation itself so lift the human into one with its own life, as to return with it in full finally into "the glory which it had with the Father before the world was" (John xvii. 5.) For how else could its being born into the world have proved to be more at best than a Gnostic abortion ? The descending of the Divine here into the lowest parts of the earth drew after it, with inexorable consequence, the ascending up again of the human, made one with the Divine, far above all heavens, that the whole Christ might from that time onward fill all things (Eph. iv. 10). "I came forth from the Father," we hear Him say in words of unutterable depth, "and am come into the world ; again I leave the world, and go to the Father" (John xvi. 28.) This is essentially of one sense with His speech to Pilate : "To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness to the truth." For it is no ordinary mission or sending of a human prophet, like Moses or John the Baptist, that is meant in either case. It is a going forth from the absolute being of God, and a returning thither again in new relation to men and to the world at large, the movement involving in it at the same time no breaking away even for a moment from the ground of the absolute to which it belongs throughout. This is what we are to understand where it is said, "No man hath ascended up to heaven, but He that came down from heaven, even the Son of Man which is in heaven" (John iii. 13.) The incarnation has in it necessarily that circular order—the letting down of the

heavenly to the plane of the earthly, for the purpose of raising the earthly into union with the life of the heavenly where this had become otherwise impracticable by reason of sin. And so it is, that it has become the ordained law in like form also of the new spiritual creation universally; its archetype or original pattern, and at the same time its omnipotent principle and plastic cause; as it is made to be by our Lord Himself, where He gives utterance in His interview with Nicodemus to the mystical word just quoted, as the true key for understanding both the necessity and the possibility of regeneration or the new birth from above.

It is not necessary for our present object, we repeat, that we should be able to know or say *how* exactly the coming of Christ in the flesh, thus issuing, as it is represented to do, with triumphant inward necessity, in the glorification of His humanity, through its full union with His divinity, serves to accomplish the great ends of redemption and salvation which are ascribed to it in the Gospel. It is enough for us to know, that this, in fact, whether we understand it or not, was what our Lord proposed to accomplish by thus humbling Himself to the estate of our humanity, and that therefore the whole wisdom and power and glory of the Gospel must be regarded as actually revealing themselves in this way, and in this way only. Christ, the King of truth, the Divine Word, which is the principle and source of all light, order and law in God's universe, became incarnate that He might bear witness to the truth; that is, effectually introduce the truth into the fallen life of the world as it then stood. The movement of the incarnation was itself the work by which He did this; a work that ran through all the days of His flesh—during which, we are told, "He offered up prayers and supplications, with strong crying and tears unto Him that was able to save Him." So that, "though He were a Son, yet learned He obedience by the things which He suffered;" in consequence of which, "being made perfect, He became the author of eternal salva-

tion to all that obey Him" (Heb. v. 7.) This is plain; and it is equally plain then, that "being made perfect," in this case, means simply the glorification of His humanity in the way of its full taking up into His divinity, which was from the first the ultimate scope of the whole mystery. That is in truth the summit and crown of the universal Gospel, and though last is essentially first in its heavenly constitution; so that we may well understand the chief place which is always assigned to it in the Scriptures.

And yet how strangely the true sense of it is overlooked, if not positively ignored, by a large part of our modern Christianity; which in its zeal for the credit of our Saviour's blessed passion and death (too often, alas, under the view of mere commercial significance and worth), is so apt to remand into the region of pure abstraction all that is said in the Scriptures of the power of His resurrection and "the glory that should follow," and to treat it in truth as if it had no existence. "O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken," is the voice of the risen Saviour Himself to all such; "ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to *enter into His glory?*" (Luke xxiv. 25, 26.) How much of the Old Testament in fact looks directly to this glorification we can easily see, as soon as any living sense of what the thing itself means comes to be in our own minds when we read the sacred volume. The sufferings of Christ are there, too; His heavy temptations and mighty conflicts with the powers of hell; but always as contrast and background only, in some way, to the grand jubilation: "God has gone up with a shout, the Lord with the sound of a trumpet! sing praises to God, sing praises; sing praises unto our King, sing praises" (Ps. xlvii. 5, 6.) The burden of history, prophecy and psalm for the inwardly hearing ear, is still ever at last: "Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors; and the king of glory shall come in. Who is this king of glory? The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle. Lift up your heads, O ye

gates ; even lift them up, ye everlasting doors ; and the king of glory shall come in. Who is this king of glory ? The Lord of hosts, he is the king of glory. Selah ! ”

In the New Testament, the Word tabernacling in flesh is from the first this glory or shekinah, struggling as it were into view through the cloud above the mercy-seat, “ full of grace and truth.” On the mount of transfiguration, it came out for a moment in full vision when His whole person became transfused from within with preternatural splendor, and there stood with Him Moses and Elias, who appeared also in glory (the Old Testament Law and Prophecy, in fact, made lustrous through the inshining of His presence), and “ spake of His decease which He should accomplish at Jerusalem ; ” all ending in that voice from the overshadowing cloud : “ *This is My beloved Son ; hear Him.* ” But it is where the life of the Lord on earth refers itself directly to its own actual purpose and end, as something to be reached only through its whole previous historical movement—especially as we have this most clearly set forth in the gospel of St. John—that the glorification here spoken of is found to be all that we have been now trying to show ; namely, the *perfected* work of redemption itself, brought out and established forever in the full reciprocal union of the divine and human as absolutely one in Christ.

What can be a plainer assertion of such universal dependence of the Gospel in its previous humiliation on its own ultimate exaltation in this way, than that wonderful word (John vii. 39), the unavoidable sense of which is so widely overlooked : “ This spake He of the Spirit, which they that believed on Him should receive ; for the Holy Ghost was not yet ; because that Jesus *was not yet glorified ;* ” in other words, had not yet attained to the point where His humanity could be all that it was required to be through union with His divinity, for real life-communication between God and men, answering to the sense of what He had just said : “ If any man thirst, let him come unto Me, and drink. He that believeth on Me, as the

Scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water."

No wonder then, looking at the subject in this view, that the *τελειωσις* or perfecting of Christ should loom into such intense importance as we find given to it in the closing chapters of St. John, where the whole evangelical history seems to issue at last in the idea of His glorification, as that by which only such perfecting could be brought to pass. "The hour is come, that the Son of Man should be glorified"—we hear Him saying in the near hour of His last conflict: "Now is my soul troubled; and what shall I say? Father, save Me from this hour? but for this cause came I unto this hour. Father, glorify Thy name. Then came there a voice from heaven, saying, I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again" (John xii. 23-28). Again, soon after, and in still closer communion with the end: "Now is the Son of man glorified, and God is glorified in Him. If God be glorified in Him, God shall also glorify Him in Himself, and shall straightway glorify Him." Then follows the deep pathos of His last valedictory discourse—still sounding through the ages with a voice that is heard above all the roar and tumult of the world's outward life—in which the all in all of His coming into the world is made throughout to resolve itself into the Promise of the Holy Ghost; the Spirit of truth, "whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth Him not, neither knoweth Him," but who yet was to convince the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment, and to carry out and complete the full purpose of His incarnation, as it could not be completed in any other way.

In this entire discourse one thought reigns throughout—the thought of the glorification of His humanity by its full union with the Father, then just ready to be accomplished through His death on the cross, as that whereby only room could be made for the free pentecostal going forth of His mediatorial grace toward man. "It is expedient for you that I go away; if I go not away the Comforter will not come."—"I will not leave you

comfortless; I will come to you," of course in the mission of the Comforter. "When the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father," the Son being now in His glorification absolutely one with the Father, "He shall testify of Me." "He shall not speak of Himself," His presence being one with the being of the Son, who is at the same time one with the being of the Father; and so therefore, "He shall glorify Me; for He shall receive of mine, and shall show it unto you."—"A little while and ye shall not see Me; and again a little while and ye shall see Me, because I go to the Father;" which was the end, in truth, of His whole coming into the world, and His investiture at once with the full power and glory of the Father for the purposes of His kingdom, whereby His presence and working in the world would be found to surpass immeasurably all they had been before. "At that day ye shall ask in my name; and I say not unto you that I will pray the Father for you; for the Father Himself loveth you, because ye have loved Me, and have believed that I came out from God." A belief, which of itself involved in it the idea of His full regression again into God, doing away with all such previous relative inferiority as might lie in the thought of His praying for them to the Father, as to one different from and "greater than" Himself. His "going to the Father" was now about to put an end to all that. "He that believeth on Me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do, because I go unto my Father; and whatsoever ye shall ask in my name *that will I do*, that the Father may be *glorified in the Son*. If ye shall ask any thing in my name I WILL DO IT," not as the mere proxy of the Father most certainly, but as His undivided presence and fulness.

All this, however, but paves the way for the vista of supernatural majesty and glory, that opens upon us in the Pontifical Prayer found in the seventeenth chapter of the Gospel of St. John; where the truth now before us is brought to its full focus, in the inmost sanctuary, as it were, of its own eternal consumma-

tion. "Father, the hour is come; glorify Thy Son, that Thy Son also may glorify Thee!" "I have glorified Thee on the earth, I have finished the work which Thou gavest Me to do." And what was this work? "I have manifested Thy name unto the men which Thou gavest Me out of the world." That manifestation could be only in and by Christ "coming forth from the Father and coming into the world," so as to bring the knowledge of God home to the sense of men as the power of "eternal life," something otherwise beyond their reach; and it carried with it necessarily, in this view, a progressive *work* on the part of the Son, showing forth the glory of the Father more and more, with constant determination to the point where it was to become complete finally by the act of the Incarnate Christ, in again "leaving the world and going to the Father." This was the work which He had *finished*; and so it follows: "Now, O Father, glorify Thou Me with Thine own self, with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was." All to carry out the great object for which He had thus appeared in the flesh, the everlasting salvation of the men in whose souls room had been (or might be) found for the truth conveyed to them through His life. "I have given unto them Thy words;—they have received them, and have known surely that I came out from Thee;—and now I am no more in the world, but come unto Thee;—I have given them Thy word;—they are not of the world, even as I am not of the world. Sanctify them through Thy truth; Thy word is truth." Who may not see that the word thus declared to be truth, means nothing less than life proceeding in this form from Him who is the Fountain of life—which also indeed is the only Scriptural idea of either sanctity or sanctification. And so it follows: "As Thou hast sent Me into the world, even so have I sent them into the world. And for their sakes I sanctify Myself"—that is, make Myself perfect through suffering, by thus fulfilling all righteousness, and finishing the work which Thou gavest Me to do, out to the point of full recuperation of the glory which I had with Thee

before the foundation of the world—"that they also might be sanctified through the truth." Language, that shows very conclusively the archetypal relation there is between the life of the Second Adam, the Lord from heaven, and the life of all His saints; in virtue of which, the regeneration of every true Christian is, on its vastly lower plane, a real effigy of the glorification of Christ—not intelligible at all, indeed, save in the light of this transcendent mystery.

And who may not feel how this whole priestly service goes now to illustrate and intensify again the sense of the oracle spoken to Pilate: "Thou sayest that I am a king. To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness to the truth. Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice."

The actual full glorification to which all tended from the beginning breaks upon us in the announcement, after He had risen from the dead: ALL POWER IS GIVEN UNTO ME IN HEAVEN AND IN EARTH.

In this character, Jesus Christ, the Manifestation of the Invisible God in human form, "received up into glory," now reigns in the heavenly world, at the head of the universal creation of God. All power belongs to Him, without any sort of limitation, in heaven and on earth. It is His, not by inconceivable delegation or commission merely, but by inherent possession. All things are under His feet. The transient distinction, *My Father is greater than I*, has lost itself forever in the higher word, *I and my Father are one*. He is thus the comprehension of the universal creation of God in all its parts, and for that reason necessarily the recapitulation of it also in its entire movement from the beginning. The whole of it is taken up into Him, as its Alpha and Omega, its first and its last—all previous existence being made to complete itself now, in the final constitution of things brought to pass by His glorification. And this final constitution of things, which could be reached only through the coming of Christ in the flesh, what is it else

than the very kingdom of truth and reign of righteousness which He was born into the world to establish, and over which He now reigns King forever?

And just this it is which makes Him to be in Himself, first of all, the universal life and law and order of the kingdom over which He reigns as King. It begins in Him, and holds in Him throughout, in strict conformity with His own word: "I am the way, the truth and the life; no man cometh unto the Father but by Me." No communication can have place with the fountain of life in God, except through the truth, which is the outflowing light from this fountain, in our Lord Jesus Christ. The Word, having this life in it as its essence, is "the light of men;" and only in and by it, is it possible for either angels or men to see light. Here, accordingly the testimony of Jesus, starts and in a certain sense ends; although the whole universe of life, righteousness, and truth, is filled with it at the same time, as it flows forth with living power from His presence.

Thus it is that the testimony extends and perpetuates itself in all the angelic heavens, as we have seen it to be represented in the Apocalypse. These, in their boundless amplitude, reflect from all sides the glory of the Lord, as it shines upon them continually from the throne of His majesty on high, and in this way they may be said to be always casting their crowns at His feet, and sounding forth that grand hymn of praise: "Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honor, and power; for Thou hast created all things, and for Thy pleasure they are and were created." We must, however, go far beyond the notion of any simply self-moved homage, offered in this case to the majesty of Him who sits upon the throne. That would be after all a dead witness; whereas, it lies in the very conception of the testimony of Jesus Christ, that it should have in it the very life of the truth itself to which it bears witness, and this it can have, as we have seen, only from Christ Himself. It follows, then, that the angels have no power to glorify and praise the Lord, except as their spiritual being, in the form of wisdom

and love, is received by them continually from Him whom they worship. It is only in like way, indeed, that even the natural heavens, on a lower plane, declare the glory of God (Ps. xix.), by the presence of the Divine word or truth—not dead, but living—which is forever settled in them, so that they continue this day according to God's ordinances (Ps. cxix. 89-91). And the natural here, as always, is but an image, of what is higher than itself; setting forth the order and stability of the spiritual universe under the same view. Here, too, the heavens are forever telling the glory of the Lord, and bearing witness to the truth of His kingdom, by simply taking it into themselves without resistance, and allowing it to shine through them as though it were their own; when they know it, and will it, at the same time, to be only and wholly from Jehovah their King. In this reign of order, unity, harmony and law, proceeding forever from the Incarnate Word, the angels universally—no two of them alike—live, move, and have their being; and have part thus in such a plenitude of ever-growing blessedness and joy, as no heart of man on earth can possibly conceive.

The angelic heavens collectively bear witness, in the way now stated, to the Lord of life and glory; and each single angel, in the general order, proclaims the same testimony in a way special and peculiar to himself. For are they not all ministering spirits rejoicing to do His will; and how can they do it, in living and not dead way, if they be not actuated by the *life* of His will in themselves; in other words, if each one of them be not (separately considered) an organ and bearer of the Lord's life, and thus an image of the kingdom of heaven in its widest view.

And as it is with the heavenly world in what has now been said, so it is also with the Church on earth; which in particular is called the body of Christ, just because it is regarded as having its universal life from Him as its glorified Head. And what is thus true of the Church as a whole, is here then again, as in the case of the heavenly world, true also of every real

member of the Church; in full assimilation still with the idea of a living body, where not only every organ commonly so called, but every fibre, vesicle, or particle of matter belonging to each organ, is an image of the body in full, and belongs to it only by the life which is at work in it every instant, as if it were all its own, from the general system.

And this life-communion by which the Church on earth is made to be one in her glorified Head, as we have already seen from the Apocalypse, is at the same time *necessarily* communion of life also with the kingdom of the Lord on high; binding both orders of existence, the heavenly and the earthly, into one, and causing the life of the Lord to vibrate or pulsate, as it were, *through* the heavenly down into all the length and breadth of the earthly.

This is the TESTIMONY OF JESUS; not any utterance of angels or men spoken of Him in an outward way—in that sense He “receives not testimony from man” (John v. 34); but the self-testimony of the glorified Saviour Himself—the Word Incarnate, the Way, the Truth, the Life, the Light of the World—pouring itself forth into the heavens, and filling the whole earth with its presence; taking up into itself all the finished work of Christ, whether as Creator or Redeemer, from the beginning of the world, and causing it to shine before the universe with a glory far beyond the light of ten thousand suns. All this not as something for thought simply or passive contemplation, but as the full activity of life and boundless power everywhere, all flowing from the “fullness of Him that filleth all in all.”

Angels and men in this way, of course, have part in the testimony of Jesus Christ, only as they respond to it with an inward Amen in their own hearts, and so allow it to have free course and to be glorified in their lives. That is the office of their faith, which of itself implies, however, the vivifying presence of love or charity in their faith to make it what the case requires. “Ye are my witnesses, saith the Lord”—in this sense, and in this sense only (Is. xliii. 10). So John speaks

of himself—the brother and companion in tribulation of all true believers—as suffering “for the testimony of Jesus Christ” (Rev. i. 9); and so also the angel speaks, representative of all the angels, when John fell at his feet to worship him: “See thou do it not; I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren that have the testimony of Jesus; worship God; for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy” (Rev. xix. 10; xxii. 8, 9). Whether it be believer on the earth or angel in heaven, his witness is not to be regarded as having any value or weight from himself, but as being simply the living truth of the Lord working in him, and through him as its organ. Is not just this in fact the signification of that mysterious declaration: “He that cometh from heaven is above all? And what He hath seen and heard, that He testifieth. He that hath received His testimony, hath set to his seal that God is true. For He whom God hath sent speaketh the words of God” (John iii. 31–34).

The world of truth over which Christ reigns, and for which He is throughout the principle and power of life, is of illimitable extent. But it rests, from beginning to end, on two vast ground-truths, we may call them, which start forth immediately as one from His throne in heaven; and from thence, make themselves felt, with indissoluble union, out to the farthest extremities of His kingdom. And these especially are the object of regard for the Apocalypse, in all that is said there of the testimony of Jesus, as having so much to do with the ushering in of the new heaven and the new earth by our Lord’s second advent. They answer to the two tables of the Law, as reduced to their fundamental sense by our Lord Himself: “Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets” (Matt. xxii. 37–40). And so, correspondingly again, they fall in with the two constituent powers of the soul, through which room is found in it for the reception of

the Law in this double form ; namely, the will-power and the power of intelligence, which together, in their proper conjunction, as charity (heaven-born), and faith (issuing from this), make, universally, the true life of the Church. They are, in truth, the two witnesses spoken of in the 11th chapter of the Apocalypse ; of whom it is said, "These are the two olive trees, and the two candlesticks standing before the God of the earth" ; with clear reference to Zech. iv. 2, 3, 11-14, where the vision, beyond all question, symbolizes the idea of just such influx of life and light from heaven, in distinction from all dead self-intelligence and self-action made to stand in their place. For what else are we to understand by the declaration : "This is the word of the Lord to Zerubbabel, saying, Not by might, nor by power, but by My Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts."

In the Apocalyptic "Testimony of Jesus," which looks to the state of the Church made complete through the second coming of her Lord, these two fundamentals of all religion stand out before us in this following form :

First ; the truth, seen and from the heart acknowledged, that Jesus Christ is in very deed what He represents Himself to be in His Word, the fullness of the Godhead bodily ; that all power belongs to Him in heaven and in earth ; that the Father hath given all things into His hand ; that the Father is in Him, and not knowable or approachable at all under any other view ; that He and the Father are one. To see and feel this, so as to avoid not only the monstrous error of Unitarianism on the one hand, but also the error of Tritheism, the perilous phantasy of three separate Gods, on the other hand ; to have Peter's faith, so as to be able to say boldly, Thou art the Son of the Living God ; and to look toward the Divine accordingly, in all worship (even in the use of the Lord's prayer itself, with its address to the Father), as being for us wholly and only in the glorified, actual Human Christ, and not as an object of thought outside of Him or beyond Him : this, and nothing short of this, is the sense of the first and great commandment here, on which

is made to hinge the universal power of the Gospel for the accomplishment of its last and highest ends.

Secondly; the truth, seen and from the heart acknowledged, that obeying the commandments of the Lord, thus raised within the soul to the proper throne of His glory in the way of believing worship (by "ceasing to do evil and learning to do well"), is the one only mode by which men may so approach the Lord as to come into real conjunction with Him and thus have part in His everlasting righteousness and salvation. So much is at once signified, in fact, where the Decalogue, in the Old Testament, is called *The Testimony*; with the direction, "Thou shalt put into the ark the testimony which I shall give thee" (Ex. xxv. 16); whereby this then itself also became "the ark of the covenant," just because the Law of the Lord which was in it, is in truth that which binds God to men, the medium of all life-communication, or real coming together, between Him and His people. This, and nothing other than this, is the second commandment in the kingdom of Christ, like unto the first and flowing forth from it, as the necessary completion of that great word: "Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and He will dwell with them, and they shall be His people, and God Himself shall be with them, and be their God" (Rev. xxi. 3).

The "obedience of faith," what is it else than the conjunction of these two fundamentals of all religion brought together in an inward and not merely outward way? Faith, the living apprehension and acknowledgment of God; obedience, the drawing nigh of the soul to God by submission to His revealed will or word, recognized as the power of a living and life-giving reality proceeding directly from God.

So in the Old Testament: "Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter: Fear God, and keep His commandments; for this is"—not just the whole *duty*, as the English text supplies the word, nor yet the whole happiness or wisdom or glory, as might be also said, but—"the WHOLE of man," his only true being, that which alone makes him to *be* man (and not beast) in the true and proper sense of the term (Eccles. xii. 13).

And what is it now but this old commandment, in force from the beginning (1 John ii. 7, 8), which comes before us in clarified form—"because the darkness is past, and the true light now shineth"—in the "Testimony of Jesus Christ," as we have here had it under consideration? "I am the light of the world; he that followeth Me, shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life" (John viii. 12). That is at once faith and obedience, and thus living participation in the life of the Lord. "To whom shall we go? Thou hast words of eternal life"—words, which have in them "spirit and life" from Thyself, and are thus the effectual medium of conjunction with Thee, the fountain of all life (John vi. 68). What is thus said of Christ's *words* is necessarily true of the Holy Scriptures throughout, if they are indeed the Word of God with any real distinction from the "word of man" (1 Thess. ii. 13); and thus it is, that the Lord rides forth gloriously, we may say, on this Word, "conquering and to conquer," in the exercise of His Divine sovereignty as the King of Truth, as we have it symbolized plainly in the vision of the white horse and his rider (Rev. xix. 11-16). That, in brief, is what we are to understand by the second clause of the angel's declaration, The testimony of Jesus is THE SPIRIT OF PROPHECY.

J. WILLIAMSON NEVIN.

ART. II.—MODERN REVIVALS.

BY THE REV. E. V. GERHART, D. D.

WE are neither hostile nor indifferent to the measures pursued by the greater part of American Christians for the purpose of bringing men into the communion of the Church. Nor do we deny that a revival of religion, to adopt a common phraseology, may be necessary, and also beneficial in its results. That we presume to review the revivalism of our day and subject its characteristic features to some critical inquiry, does not mean that we discern no elements of excellence in its methods and no genuine spiritual fruit produced by its labors. Whilst we cannot with good conscience join in promoting modern revivals nor defend the methods generally adopted, we are not among those who denounce the revivals of our time as nothing more than a sham or a delusion.

In reviewing the prevailing revivalism, we only proceed on the general assumption that there is a safer and better way, a way more scriptural and more effectual for subduing men of the world to the obedience of the gospel and for perfecting the faith and holiness of professed followers of Christ.

There are some characteristics of the spirit of our religious revivals that are certainly truly Christian, and cannot but command the pious regard of those whose convictions of duty constrain them to stand aloof.

Much stress is laid on the necessity of appropriating Christ and His benefits by a living personal faith, and of attaining the spiritual consciousness of forgiveness of sins. The life of a true Christian, it is properly maintained, does not consist in a routine of ritual observances, not merely in saying prayers and

keeping the Church fasts, nor in a decent outward behaviour ; nor does the salvation of a sinner proceed from mere submission to holy baptism and the formal celebration of the Lord's Supper. It cannot be denied, moreover, that the members of every branch of the Church, Protestant as well as Greek and Roman, are ever exposed to the danger of reposing in outward observances, whilst they overlook the necessity of a personal experience of the power and grace of the gospel. There is in consequence, without a doubt, a demand for that kind of preaching which will satisfy the emotional no less than the moral nature, and lead men to feel right as well as to think and act right. In as far as modern revivalism serves to bring this aspect of Christian truth distinctly to view and inflame the zeal of believers for Christ and His kingdom, it certainly accomplishes a good work.

Modern revivals insist on the duty of prayer and praise, and enforce this duty upon the heart and conscience. They seek also to promote the practice and cultivate the habit of devotion in every class of Christians. The religion of Christ is a life of spiritual and perpetual communion with Him, and in Him of communion with God through the Holy Ghost : a communion which includes necessarily the lively personal activity of the believer himself. Such communion conditions the vigor and growth of his faith. Prayer being the medium through which the richest divine blessings are obtained for ourselves and for others, we cannot but commend, however exceptional the manner of praying may sometimes be, the earnestness and confidence with which the privilege of direct personal approach to God is set forth and enforced.

Another truly evangelical characteristic is the common practice of intercessory prayer. All ranks and classes of the unconverted, without regard to religious belief or moral character, are made the subjects of intercession before God. Not by persuasive eloquence, not by appeals to the motive of fear or hope, much less by any degree or kind of external power or compul-

sion, can impenitent men be constrained to give up the service of the world and follow Christ, but only by the quickening grace of His Word and Spirit. That believing prayer is a spiritual agency whereby, in connection with the faithful proclamation of the gospel, wicked men are turned from the service of Satan to the service of Christ, is a truth distinctly and repeatedly taught in Holy Scripture. And that there is much occasion for emphasizing and enforcing the duty of intercessory prayer, all who are acquainted with the present state of the Church must readily admit. Among some there is either a secret unbelief or an enervating doubt respecting the efficacy of such prayer; among others, whose faith may not be weakened by doubt, a worldly-minded spirit causes habitual indifference and negligence. Whilst we do not imply that the Church, in the regular use of the ordinary means of grace, fails to observe this duty and impress it upon all her members, yet we accord to modern revivalism the merit of giving prominence to the Christian duty of intercession and of promoting more general confidence in its efficacy.

With intercessory prayer is connected the active co-operation of laymen with the ministry in bringing the outside, neglected classes of society into the congregation of Christians. Whether the blame of neglect is justly due the large majority of evangelical ministers, or, to what extent, we do not now presume to determine; but the fact stares us in the face that but a small proportion of the mass of society is effectually reached by the ordinary agencies of the Church. A great deal is indeed done by pious men and women in carrying the blessings of the gospel into the lanes and alleys of our cities, and into the hovels of the degraded and poor; and in some places hundreds and even thousands are gathered into the Sunday-school. Nevertheless, the irreligion and spiritual destitution, especially in our larger towns and cities, is immense. Ministers cannot by themselves remedy the evil; and there are not many lay-members of the Church, especially not many men,

who recognize the obligation of devoting a part of their time to the spiritual needs of our non-church-going population. Modern revivals are an effort to meet this want. And in some measure the want is met. It is met by calling in the aid, awakening the zeal, and stimulating the missionary activity of the lay membership. In this respect, the aim of revivalism is good, and the means are legitimate. The unordained layman as well as the ordained minister has a work to do in converting the world to Christ. We do not mean that the resources of the Church, when she confines herself to the ordinary means of edification and observes only the regular methods of practical activity, are not adequate to every state and condition of society, provided the fidelity and the zeal of the Church be commensurate with her obligation to Christ and the wants of the world; but we wish to do justice to modern revivalism by acknowledging that so far forth its animating spirit is scriptural. We may even admit more. The warmth with which revivalists have insisted on the co-operation of laymen, and the effects produced by such missionary activity, has in many cases reacted favorably on churches and ministers who cannot approve the religious revivals of our time. Such churches are more active and more successful in winning homeless wanderers into the fold of Christ, as an indirect consequence of the preaching and the labors of the revival system.

There are some other excellencies which an unprejudiced observer will not refuse to accord to modern revivalism. But the concessions which we have made, and we have made them with a sense of gratitude to God, are sufficient to do justice to the system considered under its better aspects. Did the system not present another side of a very different character, we could join with its most ardent friends in advocating and promoting it. It is evident to us, however, that modern revivalism involves serious defects, defects both of a theological and practical character. Indeed, we think there is an element of error in the fundamental conception pervading the entire system; an

error which in its operation in process of time neutralizes the good, and serves even to frustrate the noble purpose which the system seeks to accomplish.

To begin with the idea of *revival* itself. To revive the religious life of men presupposes a state of slumber or repose, a state of quiet indifference or lethargy. From this state of slumber they are to be aroused. Repose must give way to action; indifference to wakeful interest; lethargy to animation, energy, zeal and labor. A revival of religion implies, not that men are lifeless, but just the contrary. It implies that men are spiritually alive. Their life is in a state of decadence. They are comparatively inactive in the service of Christ and in the work of the Church.

In as far as a Christian may with propriety speak of a revival of religion the term is applicable, not to the world, but to the Church; not to unbelieving and unconverted men, regardless of all their obligations to Christ, but to the members of the Christian community. Men of the world, imbued with its spirit and pursuing its aims, possess no *Christian* life. And where there is no Christian life, there can be no Christian revival. An unbelieving world is utterly wanting in that kind of life which can be called Christian. What men of the world need is not a revival of their religious life, but to be begotten from above by the Spirit, whereby they become partakers of a *new* life, a life which none possess but the members of Christ.

There is, indeed, a natural religious life outside of the Church and independent of Christianity. It is co-extensive with the nations and races of the human family. The life of man universally, fallen, depraved and guilty though he be, is as truly religious as it is intellectual or physical. Hence, there may be a revival of religion in the world as there may be a revival of Christianity in the Church. Individuals and communities may be revived religiously by means of appliances truly moral and religious, and yet the revival possess no Christian element. Men may become intensely religious, and yet not possess a

spark of true faith in Christ. To such a reaction in the sphere of man's natural life, to such a transition from comparative indifference to positive interest in divine things and spiritual truths, the expression, *revival of religion*, is properly applicable. Religious revivals, strictly speaking, are these undulatory movements upon the ocean of natural human life; and have no necessary connection with the gospel. And were we disposed to press the logical force of the phraseology, we might deny that any revival of religion can issue in the conversion of men to Christ or in the true prosperity of the Church. But as the inconsistency is commonly accepted, and in the ordinary parlance of the pulpit and the press a religious revival means the revival of Christian life and the conversion of many to the obedience of the gospel, we shall in this connection make no account of what we regard as a misnomer. Yet the misnomer involves a confusion of thought which is prejudicial to correct views of Christianity.

That there may be a relative decadence, followed by a revival of Christian life within the domain of the Christian Church, must be conceded. The causes are very numerous and various; but it does not comport with our design to consider them. Whatever the causes may be, or whether in every case we can assign the true cause or not, the fact is ostensible that in the history of the Church as a whole, as also in the history of a particular congregation and in that of the individual Christian, there have been periods of declension. The tide of life, as it were, recedes from its elevated plane and lies quiescent at its lowest ebb; when in process of time a reaction ensues, and the tide of life rises and flows in mighty waves of overwhelming power.

In this low state of moral and spiritual indifference, when errors and corruptions, when worldliness and even vice may be in the ascendant, the Christian life is not necessarily extinct. It recedes, and for the time being succumbs to the power of our fallen nature, like our natural life when the virus of disease

has prostrated the entire man. Sooner or later the reaction must come; either a reaction or death. There is a limit beyond which the depression of the bodily system cannot go. Then, if the remaining vitality be stronger than the virus of disease, the principle of life will reassert itself, and the man may be restored to the vigor of health. So does the slumbering vitality of the Christian Church revive when depressed and overborne by moral and spiritual disease; for, unlike the natural organization of man, the Church of Christ possesses a life which, though it may be enfeebled or perverted by the flesh and the world, yet cannot be totally destroyed. Her vitality, perpetually nourished by the mysterious communion of Christ with His people, is ever stronger than the combined force of the flesh, the world and the devil. The awakening and reanimating of her life-powers comes from within, and operates according to the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus.

The revival of faith and devotion, of zeal and good works, if genuine, is certainly something good. It is a rich blessing which calls for profound gratitude to Almighty God. But a revival is a spiritual good only in a relative sense. It is like the convalescence of a man who has been prostrated by sickness. Convalescence is not the normal condition of a man's life; but only the indispensable process by which he surmounts the effects of disease and passes into the normal state. So is the revival of Christian life not the normal condition of the Church. Considered in the light of the New Testament, it must be regarded merely as the transition from spiritual slumber to spiritual wakefulness, or from a deathlike torpor towards a condition in which the Christian life may live and grow normally. A revival is therefore something good or something evil, according to the relation in which we contemplate it. It is something good and necessary as compared with the spiritual declension and spiritual slumber into which the Church may have sunk. But it is an evil as compared with the steady growth and continual progress of the Church which Holy Scripture teaches

and enjoins. A revival may be an unavoidable necessity; and when the necessity is upon the Church and a healthy reaction is in progress, it becomes every Christian, whether minister or layman, to sustain and promote it. But support, in order to be Scriptural, must be given a revival as being merely a transient necessity, and with the object in view of producing a state of things wherein this necessity will be superceded.

The system of modern revivals, as it appears to us, proceeds on the opposite assumption. The system assumes that a revival of religion is something good, and only good. A time of deep and general religious excitement is regarded as the best and most fruitful condition of the Church. Overlooking the principle that a religious revival, if genuine and scriptural, must by the very law of life be preceded by spiritual declension and moral weakness, by spiritual sleep and indifference to divine things, and ignoring the fact that the warmth, not to say fever heat, of religious feeling which a revival excites, must be followed by a corresponding degree of inaction and coldness, the system, mistaking the abnormal for the normal status of Christian life, and investing the transient and exceptional with the character of the permanent and regular, aims at *producing* a revival by means of special appliances, and at promoting a succession of revivals from time to time, always assuming arbitrarily that as a matter of course the indispensable conditions of a genuine revival are present.

Of this modern system of revivalism we may judge critically by its actual effects upon the condition of the Church and in the light of Holy Scripture. If either test be applied, the system, even as practiced under its better forms, will fail to sustain itself as the best and most effectual. And we venture this assertion, without denying or forgetting that it embraces some evangelical excellencies, and that many persons are thereby brought into the fold of Christ. Waiving the direct argument from Scripture, we shall confine ourselves to a brief consideration of the actual effects of the revival system, as these appear

in the character of Christianity in our own time and in our own country.

One effect of modern revivalism is an extraordinary degree of insensibility to the claims of Christ and His Spirit, which follows by way of reaction from an extraordinary degree of religious excitement. We do not forget that spiritual insensibility is frequently due to the operation of other causes: such as habits of vice, prevailing political corruption, excessive worldliness or the persistent refusal to yield to the demands of the gospel. Whilst these causes are continually debasing the religious mind, they and others of the same class are not the only causes. A cause, perhaps no less potent, is religious intoxication. The spiritual stimulants administered by the revival system and greedily drank in by the popular mind, beget an unnatural pitch of exhilaration, and sometimes even of rapture not unlike that temporary nervous and muscular excitement caused by stimulating drinks. The character of the reaction is analogous. That morbid state of the body which must come in the morning, when the first effects of the excessive indulgence of the past night has subsided, that indescribable state when a man feels dissatisfied with himself and with everything else, is a fit illustration of that painful spiritual relaxation and spiritual callousness which succeeds a period of unusual religious exhilaration. Experience and observation teach what an unnatural insusceptibility to spiritual things possesses some individuals and the religious mind of a community which is suffering the reaction from extraordinary religious stimulus. Many individuals whose religious emotions have thus been kindled into an unnatural glow, relapse into a peculiar kind of indifference and even aversion, from which, if rescued at all, they are delivered only with the utmost difficulty. A community which for a series of years has been subjected to revivals, has been aptly compared to a burnt district. The wild fire of fanaticism warps and hardens the religious life; and the unnatural insensibility may descend from one generation to an-

other. Only by patient, judicious and long-continued culture can the soil be restored to a condition of ordinary fertility. The history of different denominations in our country furnishes many illustrations of the correctness of this statement.

Another effect of modern revivalism is the one-sided subjective character which the Christian life and the reigning public sentiment assume. In producing a revival, the chief aim is to rouse and stimulate the religious nature. Towards the accomplishment of this end is directed the preaching of the Word, the principal design being not to expound Scripture, not to inculcate sound doctrine, but so to expound it and so to inculcate Christian doctrine that religious feeling may be stirred, and stirred to its profoundest depths. Christ and His work of redemption may indeed be proclaimed; but the proclamation aims not so much at drawing the minds of men away from themselves to Christ and fixing on Him, the complete Saviour, the eye of undoubted faith, as to turn their minds in upon themselves and awaken in them a peculiar kind of thought and feeling respecting themselves in their relation as sinners to Christ. Prayer and praise are directed to the same end. The majority of prayers offered in the congregation do not promote self-forgetfulness as in the presence of God, but serve rather to stimulate self-reflection and self-consciousness. Hymns recite the emotional experience of the believer and the awakened sinner, rather than rise into the adoration and praise of Father, Son and Holy Ghost. The whole machinery does not lift up Christ so as to draw all men away from self to Him, but so lifts Him up as thereby to move men to contemplate their own sinfulness and awaken such a frame of penitential feeling as, it is thought, may be requisite to experience the salvation of Christ.

The error does certainly not consist in this, that sinners are awakened and the lively attention of men is directed to things pertaining to the salvation of the soul. Repentance includes sincere godly sorrow for sin, and true faith embraces the emotional as well as the moral life. An awakened sinner will feel

as well as see his sinfulness, and the living Christian has peace and joy in the Holy Ghost as well as faith and knowledge. The Christian life necessarily includes the subjective element no less than the objective. There is a personal experience of the grace of Christ no less than a perception of His Person and work and a sure confidence in the fullness of His life and salvation. But the subjective is secondary, not primary. It is always subordinate to the objective. Emotion is tributary to will and intelligence; personal experience to scriptural faith in Christ; and the interests of man to the glory of God. The substance of the Christian religion is Christ Himself. He is the beginning, the middle and the end of the Christian life. The chief necessity of the Christian life is, not to believe that we are saved, but to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ as the only Mediator between God and the sinner; not to have the consciousness of obedience, but really to obey the commandments of Christ, regardless of consequences; not to experience a peculiar frame of feeling as the evidence of forgiveness, but to confide, with unwavering confidence, in Christ as the only Redeemer and the actual Saviour from sin; not to enjoy religion and cultivate a lively concern for our everlasting happiness, but to consecrate all the powers of body, soul and spirit to the service of Christ.

Here are two classes of truths. They are closely connected and we may add, correlated. The Gospel includes both; neither one may be omitted or ignored. But it makes all the difference in the world whether the subjective use or the objective reality is held to be primary and controlling; whether religious experience is subordinated to the mysteries of the Christian faith, or these mysteries are valued chiefly as motives to piety and means of personal salvation. In the one case, the objects of faith and devotion are the chief good and properly the end of our concern and activity; in the other, the chief interest is the salvation of the soul and the enjoyment of religion, whilst the objects of faith are not precious in and of them-

selves, but because they confer upon us great spiritual blessings.

This one-sided subjective tendency promoted by the revivalism of our time partakes largely of an *emotional* character. The point to which all means and measures, all preaching, praying, singing, and no less also the celebration of the Lord's Supper look, is to awaken an interest in religion or to excite religious emotions. The people must be brought to *feel* the claims of God; to *feel* the misery and guilt of sin; to *feel* the all-sufficiency and the preciousness of the Saviour; to *feel* the danger of delaying repentance; to *feel* the peace and joy of conversion. The law and doctrine, knowledge and obedience, are tributary to feeling. Those doctrines are most important the presentation of which serves best to excite religious feeling. Prominent revivalists do indeed inculcate the obligation of Christian virtue; but obedience to the commandments of God rises or sinks in point of excellence in the degree that obedience glows with religious emotion. The relation of religious feeling to obedience is inverted. The faithful observance of God's commands and the performance of religious duties is not the criterion of true penitence and true peace; but the experience of religion imparts value to Christian obedience. The account which a man can give of his peculiar state of feeling and frame of mind, has more weight in the scale of judgment respecting his Christian character, than his knowledge of divine things and his outward Christian conduct.

So deep and extensive has been the influence of our reigning emotionalism that it rules the popular religious language, and even to a great extent the language of the pulpit. A genuine work of God is not the perpetuity of the Christian faith, the defence of sound doctrine, not the maintenance of the divinely-established order of the Church, not the regular ministration and use of the means of grace, but a high tide of religious enthusiasm. Practical religion does not consist in *doing* every duty in every relation according to the will of Christ, but in

praying and singing and in cultivating certain approved mental exercises. A feeble, sickly and sentimental piety thus comes to take the place of a sound, healthy and consistent Christian life. The importance of sound doctrine, the dignity and spiritual value of the Holy Sacraments, the necessity of good works and the worth of Church order recede from view; whilst new measures, human inventions and the experiences of the heart rise into prominence and command the confidence of the popular mind.

As an immediate consequence following from the predominance of the emotional element, the doctrinal and educational are reduced and undervalued. Not only are the Scriptures and the Catechism subordinated to personal enjoyment in religion, but the significance of scriptural and doctrinal knowledge is underrated. The knowledge of God in Christ is not appreciated on its own account. It is not held to be itself an essential constituent of true Christian life and Christian experience. The Scriptures are studied historically and intellectually, or emotionally; that is, the facts which they record and the truths which they teach are matters for the intellect, with which it is highly important that every Christian be acquainted, or they are used as powerful means of exciting the fears and hopes of men and of moving them to work out their personal salvation; but Christian knowledge is not cultivated as being itself an essential constituent of a true Christian. Growth in knowledge, it is held, is of little or no account, unless there be a change in religious feeling; but a change of feeling of the approved kind renders a man a Christian, even though he has but little or no correct knowledge of the gospel. If his enjoyment of religion continues to be lively, his case is hopeful, although he is not making corresponding progress in knowledge. The enthusiasm of religious emotion is so essential, that without it knowledge, however correct, and obedience, however consistent, possess no significance. Knowledge is admitted to be preliminary to conversion; it is also a great help to the progress in piety of a

converted man ; but the knowledge of Christ is not, like the change in feeling, a part of conversion. Knowledge goes before conversion and must follow after it ; but knowledge is not an element in the radical change itself.

So, in like manner, does the predominance of the emotional element involve a violation of Christian obedience. Christian virtue is indeed highly commended ; the moral code of the Bible is exalted and extolled ; but a consistent observance of the commands of Christ is not, in the same sense as inward experiences, an indispensable element in the life of a Christian. That a man is free from the vices of the day ; that he is thoroughly honest in all his dealings ; that he believes in Christ and endeavors as far as possible to observe the Ten Commandments ; that he has been baptized according to the command of Christ ; that he worships God regularly in the sanctuary, and reads the Scripture, and supports the Church, and is kind to the poor, and seeks to order all his actions conscientiously, agreeably to the will of Christ ; all this is well enough. Such a moral life is at least not prejudicial, as some concede, to personal religious experience ; though others maintain that there is more hope of the conversion of the wicked. But the emotional system holds that the life of a man thus well-ordered according to the Word of God, does not render him a Christian, unless he has experienced an approved change in his feelings. A want or deficiency in his conviction of sin, or in his sense of peace and joy, involves his case in doubt, his outward conduct in harmony with the word of Christ to the contrary notwithstanding. But if his inward experiences are right, if his conviction of the evil of sin is distressing and a sense of peace with God fills his heart, then he is a converted man, though his past life up to that point has been wicked and there can be as yet no evidence of a real change in his moral character. The mere resolution or purpose to renounce the world and live for Christ, is all the case requires. Thus the emotional is unduly emphasized, whilst the moral is pressed into the rear. The moral is

indeed associated with the emotional, and immoral conduct is held to be incompatible with genuine Christian experience; yet the moral element in our reigning revival system is, to say the least, not a co-ordinate factor in conversion and in Christian experience.

The system even discriminates against some of the commands of Christ, and does so with great emphasis. The command to be baptized is just as explicit as the command to believe. The obligations of baptism and of faith are connected in the Apostolic commission. In this commission, as recorded by St. Matthew, the duty of believing is only implied but not expressed, but the necessity of being baptized into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is explicitly enjoined. As given by St. Mark, the commission enjoins both faith and baptism. Yet, notwithstanding this explicit injunction of our Lord, the revival system, as is well known, lays stress on the one and ignores the other. Indeed, so much stress is put on emotional experience, and compliance with this command of Christ is so entirely divorced from conversion and Christian character, that baptism comes to be regarded as only an appendage to the Christian life, if not an encumbrance.

Emphasizing our emotional nature in undue measure, and discriminating against intelligence and will in the sense we have endeavored to represent, the religious life and the religious character of the Church, to the extent that this life and character is formed through the influence of the revival system, is radically defective. The demands of our intellectual and moral nature are not met. Among approved Christians there is much ignorance of Scripture truth and Church doctrine. Piety lacks moral strength and consistency, and the line of demarkation between the morality of the world and the morality of the Church is narrow and faint.

This ethical deficiency may be seen particularly in the manner of conducting divine worship and the sensational style of preaching the gospel. Proper reverence for God and sacred

things is wanting. Ministers offer prayer in the language of every-day social intercourse between man and man, and in a tone of familiar address as if they were managing a business transaction. The outward deportment corresponds to the irreverence expressed in words and in the voice. Ministers offer prayer standing in almost every imaginable position. They will recline or lounge upon the desk, or if on a platform, they may lean carelessly on a tilting chair and sway to and fro as they pray. Or a minister may throw his body into any other indolent and irreverent attitude which the impulse of the moment may prompt. Indeed, the false freedom of the emotional principle will endure scarcely any restraint. In many cases the acknowledged proprieties of public worship are all ruled out.

These habits of irreverence pass from minister to people. The sentiment becomes general that the posture of the body has no connection with worship. Indeed, there is an evident effort to break through the solemnity and reverence becoming the house of God and reduce public worship to an affair of business, in which ministers and people may say just what they please and demean themselves just as they list. If feeling can be stirred and the emotions enlivened, it matters but little what novelties of speech and irregularities of conduct are introduced. It is even thought that such novelties and irregularities are more favorable to excitement than the solemnity and reverence befitting divine worship. The end justifies the means.

As the irreverence prevalent in religious revivals evinces the moral deficiencies of the revival system, so, in turn, does this irreverence work demoralization in the religious life of the community. Profanation is not confined to words. It embraces manners as well. As men may profane God by taking His name in vain in words, so may they as really profane God by unbecoming behaviour in worship. In social life, the silent demeanor of one man towards another, may be as insulting as an offence committed by means of language. The same principle holds in our relation to God.

To ignore the Majesty of the Divine Presence in preaching, or to ignore the ineffable sanctity of God in the language and voice of prayer, is as really profane as to ignore the Majesty and sanctity of God in the words of ordinary speech. Reverence is a primary and essential element in the Christian life and in Christian worship. Wherever this principle is wanting, or in whatever measure it is violated and becomes inoperative, we observe not only a defect, but a radical defect, in Christian piety and Christian character. Irreverence is impiety. And just in the degree in which irreverence prevails in the pulpit or in the congregation, in the prayers and manners of the minister or in the prayers and manners of laymen, are things sacred and divine brought down to the level of things profane and human.

That the restraints of profound reverence for God and for holy things are intentionally set aside by a very large proportion of revivalists; that liberties of various kinds for sensational effect are taken in assemblies for prayer and praise, liberties allowable only in meetings held for the transaction of worldly business; and that as a natural consequence in some religious communities and in some portions of the Church, reverence for God in preaching has been supplanted by a business air becoming a merchant, and reverence in worship by a familiarity becoming the social circle; that the spirit of irreverence does thus commonly assert itself in the revivals of our day, is a fact which no candid observer of the methods and tendencies of modern revivalism can refuse to admit. Not a few see and acknowledge the evil, and endeavor to correct it. These honorable exceptions among revivalists, however, are a recognition of the prevailing tendency.

Opposite causes may produce similar results. The wrong done to the intellectual and moral by the revival system in Protestantism, resembles the wrong done to the intellectual and moral by Romanism. The Romanist relies unduly on external works; the emotionalist on his internal states of feeling. In

both there is a lack of that kind and degree of moral strength which is the necessary element and outgrowth of a healthy Christian life. Of course, we do not mean that all who support the reigning revival system, or all who become subjects of its converting power, are wanting in knowledge and moral consistency. There are counteracting forces which operate in numerous instances. Many converts have enjoyed the advantage of a careful Christian education in the family, and in the Sunday-school, or it may be in the catechetical class. Such persons are no proper illustration of the influence of the revival system. We must look at that large class of persons who have not enjoyed the advantage of Christian education. Among them the one-sided character of the emotional tendency becomes apparent. An examination of the religious history of the great mass of people who have been converted by the revival system, would fully sustain the assertion. But we have no space to enter into details. We merely remind the reader of the millions of converts whose devotion to Christ, according to the evidence furnished by published statistics, is like the growth of the seed sown on stony ground.

So long as there is no decided and general reaction in favor of the educational system, as established and practised in the sixteenth century by the Protestant Church, the intellectual and moral deficiencies of the revival system will not diminish, but increase. Such has been its past history. Fifty years ago, the proportion of revival converts who returned to the world was much less than now. Then converts were drawn from the established historical Churches in which the educational system was predominant, from the Presbyterian and Congregational, from the Reformed and Lutheran Churches. Children and youth were then carefully taught the Catechism, and held under the discipline of obedience to the family and Church. Now, however, the system of catechetical instruction has, in Presbyterian and Congregational communities, gone into universal disuse; in the Methodist Church and cognate denominations,

the educational system has never been in vogue. Hence, as a legitimate effect of the revival system, which has to so great an extent supplanted the educational, the material for revivals is now of a different sort. It lacks the training and discipline of a former period, and the number of converts who become strong and exemplary followers of Christ is smaller proportionably than it was then. This disproportion will, in the nature of the case, continue to prevail until the radical defects of the revival system are acknowledged and remedied.

These effects, not to speak of others, are not incidental to modern revivals, but are referable to the system itself. They may prevail in less degree at one time or in one community than in another; but the tendency is ever in the same direction in proportion to the extent that the spirit of the system is allowed to have controlling force. Contemplating, without prejudice, the undue stress laid upon religious emotion, the violence done to the doctrinal and ethical elements of the Christian life, and the consequent lack of depth, strength and stability of evangelical character, we think it undeniable that our modern revivalism, judged thus by the fruit which it bears, cannot justify itself as being the best method of converting the world to Christ and maintaining the truth of Christianity against the assaults of ignorance and unbelief.

ART. III.—THE PERICOPES, OR SELECTIONS OF GOSPELS
AND EPISTLES FOR THE CHURCH YEAR.

BY E. E. HIGBEE.

No. 7.

THE Gospel for the third Sunday before Advent is found in St. Matt. xxiv. 15–28. Here as seen from the immediate context, the coming of the Son of man is in some way connected with the overthrow of the temple at Jerusalem, and with what is called, the consummation of the age, (*συντελεία τοῦ αἰῶνος*). The chapter from which the selection is taken begins thus: “And Jesus went out, and departed from the temple; and his disciples came to him for to shew him the buildings of the temple. And Jesus said unto them, See ye not all these things? Verily I say unto you, There shall not be left here one stone upon another that shall not be thrown down. And as he sat upon the mount of Olives, the disciples came unto him privately, saying, Tell us, when shall these things be; and what shall be the sign of thy coming and of the end of the world?” The subsequent discourse contains the answer to these questions; and as the disciples had joined together the overthrow of the temple, and His coming, and the end of the world, so does Christ, showing us that, in His spiritual vision, they are in some way most closely connected. It must not be supposed, however, that the answer of the Saviour is confined to the standpoint of the disciples. They, notwithstanding their susceptibilities of faith, are looking at temporal realities merely, and signs belonging to the order of life in which they move. Jesus has before His eyes the whole spiritual realm, the heavenly realities after which the earthly are patterned; and hence Jerusalem to Him is something more than a mere earth-built city in limitations of

space and time, and its overthrow something more than a mere transient fact of history. His whole discourse, with its peculiar warnings and exhortations, therefore, sweeps far beyond the horizon of those who questioned Him, revealing spiritual realities of universal significance when properly apprehended and applied.

It seems plain to us that the connection here between the overthrow of the temple, and the Saviour's coming, and the end of the world, is not one of time. An exegesis purely literal may find itself compelled to take this view, as we find in the case of Olshausen, who says, "We do not hesitate to adopt the simple interpretation—and the only one consistent with the text—that Jesus did intend to represent His coming as contemporaneous with the destruction of Jerusalem, and the overthrow of the Jewish polity." Now an interpretation of this kind, of course, necessitates some defence in view of the seeming deception involved. The defence is this: "It is an essential ingredient in the doctrine of the Advent of Christ that it should be considered every moment *possible*, and that believers should deem it *probable*. A referring of it to an indefinite distance would have robbed it of its ethical significance." Other kindred exegetical shifts are also resorted to for upholding the literal sense of the text, but in our judgment equally unsatisfactory.

May it not be possible that Jerusalem and the temple, as viewed by the Lord, are something vastly more than mere earthly realities under time and space limitations? No one, it seems to us, can well maintain, for example, that the declaration of Christ, "destroy this temple, (as ye are doing—present imperative), and in three days I will raise it up," means, or intends to mean that the resurrection of Christ will occur three days after the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem. If in this case, as correcting the misapprehension of the Jews, St. John understands that the destruction of the temple, as in the mind of Christ, has reference to a mystery quite beyond the

literal sense, why may we not have here also a kindred mystery, reaching quite beyond the letter, and demanding, therefore, quite a different exegesis from that referred to?

Again,—it is no more satisfactory to regard the connection under consideration, such as that one event is used as a sign-picture of the other, thus bringing them together in way of comparison in the imagination. All signal judgments, it is true, suggest a final judgment, irrespective of time however. Indeed the whole order of the world's history may justly be viewed as involving a sifting presence of the Lord. But does Christ intend only to tell the disciples that they must regard the judgment and overthrow of Jerusalem as admonishing them of a final judgment, and as one great step toward such consummation? All this is involved literally in the discourse, and in the historical event itself; but what we ask is, is there not some great spiritual reality and mystery in the whole representation, which only finds form of utterance for itself under such external character? If such should be the case, the whole exegesis of the discourse will be changed. The warnings will no longer simply refer to a temporal fact of history about to occur, and to merely physical activity in reference thereto, but will reach far beyond this into the inner depths of the spirit, and reveal mysteries far beyond mere carnal apprehension.

For example, (to illustrate our meaning), all recognize that a temporal deliverance from Pharaoh and Ægypt was involved in the passage of the Red Sea, and that temporal deliverances were manifest in the smitten rock, in the manna, and in the brazen serpent, and so on even to the crossing of Jordan under Joshua and the possession of the Land of Promise. Now are these historical facts as such the essential object and scope of the narrative, as a part of the divine revelation, or as coming from the sphere of the divine? The response in this case, it seems to us, must be immediate and prompt, that here are mysteries which lie quite beyond the merely outward facts,—mysteries which involve the deliverance of the soul itself and of the

Church, sweeping through trials, and conflicts, and battles, onward to victory and rest,—mysteries which involve indeed the whole atonement wrought out by Christ, who goes before us in battle and victory over hell, death, and the world, to prepare mansions for us in the heavens. Ægypt, Pharaoh, the Red Sea, the wilderness, the smitten rock, the brazen serpent, the battles and cleansing of Canaan, under such view, come to enclose spiritual realities, not mere earthly things to be measured by the senses, or by historical knowledge simply. Under such view the exegesis is wholly changed, as spiritual things, under correlate forms of earthly things, are spiritually discerned. This does not set aside the historical here as embraced in the narrative ; but on the contrary, gives us a sufficient ground for the assumption of such historical realities in the divine revelation.

So, in the case before us, the questions of the disciples lead the Saviour into a response that takes up the facts suggested, and uses them after the same manner as correlates of great spiritual mysteries to be spiritually discerned,—reaching quite beyond temporal events and visible signs, save as these are coverings for a content truly spiritual, which shines through and in the literal and external here, as light shines in and through an illumined cloud.

We acknowledge that such a way of looking at the divine revelation is quite foreign to the modern mind, and likely to meet with almost universal opposition. It once had place, however, with the greatest fathers of the Church, and lends an indescribable charm and freshness to their interpretations of the word of God. It is true, they did not grasp its full significance, or reduce it to any definite, systematic order, but rather groped with the problem without mastering it, and hence gave as results much that is merely fanciful and untenable. Yet it was a true instinct of faith which led them thus to search beneath the letter for the spiritual, and to recognize with joy the great truth, that the Scriptures everywhere testify of Christ. Like

the disciples on the way to Emmaus, they felt themselves challenged to an exegesis which discovers things concerning Jesus in Moses and all the prophets, although, as said, their eyes may have been only slightly opened to find what their spirits longed for. They did not for a moment suppose that only here and there in some sporadic and disconnected way were to be found Messianic prophecies, but the whole structure of the Word was felt to be Messianic throughout, whether they were able in all cases to apprehend it or not.

Assuming then that the historical fact of the destruction of the temple is clearly indicated to the disciples, and that they in some way connect this, as is seen by their questions, with the *parousia* of Christ and the consummation of the age, we may expect that the Saviour will in His discourse unfold the whole subject from His point of view, constituting it a revelation of spiritual mysteries, as pertaining to Himself, and to the Church, and to the individual who is a temple for the indwelling of God.

Jerusalem was the centre of the whole representative worship of the Old Testament. The temple, with all its furniture and service externalized in way of outward copy and correspondence, the vision of the tabernacle seen by Moses in the mount. Hence the heavenly as the dwelling-place of the saints is called the new Jerusalem and city of our God. This involves at once the further truth, (as powerfully illustrated in the Epistle to the Hebrews), that as thus representing the heavenly, the temple must represent Christ, the very substance of the heavenly, and form of its manifestation among men. Hence Christ said to those who were profaning and destroying it in its true element of holiness, "destroy this temple, and I will raise it up in three days," speaking of the temple of His body. Again, as the Church is the body of Christ, Jerusalem is continually used as representing the Church—"but Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all." St. Hilary gives beautiful expression to this truth, when he declares, in reference to Jerusalem, "*Cum præsertim in præformationem Ecclesiæ, id*

est, corporis Christi, quæ magni regis est civitas, *esset constituta*." Again, also, in a very significant sense, every believer is a temple of God in like manner, a habitation of the Lord. "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God." "If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy." (1 Cor. iii. 11-17). "Know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost." (1 Cor. vi. 10).

Now as regards Christ, it is quite evident that the destruction of the temple, to wit, His crucifixion and death, opens the way immediately for His *parousiá*, or coming in new form and power. "I will not leave you comfortless, I will come to you. Yet a little while, and the world seeth me no more : but ye see me : because I live ye shall live also." "Destroy this temple, and I will raise it up in three days." The crucifixion followed by the resurrection, the passing away of the old form of visibility in the image of the earthy to the new form of spiritual body, the image of the heavenly, constitutes a kind of preformative law in the operations of divine grace, and a complete fulfillment of the prophets and the writings of Moses. In the individual Christian also, the crucifixion of the old man is met by the presence and power of a new resurgent manhood. In just this light the two are represented in Scripture in relation to our Christian life. So again the new heavens and new earth are in juxtaposition with the passing away of the old ; and still again in relation to the earthy image which we bear in this body of flesh, the same method of presentation occurs. "For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." If we turn to the Old Testament, the same mystery ever confronts us as a vast parable, revealing the same truths. Chaos to kosmos, evening to morning, struggling work days to Sabbath, the dark deluge where the new rises into light and rest from the submergence and ruin of the old, Ægypt and Pharaoh, and the triumphant song of Moses echoing over the waters which overwhelmed the foe, the wilder-

ness and Canaan cleansed by the victorious Joshua, the one following the other like a vast rhythm of sacred history. We hesitate not to say that there is in the light of all this a very profound coterminousness between the overthrow of the temple, and a coming of Christ in new form and power, a *parousiá* joined with the consummation of the age. Why should not this, and infinitely more than this, (for the more we study it, the more does it spread out into an endless vision for the spirit), why, we ask, should not this enter into the narrative of Christ, and constitute a response to the questionings of the disciples, of such character as to give a revelation of truth for all ages?

Jerusalem, as we have said, represents the Church, which is the body of Christ. This is capable, in its form of manifestation, of being perverted, and of dissolving into ruin. Thus it was indeed with the Old Testament Church, in its rejection and crucifixion of Christ. It fell into ruin. The destruction of the city, as an external fact was consequent upon an internal destruction already wrought out long before, and only culminating or consummating itself when the Lord came in the flesh. So all falsification of the truth—all perversion of the good in the Church may be said to be, when reaching its consummation, an abomination of desolation standing in the holy place, demanding the escape of the elect therefrom, and the coming of Christ in new form to meet such crucifixion with a resurrection. Indeed the Apostle Paul proclaims that there must come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed before the day of the coming of our Lord. (2 Thess. ii. 1-17).

While therefore in the response of Christ, the destruction of Jerusalem is literally involved, as a city in space and time, there is underlying it also, in our judgment, the representation of a perversion and falsification of truth,—an abomination of desolation standing in the holy place,—the temple, that is, His body the Church; and hence there are warnings in relation to such a reality, and the comforting assurance that such falling

away, and such dissolution shall be met by the coming of His glory as truly as the destruction of His body on the cross eventuated in the resurrection. It is this relation of evening and morning, deluge and Ararat, bondage in Ægypt and rest in Canaan, crucifixion and resurrection, the suffering thus to enter into glory, of which Moses and all the prophets testify, sweeping over all time, and including here in one spiritual glance of the Lord the final issue of the universe at large,—it is this that characterizes this mysterious response of Christ to His disciples.

Regarding the profanation and overthrow of the temple in Jerusalem, therefore, as involving in the mind of Jesus the falsifying among men of the whole divine worship, the eclipse of faith and love, the immersion of spiritual truth in worldliness and untruth—an abomination of desolation standing in the holy place—it is plain that the warnings in reference thereto will carry with them a more than temporal reference. While in the letter they take up a historical fact, and in such form refer to merely physical activity, as haste in flight from Judea, and from house-top, and from field, they have at the same time to do with the attitude and state of the Church and of the Christian soul in escaping from the thralldom and impending destruction of sin.

This method of revelation characterizes the works of Christ no less than His words. They are indeed fact-parables, in which are inclosed vast mysteries, quite beyond what meets the eye or ear of sense, or of mere worldly intelligence. Who, for example, cannot realize that in the first miracle of making water wine we have an epitome of the whole work of Christ? The mere external fact of water turned into wine, is not a manifesting forth of the glory of the Lord. All this encloses an internal spiritual significance,—an epiphany of grace here far, far beyond a mere wonder-work for carnal eyes or taste. This, we say, seems to be the very law of the divine revelation, not the exception. In the exhortations, “let them which be in

Judea flee into the mountains: let him which is on the house-top not come down to take anything out of his house, neither let him which is in the field return back to take his clothes,"—everything seems plain and direct, indicating that there must be great haste in flight from an impending peril. Is this, however, the essential aim and scope of the revelation here? Is there no content beyond this? Take, for example, the flight from the impending peril of Ægypt on the night of the passing over of the destroying angel. Here minute instructions are given in regard to the paschal lambs, the cooking, and eating, &c.—all of which are generally acknowledged to have a deep spiritual significance, quite beyond the merely external acts required. So also in regard to the impending peril of the deluge in the detailed construction of the Ark, and in the whole narrative, the same is generally acknowledged, although rarely recognized in its profound spiritual significance. The same may be looked for here. We may not be able, it is true, at first to apprehend this spiritual import aright, and yet not profane it by remaining only within the literal or external sense. We may have no power to read so as to understand the profound depths of revelation here. But the acknowledgment that such content is in the word spoken by Christ, and the earnest and reverent search for the life and spirit here, for such is His word,—this, it seems to us, should be the main inner motive of exegesis, which alas, is so much neglected and forgotten in these modern times.

"Then let them which be in Judea flee to the mountains." The 125th Psalm serves as an illustration of the spiritual sense of these words. In the midst of such profanation and falsification of truth, the sure refuge of the soul is in the Lord. "As the mountains are round about Jerusalem, so the Lord is round about His people from henceforth even forever."

"Let him which is on the house-top not come down to take anything out of his house." St. Hilary, with many other most distinguished fathers of the Church, has sought to unfold the

significance of these detailed directions, assured by his faith-instant that something more than mere physical activity must be involved. He begins his exegesis of this verse with the following heading: "*Qui in perfectionis apice, ne rerum terrenarum cupiditate descendat.*" His further remarks are so characteristic of the method of "interpretation to which we have referred, that we shall venture to quote still further. * * *

"*Frequenter admonuimus, proprietates verborum et locorum contuendas, ut momenta præceptorum coelestium consequamur. Tectum est domus fastigium, et habitationis totius celsa perfectio. Domus enim nulla dici poterit vel esse sine tecto. Qui igitur in consummatione domus suæ, id est, in corporis sui perfectione constiterit, regeneratione novus, spiritu celsus, et divini muneris absolutione perfectus, non descendere in humiliora rerum sæcularium cupiditate debet, neque inferioribus corporis illecebris provocatus de tecti sui sublimitate decedere.*" St. Jerome says, "*Judæa, id est, in confessione fidei. Fugiant ad montes, id est, ad doctrinam apostolorum: qui in tecto, id est, in contemplativa vita: non descendat in domum, id est, in activa vita.*"

We might extend these quotations for pages, taking them from the most distinguished teachers of the Church. But it is not necessary. What has been given is enough to show that what we have written in regard to this response of Christ to the questionings of the Apostles, a part of which constitutes the gospel selection under consideration, is not a mere individual fancy or caprice, but in harmony with that method of exegesis employed by the most profound Christian teachers of the early Church.

It has not been our purpose in these articles to attempt any detailed comments upon the pericopes, but rather to indicate their general drift and connection in the progress of the Church Year. Leaving the gospel selection, therefore, without further remark, we shall turn to the Epistle, (1 Thess. iv. 13-18).

Reference is certainly made here to the condition of the

saints who have departed; and the Thessalonian brethren are guarded against all undue and hopeless sorrow in view of their dead, and comforted with the truth that the death and consequent resurrection of Jesus constitute a certain pledge that those who through Jesus are sleeping, (τοὺς κοιμηθέντας διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, *i. e.*, those who through the grace of Jesus are rightly regarded as having fallen asleep, and not as being dead), God will bring with Him, *i. e.*, with Christ.

There can be, therefore, no vision of the advent of Christ which does not include those who have passed from earth into the spiritual world, and are there associated with the Lord. The Thessalonians seem to have been anxious upon this very point, as though the advent of Christ might exclude those dead, as incapable of witnessing it or of participating in it, and embrace only those living as being in such a state of conscious existence as both to witness it and participate in it,—a false conception, no doubt growing out of the common error of supposing that this advent would be in the order of ordinary carnal visibility, from beyond which of course the departed had passed. The Apostle, using the words of the Lord, probably heard by him in the form of special revelation, declares that those of us who are left on the earth shall not participate in the *parousiá* of the Lord before or to the exclusion of those who have departed,—because the Lord Himself, with all the pomp of the heavenly in which He is enthroned, *shall descend*, (come into full spiritual revelation among men, not a descending again to assume flesh or a form of earthy manifestation as before, but as bearing the image of the heavenly), and the dead in Christ shall rise first, and the living be changed and with them be caught up in clouds meeting the Lord. Here at once it is made plain that the manifestation of Christ is such as shall embrace the two worlds, the spiritual beyond the grave, and the life here in the world-order made by change, however, to become participant of the spiritual. They are not to be held apart in reference to the *parousiá* of the Lord, as though those on earth could see it, and

those dead, not, because of closed eyes ; but rather that parousia first reveals its power in the realm of spirits and as following this *then* in the realm of the Church on earth. First it authenticates itself for those in the spirit-realm and then in proper conjunction with this, for the church on earth.

This seems to be the main object in view, and the truth here revealed is very significant, showing the intimate conjunction of our present life and sphere, with the life and sphere into which the departed have entered. This latter is not a mere ghostly and unsubstantial abstraction, but in itself real and substantial. It has not the waking consciousness of our life here, but is asleep in reference to that, the consciousness being withdrawn from the earthy images, and introverted to the spiritual. It sleeps *here*, and awakens *there*, while the danger always is that here while awake only to the earthy, we actually sleep as to the spiritual. Every revelation of Christ necessarily involves both spheres. The angels as we know find a fountain of revelation in the Lord, and on the mount of transfiguration Moses and Elias were witnesses with the Apostles who were changed into the power and capacity of a kindred spiritual vision.

The selections for the third Sunday before Advent, which we have only partially considered, having brought into view the great truth, that there can be no abomination of desolation which is not met by a counterpart revelation of the Lord as a refuge and tower of defence for the imperilled soul and the imperilled church ; and that the departed dead, who through Christ have fallen asleep shall be embraced in the glory of the revelation of the Lord as well as the living,—nay before them, for the movement is from within outward,—the selections for the second Sunday before Advent continue the theme, and have to do we may briefly say, with the character and content of our state as thus confronted with the full revelation of the Lord.

The Gospel selection is found in St. Matt. xxv. 13-46. Here at the very outset the element of judgment, as necessarily connected with the advent of Christ, is clearly emphasized. That

Jesus shall come again *to judge* the quick and dead is an article of our undoubted Christian faith. The judgment here is a necessary consequent upon the revelation of light and glory in the Lord, for every soul here finds its *crisis*, and its relation and attitude to this light and glory constitute at once its judgment. We find more or less clear foreshadowing of such judgment in the depth of our own moral being, irrespective of any special divine revelation. The conscience of man holds before the soul already, in the measure of its illumination, the reality of such a crisis which must ultimately be absolute. Its relative judgments even in the present life partake of such absoluteness as to overwhelm at times the very soul itself and envelop it in impenetrable darkness. The religious life of mankind has universally erected a throne of judgment for the souls of men, and the world beyond this, in all mythologies, has its Tartarean and Elysian realms.

“Omnes eòdem cogimur: omnium
Versatur urna serius, ocyus
Sors exitura, et nos in æternum
Exilium impositura cymbæ.”

Our moral nature cannot earnestly meditate upon the issues of our life without bringing into view such element of judgment in which the law comes to show its universal significance and in which the delivering grace of the divine love reaches its height of manifestation and glory.

This solemn theme, with the clear light of divine revelation beaming upon it, is now placed before us in the lessons which close the Church year; and we may also say, that the same is pressed home upon our attention in the closing cycle of the secular year. Spring, the joyous childhood of nature, has passed away. Summer has blossomed, and spent its energies in fruit-bearing, and the year, growing old, hurries to its close. The green-mantled earth no longer cherishes flowers. The leaves are faded and withering and crumbling to dust. The voice of summer and harvest is hushed, and the very sky with the

earth grows solemn, as though surrounding the grave. So also, as suggested by all this, our earthly life is hurrying to a close. We look forward, yet every to-morrow is hastening into a yesterday, and the brief candle flickers. The keepers of the house already tremble, and the strong men bow themselves ; and soon the silver cord will be loosed, and the golden bowl be broken, and the dust return to the earth as it was, and the spirit unto God who gave it. Thus the lessons of the Church, and the fading glories of the year, and the inward admonitions of our moral nature as clothed with a vesture that is growing old, all join together to deepen the earnestness of our meditation upon what awaits us in the unveiling of another world.

We have said that judgment is a necessary consequent upon the revelation of light and glory in the Lord. The coming of Christ in the flesh formed a world-crisis. Penetrating with celestial light the very depths of the dominion of darkness as this assailed His humanity, He unmasked and challenged, and brought into conflict all the various powers of evil, and realized thus the most awful tragedy of history. This coming gave us the wilderness of temptation, the Gethsemane of agony and blood, the Calvary of passion and death—a death unutterable in mystery and significance. It also gave us the glory of Easter, the Ascension from Olivet heavenward, and the Pentecost of the Spirit. Every thing in the presence of this coming received new significance. All the incidents of our common worldly life were transfigured by it and drawn into the glorious Messiad, the heavenly poem of His life, and made thereby to have a deeper and holier meaning.

But beyond this, and before this, the coming of Christ was a crisis of kindred significance in the whole realm of spiritual powers, principalities, dominions, and thrones. “Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah? this that is glorious in apparel, travelling in the greatness of his strength?” Indeed could we have seen with clear vision the full array of contending powers, and heard the din of clashing

arms,—the war of spiritual hierarchies around the cross, when the prince of this world was judged:—could we have followed the cohort of Angels which bore the Captain of Salvation triumphant through the everlasting gates, and seen the contest of Michael with the dragon, and heard, as the old serpent was cast out, the loud shout of victory “*Now* is come salvation and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Christ,”—then we might reach some adequate conception perhaps of the world and heaven-wide crisis of the Saviour’s coming in the flesh.

But all this was only to open the way for an advent more real,—only the necessary preface to a greater mystery and fullness of revelation. In the former advent He came in servant form, bearing our sins. He was an infant wrapped in swaddling bands in the manger. His Epiphany was the light struggling through the struggling darkness. That glory into which He entered when ascending was, while here on earth, veiled from vision. He was in the sphere of His humanity wrestling with hell and the fallen world, and every thing seemed to converge toward the decisive conflict on the cross. But we are to see Him, not in servant form, but in glory—in the fulness of His divine revelation and power, which is in itself a fulness of judgment and applied redemption. With the former advent there begins a sifting process of judgment in history, and as all the bad possibilities of the world, actualized and concentrated against Christ, reveal themselves in the man of sin, Satan in his completest incarnation in human history, then, over against this, the new creation in Christ, in its idea infinitely more real and powerful shall reveal itself victorious in glory.

The selections for this second Sunday before Advent, both in Gospel and Epistle (2 Thess. i. 3–10) clearly emphasize this truth. The Gospel begins, “*When the Son of man shall come in glory,*” implying at once that as yet He has not come in such form of revelation. This was veiled in the unglorified earthly sphere, so much so that even the righteous, when confronted

with it in the end, are startled by the declaration that unto such an one as now stands unveiled before them, they had been administering when feeding and helping poor suffering saints. So in full correspondence the Epistle brings to view the same wondrous contrast, "*When the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven,*" implying here again that there is a revelation not yet reached and far transcending all others, and which brings into new light the whole antecedent work of grace. For the Epistle continues, "*When he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and to be admired in all them that have believed*"—a mystery which the Gospel shows us was not realized in the consciousness of the Church while militant, just because the veiled servant-form of humiliation, the being in prison, in nakedness, in hunger, and in thirst, while it drew out the love and charity of every susceptible Christian soul, could not authenticate itself then and therein as that glory of Christ in us, which passes all knowledge, and which in the end comes into full revelation when He shall be glorified in His saints and admired in them that have believed. When Christ revealed Himself to Paul near Damascus, He did in way of anticipation, reveal His coming to be *glorified in His saints*, through that sublime challenge, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?"

As related to the person and work of Christ, the contrast of these two Advents or forms of revelation is well expressed in the Epistle to the Hebrews. "As it is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment: so Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many: and unto them that look for him shall he appear the second time without sin unto salvation." What is thus true in reference to Christ is equally true in reference to the Church. When Christ ascended up on high, and poured out the Holy Ghost, the disciples were fully commissioned, and invested with power to go into all nations, and make disciples, with the distinct promise of His continued presence: He that receiveth you, receiveth me, and he that receiveth me receiveth Him that sent me. With them thus

commissioned and invested with power, a judgment commenced, a binding and loosing, a remitting and retaining, a power of the keys of the kingdom. • They gathered into the fold out from the world, thus beginning a sifting separation in the sphere of our universal human life. The communion of the saints, the election and calling, the separation sacramentally from the old Adamic world-life, and the forgiveness of sins, were with them a reality reaching out towards, and therein adumbrating also, a full separation of sheep from goats, a complete gathering and sifting of all nations by the Lord. This mission consequent upon the first advent, was to pass on in the midst of struggles and conflicts, vast antagonisms, trials, persecutions and tribulations, nakedness, hunger, thirst, imprisonment and martyrdom, (as previously in the Lord), the Church in this way bearing with Christ the sins of the world, suffering with Christ, buried together with Him in His death, that in the end it might be glorified with Him. In truth all the while throughout this whole movement, is He, the risen and glorified one, walking amidst the golden candlesticks, opening up the way for His full revelation, when He shall be glorified in His saints, and admired in all them that have believed. Thus it is that the life here all the while is made to condition the life which is to come.

This indeed is most beautifully brought to view in the Gospel selection. The judgment brought to light here is conditioned throughout by the relation of men to the mystery of the veiled and hidden presence of the Lord in the mission of the Church. In administering to the suffering and struggling Church, they were in reality doing this to Jesus, although they could not, as in the full revelation at last vouchsafed, see the glorious fact of Christ being thus in His saints. Their whole past activity comes into far higher and holier significance and work, as now illumined by the unveiled glory of the Lord,—a significance and worth indeed far transcending all conception and thought of theirs. When saw we Thee, the glorious one, resurgent and ascendant far above all principality and power, when

saw we Thee a hungered and athirst, or sick, or in prison and ministered unto Thee? They had never realized that these activities involved, in such form as now confronted them in the presence of Jesus, the mystery of ministrations to Him so glorified and admired in His believers. When visiting the martyr at the stake or on the rack or amidst the wild beasts,—when comforting the imprisoned confessor,—when clothing the naked brother,—when feeding the hungry and thirsty pilgrim, how could they adequately grasp the profound mystery, that there at the stake, or on the rock, or amidst the wild beasts, or in the prison, or along the wearying highway, or in the squalid hovel or the corrupting hospital, was enshrined this glorified one, who now stands unveiled before them with all the holy angels, Himself resplendent with the vere majesty of the heavens? At best they could but grasp this darkly as in cloud, knowing it only in part and enigma: but their charity did abide, precious bond of perfectness, to be met at last with such an overwhelming recompense of reward.

What peculiar and holy significance is here given to good works! How charity blossoms forth, a fragrant flower of paradise! How the whole past of the Christian life, under such unveiling of the Lord, is transfigured and becomes radiant with a meaning and worth transcending the highest reach of its antecedent faith! Although we do not now see Jesus thus glorified in His saints, and thus to be admired in them that believe, yet we can, without the power of analyzing the union here, help the servant as servant; we can have an abiding charity and in the end come to know how in all this we visited the Lord in prison and ministered to Him in hunger, and nakedness and thirst. When these deeds are met with their overwhelming reward, we ourselves shall in wonder ask, how can this be? Wherein rest the power, and wondrous significance and worth of such merely transient and seemingly perishing works? When did we all this service to one who is in such glory and power of judgment? And from Him comes the

answer, thrilling chords within the soul hitherto untouched, and glorifying a life which was passed in weakness and trembling, *when ye did it unto the least of my brethren, ye did it unto me.* Christ Himself, through His grace, gives such momentous merit to our works, and in this comes to be glorified in us. This is grace, which transfigures our whole activity into a life in the Lord, and links our testimony with His testimony, our suffering with His suffering, our death with His death, and our glorification with His glorification. "When he shall appear (become fully manifest, *φανερωθῇ*) then shall we appear with him in glory." For now our life is hid with Christ in God, but when Christ is revealed, no longer hidden, then our life hidden with Him shall come out into full revelation also. Indeed the revelation of the Lord cannot but be from within the spirit, becoming thus at the same time the revelation of our hidden life in God, and the proper consummation of the same. Grace glorifies it in such form that the whole past comes now before us with new overpowering significance as joined most intimately all the while with the heavenly world. As when beneath a veiling mist-cloud one may grope along a beauteous valley, catching here and there fragments of green and bloom, or the faint outlines of some form of beauty, yet bewildered in the shadowy light, and suddenly the glorious sunlight bursts forth and the hitherto unseen dew-drops sparkle, the flowers before escaping his glance send to his enraptured gaze their brilliant splendors, and the clouds and mists no longer sombre, are glowing and flaming with gold, and the whole landscape is transfigured before him; so at the shining forth of the glory of Jesus the whole field of our life is illumined; new significance is given to the simplest acts, and we stand wondering when we did all this, now so transfigured and glorifying in its merit. Our detachment from the world, our self-abnegation, our suffering and enduring charity, our yearning glances heavenward, now how exalted, how transfigured, how glorified in the recompense of reward! An old Latin judgment hymn, attributed

by some to St. Bernard, gives beautiful expression to this thought.

“ Oh, quam dulce, quam jucundum
Erit tunc odisse mundum !
Et quam triste, quam amarum
Habuisse mundum carum !

Oh, beati tunc lugentes
Et pro Christo patientes !
Quibus sæculi pressura
Regna dat semper mansura !”

Oh, how sweet, how full of pleasure
Then to have hated earth's vain treasure !
And how sad, how deeply bitter
Then to have sought its tempting glitter !

Oh, how blessed they the weeping,
Patient vigils for Christ keeping !
All this world's malicious frowning
Only glorifies their crowning ;
And their conflict, and their fasting
End in glory everlasting.

(A translation of this hymn is given in number 416 of the new hymn-book).

This special aspect of judgment as a glorious recompensing response to the suffering, sacrifice and martyrdom of the faithful, is strongly emphasized in the Epistle. This opens with thanks offered to God because the charity of every one of the Thessalonians towards one another abounded,—a charity evolving in the end such a mystery of glory as meets us in the Gospel lessons. St. Paul glories in them because of their patience in persecutions and tribulations, for this is the manifest token, the proof (*εὐδαιμονία*) of the righteous judgment of God, that judgment which will account them worthy of the kingdom of God. This is just what meets us in the words of the Gospel, “ Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.” Their tribulation, and their trouble is met by a recompensing rest when the Lord

shall be revealed, and their servant form of patient humiliation, as His, shall vanish by transfiguration, involving the hallowed mystery of Christ glorified and admired in them forever.

The spirit of self-abnegation and detachment from the world, a fundamental and necessary characteristic of Christian life, is so alien to the carnal mind, so directly in antagonism with the whole animus and purpose of the world-life as to necessitate at once a severe inward struggle and self-fortification in grace, and at the same time to challenge an opposition from abroad ever reaching out towards persecution. Thus Christian witnessing or testimony in this regard is ever a martyrdom, in will if not in act. In reference to such self-and-world-abnegation, such inward struggle and outward conflict, the judgment of this world is ever showing its false character, and itself coming under judgment. But he who suffers, who endures with patient perseverance, bears therein the cross of Christ, bears about in his own body the sufferings of Jesus, is buried with Him in His death, and in all this finds the manifest token, the *ενδειγμα* of a judgment quite different from that of the world, a righteous judgment, such as was first revealed in Christ, who endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God, and such also as shall ultimately be revealed in every saint, when the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest.

Herein is a mighty motive for devotion, a recompense of reward to give aim and energy and inward steadfastness and fearlessness to that as yet hidden life of grace, which finds itself so fettered and overshadowed by the life of the world, so pushed aside by its whirling currents, and so tossed and jostled by its waves and surges. This is not contrary to the truth that we must do good for its own sake. This is the good, the good in its own proper manifestation,—the good not as some misty metaphysical abstraction, but as a mystery of being in the Lord in heaven. This reality was kept steadily before the humanity of Christ, and in such form that neither worldly nor infernal pow-

ers could shake His aim, and no agony of suffering, and no shame of the cross could warp His purpose to carry His human and with it our humanity *into it*, pure and glorified forever. We need to bring into the vision of our faith such issue of Christian life,—to set before us not some partial phase of moral action, but the whole compass of the good, involving for us regeneration as its proper base, and glorification with the Lord as its crowning dome.

ART. IV.—STUDIES ON JOHN.

BY REV. A. G. PEASE.

CHAPTER IX.

The miracle of healing the man that was born blind.

The Thieves and Robbers in the fold making havoc of the flock—the Good Shepherd appears, rescues and defends the sheep—exposes and denounces their enemies and destroyers, and thereby illustrates the end of His coming into the world and the nature of His office of Judge of mankind, and the manner in which He executes it.

1, 2. "And as Jesus passed by he saw a man who had been blind from his birth. And his disciples asked him, saying, Master, who did sin, this man or his parents that he should have been born blind?"

WAS it on account of his own sin or that of his parents that he was born blind?

They assume that it must have come upon him as a punishment for the sin of some one. Special calamity, according to their implied creed, was in all cases proof of special sinfulness on the part of those who were special sufferers by it. The notion was not peculiar to the Jews. It belongs to all barbarous nations and ages alike. If a special calamity, like that of an

earthquake or a conflagration falls upon a city or a district, the barbarous and heathen sentiment immediately infers something in the character or conduct of the people that is particularly displeasing to God, and that the visitation is the dreadful mark of that displeasure.

The question of the disciples did not relate to this point. They did not ask, Was it owing to sin on the part either of this man or his parents that this calamity was inflicted upon him? Assuming that sin was the cause of the infliction, they ask *whose* sin—his own or that of his parents? The answer of Jesus strikes at the root of the error in their minds. “It was not, as you falsely imagine, owing to sin at all, either his own or that of others, that this has come upon him. It is no evidence of the anger of God towards either him or his parents. It is not to be looked upon in the light of a punishment or of a divine judgment at all—rid your minds entirely of all such barbarous ideas concerning the character and government of God.”

3. “Jesus answered, Neither hath this man sinned nor his parents, but that the works of God might be made manifest in him.”

It was not to punish the man, but to make him the medium and occasion of a manifestation on the part of God in reference to the feelings of His heart towards the wretched, and to the nature of His works. God’s works towards men are works of love and divine sympathy, and this case is to be used as an occasion of proving this to men, and of disabusing their minds of the barbarous and superstitious notions which are so deeply seated and so widely prevalent in them.

That the works of God might be manifested in him. Not that the power of God to perform such works might be shown, but that it might be shown what sort of works they are which God does—what sort of works they are which are signs of His agency, and are to be referred to Him as their cause.

The work in this instance is specially intended to cure the superstition of men’s minds, and set them right on two points,

1st, His feelings towards the subjects of special suffering, 2d, on the subject of the Sabbath—these were two of the superstitions of the time and people which were particularly baneful in their influence and which He was therefore particularly desirous to destroy.

Let it be observed that it was the Sabbath day on which Jesus performed this work, and that it was on this account that so much excitement was occasioned by it. (See 14th verse).

In relation to the blind man, the miracle would show the divine love and sympathy for humanity, and refute the monstrous heresy that human suffering in this life is the mark of God's hatred of sin. For, according to this rule, the greatest sufferer must in all cases be regarded as the greatest sinner, and those who do not suffer at all, as not sinners at all—than which a more absurd and monstrous error can hardly be conceived. In relation to the Sabbath, the work of which this blindness was to serve, as the occasion was intended to reflect the true idea of the sanctification of the Sabbath and of all time—that it is the work that sanctifies the day, and not the day that makes the work either holy or unholy—it was intended as a practical commentary on the text—the Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath. It was intended to refute the gross error which it was the great design and interest of the Pharisee to perpetuate—that the Sabbath was designed for holier uses and purposes than those of humanity.

He meant to teach that there are no duties more sacred than those which we owe to humanity, and that it is impossible for the Sabbath to be spent in any better way, or way more acceptably to God, than in doing good to men.

4. "I must do the works of Him that sent me while it is day; the night cometh wherein no man can work."

The time is not only limited in which I am to manifest by the nature of my work the heart of God towards humanity, and the hatred of God towards Pharisaic superstition, intolerance and oppression, but it is very short. I have a great work to do

within a very brief period of time, and I cannot allow myself to be hindered a single moment, or to neglect in any instance the opportunity which the passing moment presents to me.

I must disregard all obloquy and danger to which I expose myself in the faithful and unflinching discharge of my duty.

I know very well the consequences which will follow. I know the storm of fanatical rage and bigotry that will be raised against me—that I shall be denounced as a disturber of the peace, as a despiser of Moses' law if I prosecute my work on the Sabbath the same as on other days. But this I must do. I must not allow the shadow to stand in the way of the substance, nor for one moment allow the shadow to be taken for the substance. I am myself the substance. Now that I have come, the Sabbath which before my coming stood as my shadow and type, must at my coming flee before me. (Col. ii. 16, 17).

5. "As long as I am in the world, I am the light of the world."

Yes. Every day alike I am the world's light. And while I am in the world, no day must pass in which the world is not permitted to see my light. I am not on any day or in any place to hide it in order that any commandments of men, or Jewish rites and ordinances, may be permitted to exclude me and shine in my place. As long as I am in the world, I, and not they, am the light of the world.

6. "When he had thus spoken, he spit upon the ground and made clay of the spittle, and anointed the eyes of the blind man with the clay."

7. "And said unto him Go, wash in the pool of Siloam (which is by interpretation) sent. He went his way, therefore, and washed and came (back) seeing."

These acts performed and required by Jesus, as the condition of healing the blindness, are *emblematical*.

Their object and import is to cause the cure to fall in appearance into the natural order and sequence of the divine gifts and operations.

It is to teach us a lesson of obedience to God, and conformity with nature in the use of means. The works of God for men consist of two elements—one of them lying beyond their power,

and the other within it. The one requiring trust, the other obedience. It is useless to trust God for results when the means necessary to their production are not used. Vain, also, is the use of means on our part unless agencies beyond our power are exercised to make the means successful. "He that will do His will shall know of the doctrine." This man was subjected to the same test in respect to the restoration of his natural sight. His obedience was tested, and his cure was made to depend upon his willingness to do whatever was required of him as a means of gaining the blessing. He was directed to go to the pool and wash off the clay with which his eyes had been divinely anointed. He went obediently. He went to the pool, whose name is Siloam—which, being interpreted, is *sent*. The pool had been sent on an errand of good to men, and it had been obedient to Him who had sent it. Hence, it received a name signifying obedience. He went, therefore, obediently to the pool whose name was *obedience*. He was sent to a pool which had been itself sent. He was sent to a pool to be cured which had been sent to cure him. Not that it was the pool that cured him, but that if he had not obediently gone to it as directed, there would have been no cure. It was not without some idea of the bearing of the name of the pool on the action required of the man, that its interpretation is given in connection with the translation.

Both the man and the pool were sent—both were obedient—and the obedience of the one secured to him a miraculous cure—that of the other made it the seeming (though not the real) means of the cure.

13. "They brought to the Pharisees him that aforetime was blind."

It appears that he was brought to them for examination in reference to the matter of his cure, whether from evil or good designs, either by the officers of the Pharisees at their order, or by the friends of the man, hoping that they might, by so manifest and beneficent a miracle, be conciliated towards Him who had wrought it. The neighbors of the man, who had been well

acquainted with his blindness, were not fully agreed as to whether he was indeed the blind man who had sat and begged by the side of the public way. Some said this is he—others said, he is *like* him, indeed, but we are not sure whether it is he or not, though he said he was the very same.

This uncertainty hanging over the question of his identity seems to have led to his being brought to the Pharisees (probably the Sanhedrim is meant), that a formal and official examination might be made, and the truth known and duly authenticated.

14. "And it was the Sabbath day when Jesus made the clay and opened his eyes."

This fact appeared to cast suspicion on the transaction, and tended to make even the most candid among them doubt whether there had really been any miracle in the case. On this account, doubtless, it was that the matter was brought before the Pharisees. Has the miracle been wrought or not? If it has, if the evidence of the cure is conclusive and the fact undeniable, then either we have had mistaken ideas of the sanctity of the Sabbath, or there is one among us who is greater than the Sabbath, its Maker, for whom, consequently, it was not made.

16. "Then said some of the Pharisees This man is not of God, because he does not keep the Sabbath."

Therefore, there is a deception about the matter—the cure is not real—the man lies—he is not the one that sat and begged—he has his sight; he, therefore, was not born blind; if he was, he has not miraculously received sight at the hands of a Sabbath-breaker. For one that works on the Sabbath, no matter what the nature of the work which he does, is an ungodly wretch, on whom God could not confer the gift of working miracles.

Others said, "How can a man that is a sinner do such miracles?" They believed in the reality of the miracle, and therefore could not admit that He was a bad man and a deceiver.

For the power to work miracles implies genuine goodness of heart, for on a man of no other character could God confer such power and bestow such signal marks of His favor.

Opinion, therefore, was divided.

On the one side were those who denied, and on the other those who affirmed, the reality of the miracle. The one party, notwithstanding the seeming breach of the Sabbath, believing in His pre-eminent sanctity, and the other denying His goodness altogether, and imputing to Him a thoroughly evil character because He had broken the Sabbath by pretending to perform cures on that day, and by directing men to do things on that day which are forbidden by the law.

17. "They say unto the blind man again, What sayest thou of him (in view of the fact), that he hath opened thine eyes?"

"He said, He is a prophet."

This is his conclusion in view of the facts in the case. He *must* be a prophet. He felt in his mind the intuitive certainty that it was good and not evil that lay at the bottom and formed the spring and motive of the transaction.

He knew that a miracle of mercy had been wrought in his behalf, and his mind spontaneously and instinctively referred it to God as the author. Of course, he could look upon its agent as no other than one sent of God, and acting in His name and under His sanction. He is a prophet—the gifts which He exercises are supernatural—the sanctions under which He acts are divine. No man could do the miracles which He doeth except God were with Him. His commission and His work set Him above the obligations of the Sabbath. It was not made to prevent such work as His. More sacred in the sight of God than the Sabbath is the character, the mission and the work of such a man. The Sabbath was made for Him—not He for the Sabbath. That is what the fact teaches the unsophisticated heart of the blind man who has no interest but the truth, and no motive but duty and gratitude.

18. "But the Jews did not believe concerning him that he had been blind and received his sight until they called the parents of him that had received his sight."

They say, it may not be true that it is as is pretended, a case of natural blindness. It may not after all be true that he was born blind. And so, if he was not, there is not necessarily anything supernatural, or anything of the nature of a miracle involved in the case. Let this matter be sifted. Let the certainty in regard to it be investigated. Let us not trust him. Let us have more credible and trustworthy evidence than the words of this enthusiast. We propose to look a little more closely into the case and not to take quite so much for granted.

So the parents are called and questioned. They certainly must be competent witnesses in regard to the facts in the case.

19. "And they asked them, saying, Is this your son? Do you say that he was born blind? How then doth he now see?"

I have given what it seems must have been the intention of the second question. The principal object they had in calling the parents was to ascertain whether in fact he was born blind.

But, according to the rendering in our English version, that question is not put, but merely the questions, Is this your son? And how does he now see? The three questions are all pertinent. The second particularly so concerning the main point in dispute, which was as to the reality of his having been born blind. They seek the parents' testimony on this point, and also on the other (which was also in dispute), as to the means by which (whether *born* blind or not), he had been made to see.

20. "His parents answered them and said, We know that this is our son, and that he was born blind."

On these, the first two points, their testimony is direct and explicit.

So far as their testimony is concerned, no further doubt can rest upon the fact that a miracle had been wrought. "For since the world began it was not heard that any man ever opened the eyes of one that was born blind."

But as to the third of the questions put, the means of his cure, they profess not to be informed. They say they do not know. This, however, they said, not because they did not know, for they did know, but for prudential reasons.

21. "But by what means he now seeth we know not, or who hath opened his eyes we know not; he is of age, ask him; he shall speak for himself."

They know perfectly well what he will say. They know as well as their son does the truth in regard to the matter, but they prefer, under the circumstances, to have it uttered from his lips rather than from their own. They know the peril that attends the utterance, and they prefer that he should expose himself to it rather than to run the risk themselves. Not very magnanimous, not very noble parents, surely. They are much more willing to expose him than to expose themselves with him or on his account.

22. "These words spake his parents because they feared the Jews, for they (the Jews), had agreed already that if any man did confess that he was Christ, he should be put out of the synagogue."

23. "Therefore, said his parents, he is of age; ask him."

They preferred that this excommunication, the rod of which they knew to be hanging over any one who should confess Christ, should fall upon their son rather than upon them. And they knew, probably, what the result would be. They knew the conviction that had fastened itself upon their son's mind. They knew, too, the spirit of the young man—and that at all hazards he would speak his mind and be faithful to the truth and to Him who had done so much for him.

24. "Then, again, called they the man, that was blind, and said unto him, Give God the praise; we know that this man is a sinner."

The import of this admonition seems to be, "If you have, as you say, received a miraculous cure, give the praise to God, from whom all good comes; but we beseech you give it not to this man—this Sabbath-breaker—this trampler on the law of Moses. We know that He is a sinner, and that the praise does not belong to Him, and if you persist in giving it to Him, you

do a great injury to the cause of good morals and inflict a grievous wound on religion.

“Consider well—you are by this occurrence placed in a situation where you have it in your power to do a great good or a great injury. The honor of God and of religion are deeply concerned in the decision which you make. Beware what you do.” They do thus, as it were, put the man under oath. They at least remind him of the sanctions of religion and make a very solemn appeal to his conscience. They remind him that the eye of God is upon him and warn him to beware. If they can overawe and intimidate him they intend to do it. If they can, by the arts of religious terrorism, wrest his testimony into the support of their cause and turn it against Jesus, they intend to do it.

We know that this man is a sinner. They modestly remind him that they know—that they are the proper judges of the characters of men—and suggest to him the presumption it is in him to set up his own knowledge or opinion in such a case against their decision. They seem to put it in this way: Whether you have been cured in the manner you and your parents pretend or not, is uncertain. You may have been, or you may not have been, but that He to whom you ascribe the cure is a sinner, there is no doubt or uncertainty about that. We know it. That He is a Sabbath-breaker—we know, and so do you. How, then, can you ascribe to Him such gifts and such power, and confer on Him such high religious character and honor as you do? It is now his turn. They have made their statement of the case, and made known on which side, according to their view, lies the certainty, and on which, the uncertainty. He proceeds to make his counter-statement in reference to his own view of the case—what to him is certain in it, and what not.

25. “He answered and said, Whether he be a sinner or not I do not know.”

On that point I do not with you claim to have certain knowledge. That is a point, I confess, upon which I may not be an

infallible judge. But as to the other point concerned in the case I do profess to know, and do not admit my liability to be mistaken. "One thing I know—that whereas I was blind now I see."

I am certainly qualified to judge on this point. And that is the truth respecting it. He does not say that he knows just as well that it was Jesus who had opened his eyes, though that is implied. It was a plain case, and there was no dispute, that if a cure had been wrought upon him it was a miracle, and Jesus had wrought it. No one thought of looking upon the cure in any other light, or of ascribing it to any one, or any cause but Him.

And, therefore, the testimony of the man in respect to the reality of his cure, if it was admitted, was fatal to the adverse cause.

26. "Then said they to him again, What did he to thee? how did he open thine eyes?"

The man is wholly unmanageable. He cannot be cheated or intimidated. His eyes cannot be blinded by their sophistries, nor his courage shaken by their threats. But they can return to the charge. They can cross-question him in hopes to embarrass or entangle him in his talk. This is the import of the questioning in this verse. Merely the old questions renewed—the old ground gone over again. The young man perceives their craft and does not choose to be entrapped nor mean to be trifled with.

He waxes bolder and indignantly turns upon them. He refuses to answer any further and puts them upon the stand. He makes bold to answer their impertinent and impudent attempt to cross-question and embarrass him, by questioning them.

27. "He answered them, I have told you already (and ye did not hear), wherefore would ye hear it again? Is it that you also may become his disciples?"

Why is it that you repeat your questions? Do your minds begin to incline towards the belief of the truth? Are you getting more candid, and do you think that now, if you should

hear the truth again, you might be persuaded by it? If not, and your minds remain as fully determined against the truth as ever, why do you wish to hear it again, unless it be that you may find further opportunity for cavil, and to travesty the truth and perplex and injure me?

28. "Then they reviled him and said, Thou art his disciple, but we are Moses' disciples."

Tacitly they admit the force of the young man's bold retort upon them and their inability to answer it—or to say one word in their own justification.

He had unmasked them and made them stand duly-confessed hypocrites and villains. They are obliged to confess their insincerity and the baseness of their designs in reiterating their old questions.

Obliged to admit their own dishonesty and meanness, there is nothing left them but to answer him with revilings. If they cannot get the advantage of him in cunning, or in rational argument and debate, they think they may prove his superiors in the dialect of reckless insult and sneering insinuation. They can cast sneers at Jesus and accuse him of being the disciple of so despicable a fellow as He is. They can ask him if he is not ashamed to be the follower of such a monster—whilst they have the honor of being Moses' disciples.

They find it much easier to assume the superiority of Moses to Jesus, than to bring any arguments to prove it. They find it much easier to sneer at the claims of Jesus, than to disprove them. They find it impossible to stifle the voice of honest confession in this friend of Jesus by reason and argument. They will, therefore, see whether they cannot overwhelm him with insult and vituperation, and especially by casting shame and reproach upon his benefactor, and stop his mouth in this way.

29. "We know that God spake unto Moses (and that Moses came and spake as a messenger from God. The evidences of his divine mission are clear and unquestionable. It is the height of reason and honor, and duty and religion, to be his disciples). But as for this fellow (whom you adopt and adore as your oracle), we know not where he did come from."

It is certain, at any rate, that he had no such origin as Moses, and that while all honor and obedience are due to Moses, nothing but shame and contempt are due to him.

This is mere arrogant assumption and brow-beating impudence on their part. Nothing but their bare and bold assertion have we for it. The man is in no temper to be convinced or silenced by this method. His confidence in these men and respect for their character and authority is not at this moment very great. He is thoroughly convinced of their dishonesty and of the utter worthlessness of their assertions, and their dogmatism is utterly disgusting to him, and he is not afraid to tell them so.

30. "The man answered and said unto them, Why herein is a marvellous thing, that ye know not from whence he is, and yet he hath opened mine eyes."

You are obliged to confess that He has wrought this miracle, and yet at the same time you say that you do not know anything about His mission, and sneer at the idea of any such thing as that He came from God.

Eminently wise and reasonable and good men you must be when in the face of such a fact as this you can deny all knowledge of whence He came, and particularly scoff at the idea of His having come from God. You scout at the principle and instinct of common sense and common honesty, that the tree is known by its fruit. You, it seems, would take no account of His fruits in judging a man—judge Him upon entirely different grounds and without the slightest reference to them. In this case, you allow your judgments to be influenced by nothing but your own preconceptions and prejudices, and predetermination to find Him guilty and to pass judgment against Him. For here is the acknowledged fact of a most beneficent miracle wrought by Him, and yet you cast it contemptuously aside and allow it to have no weight with you in making up your minds concerning Him.

Herein, it seems to me, is a very marvellous thing. Certainly unaccountable and unparalleled if you are honest and

reasonable men, as you would fain have us believe; able and appointed to instruct, admonish and guide the people. And this is a specimen of the instruction, admonition and guidance which it is our happiness to receive from you.

31. "Now, we know that God heareth not sinners, but if any man be a worshipper of God and doeth his will, him he heareth."

These rulers had been quite forward to inform this poor, ignorant man as to the things which they knew. They expected to awe and silence him by the certainty and authority of their knowledge upon all subjects of moral and religious concern, and to impress upon him the wholesome idea that he and his class were not to presume that they knew anything, or had a right to have opinions and sentiments of their own upon subjects of this nature. But he appears not to be a docile pupil of such instructions. Something has awakened in his mind the idea and given him the confidence to assert that he, too, knows something. They had taken the opportunity to inform him that they knew that this man was a sinner—that they knew that God spake unto Moses, and that He did not speak by the mouth of Jesus.

At first the man had said that he did not know whether He were a sinner or not, and confined himself to matters of his own actual, bodily experience, and chose not to venture upon subjects of moral argument and conviction. But he has waxed bolder now. He begins to find that he knows something upon subjects of moral reason, and that he is able to draw an inference and form a conclusion on such subjects as well as they. Now he boldly changes his tone and tells them what we (the common people), know:

"We know that God does not hear sinners," and besides, we know that "if any man be a worshipper of God and doeth His will, him He heareth." You say that you know that this man is a sinner. I turn upon you now and tell you that I know to the contrary, and I tell you that I have something besides arrogant and unsupported assertion to support and prove

the truth of what I say. I know that God does not hear sinners, and you know it also as well as I do. But I know, and so do you, that God has heard and has helped this man, from which it follows, with absolute certainty, that He is not a sinner. You say that He is. I say that He is not, and not only that He is not a sinner, but that He is a true worshipper of God, and one that faithfully obeys His word and does His will. I say that He is a holy man and a faithful servant of God, and that in healing me of my life-long blindness on the Sabbath day He did just what it was the will of God to have done. The fact of His having done this is proof positive which you cannot gainsay, that God is with Him, and that in all that He does He is doing the will of God.

32. "For (you yourselves know that), since the world began such a thing was never heard of, as a man's opening (by his own power), the eyes of one that was born blind."

33. "(Wherefore it is evident, and you cannot deny it), that if this man were not of God he could do nothing (like what, in opening my born-blind eyes, he has done)".

You, therefore, in refusing, as you do, to admit the excellent and holy character of this man, and in insisting upon it in spite of such demonstration to the contrary that He is a sinner and an enemy of God and man, are willfully shutting your eyes against the light, and thereby proving yourselves to be the most unreasonable and worst of men.

Thus he puts the truth to them in his terse, concise, but most unmistakable and unanswerable language.

What will they do with his argument? What will they do with him? With that they can do nothing but feel its sting and writhe under its terrible lash.

But with him there is something which they can do, and which they will not be long in doing. There are two things which they can do—two things always in the power of tyrants under the worst of moral discomfiture and under the scorching light of truth. They can revile him, and they can punish him. And these two they proceed at once to do.

34. "They answered and said unto him, Thou wast altogether born in sin, and dost thou teach us? And they cast him out."

Miscreant, altogether born in sin, dost thou presume to open thy foul and misbegotten lips and teach us, the nobility and the flower and pride of manhood, of education, rank, and official power and dignity? We will teach thee better manners. And they excommunicate him on the spot. And thus the argument is ended, and the business finished with him so far as they were concerned. But not so far as Jesus was concerned. He is not the sort of man for Him to overlook or forget.

This history is most instructive and impressive. It shows us the sort of rule and instruction and protection the people enjoyed under these their self-chosen and self-appointed shepherds. What, in fact, does the history and the fact, as here illustrated, prove them to be? Thieves and robbers, who have stolen into the fold—busy at their work of stealing, killing and making havoc of the sheep. They have come before Christ and humanity. They have put themselves and their base and cruel self-interest and pride forward as their end and aim, and Christ and humanity behind their backs. They are, therefore, just what all rulers, who do not rule in the name and interest of humanity are—thieves and robbers.

"The thief cometh not" (saith the very humanity Himself), "but to steal and to kill and to destroy. I am come, that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly."

35. "Jesus heard that they had cast him out, and when he had found him he said unto him, Dost thou believe on the Son of God?"

Jesus was not unacquainted with the manner in which the young man had acquitted himself in the severe trial to which he had been subjected, nor with the price which his manliness and fidelity had cost him. He knew the penalty which he had had to pay for the crime of being faithful to his own conscience and to the truth.

In due time He finds him out and manifests Himself to him. He takes care that such virtue shall not go unrewarded. He

means that he shall not too long be left to suffer alone without one approving word or look of friendly recognition to cheer and sustain him under the terrible ban of exclusion which rests upon him. He finds him out, as He is sure to find out all who have suffered and are willing to suffer for Him; and He brings to him just the sympathy and support which He knew him to need. He comes to let him know, better than he had before known, who it is that has had mercy on him, to whom he owes this unspeakable blessing of natural sight; who it is that he has been so manfully defending, and in whose cause it is that he is suffering.

He comes to shed on the eye of his inmost mind a light which shall be far sweeter and more cheering than the new light of natural day in which he is now rejoicing. He comes to touch the heart of his humanity with the sight and the sense of a beauty and a glory which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, and which hath not entered into the heart of the natural man.

“Dost thou believe on the Son of God?” It is in this way that He opens His address to him, and begins the process by which He will make Himself known to him. Considering the circumstances, this question at first view disappoints us. We miss the plainness and the point that we naturally should have looked for.

But we can make it plain and satisfactory by supplying the ellipsis in the style which renders it deficient and obscure. Let us then supply what is wanting, and read: Dost thou believe [on me as] the Son of God? (or that I am the Son of God?). The man had never in his controversy with his judges said that he believed any such thing as this concerning Jesus. He had boldly contended that He was a good man and an evident and eminent servant of God. And when asked to say in what capacity he received Him, or what office he regarded Him as bearing, he had said, “He is a prophet.” But that does not preclude the propriety and need of the question which our Lord puts to him on first meeting him—it rather requires it. It is,

perhaps, equivalent to saying, You have declared your belief in Me as a prophet. What do you understand by that? Do you mean that you believe Me to be the Son of God—the Messiah that should come into the world? For really that was the great point at issue between Him and the Jews. It is not likely that if He had not insisted upon being received as the Messiah, there would have been any such hostility against Him as there was. Hence, He wishes to bring the man fully out and to have him declare himself explicitly on that point. You have said and nobly contended that I am a good man and a prophet. Is that all that you believe concerning me?

Or do you mean, under the confession you have made, to declare your faith in Me as, in fact, the Son of God?

In this light certainly the question appears sufficiently appropriate and forcible.

Another object it is natural to conclude He had in view in putting this question to him. It was that for His comfort and exceeding joy He might reveal Himself to this noble confessor and martyr, as more than any good man or prophet—as no other than his very God and Saviour in the person of this seeming fellow-man and humane benefactor.

He wished him to have the satisfaction of knowing beyond a peradventure, that it was no other than the very God of his humanity who had thus befriended him—to whom he owed the precious gift of sight which he was then first enjoying. No other than He whose cause he had espoused and whose character he had defended against all the sophistry, and all the terror of the inquisition which had examined and condemned him. He wished this true sheep of the flock to know assuredly that the voice which he had heard calling him, and which with such sweetness and power had penetrated the depths of his soul, was no other than that of the good Shepherd Himself who had come seeking him and was, in the miracle of mercy which He had wrought on him, calling him.

It was for the unspeakable good it would do the man—the

strength and comfort of spirit it would impart to him, as well as for the opportunity it would give him of more fully and intelligently confessing him, that the question was put to him. Now let us see whether the answer of the man which follows in the next verse bears out this interpretation.

36. "He answered and said, Who is he, Lord, that I might believe on him?"

Here, again, there is obscurity arising from the elliptical form of the language. The interrogative translated *who*, is to be taken here in a qualified sense—in a sense implying quality, as though it were *qualis*. What sort of a person is he? The sense of the verse is as though he had said, Describe him to me, Lord, that I may know whether I do believe on him or not.

What is the reply of Jesus to this demand of the man for a description?

37. "And Jesus said unto him, Thou hast both seen him and he it is that (now) talketh with thee."

What is this but saying, You need no description, for you have seen Him. He that now addresses you is He. The question, then, comes to this, Dost thou believe Me to be the Son of God? You ask me to describe to you the Son of God, that you may know whether you believe on Him or not. I am that Son of God, and the question which I put to you is, Do you, or do you not, believe on Me? For in believing on Me you do, though you may not have imagined it, yet it is so; this very faith in your heart which in your confession and defence of Me you have manifested is, when called by its true name, faith in the Son of God. For I am He.

The man is convinced. He does not for a moment hesitate. The assertion carries instant conviction, because it interprets to him the vague feeling of his own heart—gives the true answer to the new, strange and nameless emotions which, from the moment of his healing, had struggled in his bosom, but which he could not understand. Jesus gives them their true name—and he no sooner hears it from His lips than he recognizes it as

the true name. He is now ready with his answer to the original question, Dost thou believe on the Son of God? He is now prepared to speak understandingly. For now he understands his Lord and himself.

38. "And he said, Lord, I do believe."

I do believe that Thou art indeed the Son of God. It only required that Thou shouldst declare Thyself to be the Son of God, the Lord of my humanity, in order that I might believe on Thee as such. And he worshipped Him.

The form and manner of the worship are not given—but only the fact, and that is enough. It is the natural sequel and illustration of the confession of faith which he had made. It shows the sense which in his own mind and heart he attached to the name—the Son of God. It shows what he understood himself to have believed in, in believing in Jesus. He instantly and spontaneously falls down and worships before Him.

How natural the action on the first clear perception of the great and the awful truth. The eternal truth and goodness, the infinite loveliness standing actually before him in human form and with human lips, talking with him.

What he saw and felt was God manifest in the flesh. And the heart's unasked, unbought, involuntary and supreme homage was the natural expression for him to make.

When we actually feel God in our hearts, then we do truly worship Him. Never at any other time. We can feel God, but we cannot understand Him.

This man felt the awful and supreme reality and mystery before him which had been so suddenly and unexpectedly revealed to him, but it was utterly beyond his comprehension. It was God, it was also man. The one as certainly as the other. How this could be he could not understand. But that it was he certainly knew, for that was the interpretation which his heart and his intuitive inner sense, corroborated by the outward and audible word, had given it.

The narrative here closes. He has said what He had to say

to the young man in the way of instruction and comfort. He has manifested Himself to him in the beauty and glory of His nature as the God-man—Mediator. And the conviction and satisfaction of the man is complete and his joy is full. He has now to do with other parties and with the application of the subject—especially to the Pharisees, who had been the party in opposition, and who, by the position they had assumed with reference to Jesus, and the bitter hostility they had shown to Him, had made a disclosure of their true characters such as otherwise would have been impossible.

39. "And Jesus said, For judgment I am come into this world that they which see not might see, and that they which see may be made blind."

He here brings out the grand principle which is illustrated in the preceding narrative. It is that He is Himself the grand touch-stone of human character. That it is by means of Him alone that the characters of men can be truly judged—that He came into the world to serve as the discriminative test by which, when properly brought to it, men will develop their characters each for himself, and show of what quality their humanity is, whether true or false, whether genuine or reprobate.

These Jews had been brought to the test and had shown what manner of persons they were by the feeling they had shown towards Jesus on account of what He had done for the young man, and by the tyrannical and cruel manner in which they had treated him on account of his fidelity to Jesus and to his own conscience, in the face of all their authority and in defiance of all their power. He had also, on the other hand, served as the means of bringing out the sterling character, the genuine and noble humanity of this poor, despised young man. The trial and the event had shown how greatly superior in every true and noble quality the humanity in him was to that in them, though on account of his blindness and his poverty, his calamity and his lowly condition, he was looked upon as bearing the mark of the divine abhorrence, and thus marked out to mankind by the finger of God Himself as an object to be loathed and hated.

This was the light in which his blindness and beggary placed him before them. "Thou wast altogether born in sin, and dost thou teach us?" But the conduct of the young man under the trial to which he had been subjected, under the infallible test that had been applied to him, scatters to the winds the vile aspersion and refutes the miserable calumny that as to his humanity he was mean and vile because as to his external condition he was poor and afflicted. But what, by the same test, had been proved in reference to these Jews who prided themselves on their birth and arrogated to themselves the exclusive claim of high character and special favorites of Heaven, because of their exemption from special calamities, and enjoyment of peculiar earthly advantages and privileges. What, I say, had, by this same test, been proved in reference to these men? Peculiar and unparalleled meanness, vileness and guilt—men possessing any character rather than that which they arrogantly assumed. By the transaction the tables had been completely turned—the seeming vile had been proved the only truly noble—and the seeming and pretended great and good had been shown the peculiarly base, and the real and special objects of the divine abhorrence.

By considering thus what was actually effected by the test which the preceding controversy furnished, we shall be able clearly to understand the sense in which Jesus declares the object of His coming into the world.

When we see what, by His coming, He accomplishes, it will be plain to us what the object of that coming was. His object in coming is shown by what He accomplishes by coming. It is plain, therefore, in the light of the narrative given in this chapter, what He means by saying, "For judgment I am come into this world."

The remainder of the verse is to be considered as explanatory: "That they which see not may see, and that they which see may be made blind." Who are meant by those who see not? Let the narrative itself furnish the answer. There can be no

doubt that the language is mainly figurative, and that by those who do not see, he means not the literally blind, but the poor and despised in this world—those who in the world's judgment are marked out as the special objects of loathing and contempt by the judgments of Heaven that are resting on them in the special calamities and afflictions under which they suffer. His meaning, then, is that He comes to set aside these false and monstrous criterions of judgment, and to present the true standards and try character by the true test, under which it will often be made to appear that the last are first, and the first last. Those who, in the world, are reckoned vile, will be made to appear the truly noble, and those who see, those who stand highest in their own and the world's esteem, will be made to appear as being really the basest of men, and as having no claim at all on the homage or respect of their fellow-men.

We paraphrase thus: To serve as a discriminative test of human character, to correct the false judgments of men on the subject—that those falsely accounted base may be proved to possess the true worth and nobility of human character, and that those most esteemed in the world may be proved the basest of mankind.

We may understand Him, then, as saying, To bring out character, to discriminate justly among men in respect to real human excellence, to set the sheep on the right hand and the goats on the left, for this object I have come into this world. And this has been, is, and will, to the end, be the effect of My coming. This is what My appearance in the world accomplishes. And how is it possible that this effect should be prevented? As long as I am in the world and wherever My presence is felt among men, this is the inevitable effect.

Whilst I am among men they cannot help feeling Me, and under that feeling they cannot help developing themselves and taking their places, according to their characters and their preferences, on the one side or the other of Me. Men cannot

help taking sides with reference to me—and it is impossible for them to conceal their affinities and their preferences.

40. "And some of the Pharisees who were with him and heard him, said, Are we blind also?"

It was plain enough, whatever He may have meant by the sight and blindness of which He spake, and which He said it was His mission to distinguish and discover. It was plain enough that by those who had been made blind He meant them. And so the import of their question is, "Do you mean to say that you have proved us to be blind; that such as this poor beggar are the really seeing and intelligent ones, whilst we, in comparison with such as he, are ignorant and base and blind?"

Perhaps, in order to make His language appear absurd, they put a literal construction upon it, although they must have known better, and thus ask him if He meant to say that there had been a literal exchange of conditions between the once blind man and them, and that he was now seeing as they before did, and they now blind as he before was. To this miserable cavil we may understand Him as replying, No, no, I do not mean any such thing. I do not mean to say that you have lost your sight in any sense. About your natural sight there is no question. Just as little is there in respect to your intellectual and moral sight. It were much better for you if your sight were less clear than it is—nay, if you had lost it altogether. Your responsibility and guilt would not then be what they now are.

If you were blind, there might be some excuse for you, but as it is, there is none.

You are doing wrong, acting most basely and wickedly towards Me and towards this poor man who has so nobly vindicated his manhood and maintained his integrity, and proved his friendship to Me, and whom for this you have reviled and abused, and cast out. You know that all this is wrong and outrageous, and that you have not the shadow of reason or excuse for your conduct. You understand Me and My claims

well enough to know that your proceeding towards Me has nothing to justify it—that it proceeds out of sheer prejudice and unjustifiable hostility.

You do not indeed see Me in the light in which this good man, whom you are persecuting, does. My character and claims do not, indeed, commend themselves to you with the force and persuasiveness with which they operate upon his honest and unsophisticated mind—but you see enough in Me to convict you before your own consciences of wilful and inexcusable wickedness in pursuing towards Me and him the course you have.

41. "Jesus said unto them, If ye were (indeed) blind, ye would have no sin."

That is, if you did not know any better—if you had not moral faculty and sense enough to distinguish between good and evil, and right and wrong. You would not be responsible, and so not guilty, whatever you might think or do.

But in as much as you claim to be the perfection of moral wisdom, discernment and judgment, there is no excuse for you. Your sin remaineth. Your sin is, by this very assumption of superior discernment and wisdom, proved against and fastened upon you, and you cannot escape from it. You pretend to know right well and perfectly what you are doing. But to do as you are doing, and do it intelligently and intentionally, is the height of sin, the perfection and greatest aggravation of guilt. Thus your sin remains—stands proved and abides forever upon you. You have no blindness (and consequently your only excuse) consists in the depravity of your hearts, in the evil of your dispositions, and not in lack of intellectual or moral faculties. It is not natural, but moral blindness with which you are affected. According to the true proverb, There are none so blind as they who will not see. You could see if you would. And you would see if you were not so utterly depraved and so thoroughly the enemies of all good. Your depravity takes away indeed all ability to appreciate and to love truth and goodness, but not the guilt of not appreciating and

loving them. It is the height and the very essence of guilt to be so depraved as thereby to be rendered incapable of any such thing as the love of the true and the good, and capable only of perceiving them only to hate them. If there is among men any such thing as sin against God, then your feelings and conduct towards Me are the very quintessence of it.

ART. V.—CREED AND DOCTRINE.

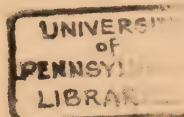
IN the *Presbyterian* of October 28th, 1876, appeared the following, which we here quote entire as an introduction to our present article.*

THE VENERABLE FORM OF WORDS.

“The Creed which has come down to us from ancient times has been thought to be worthy of a place in the Presbyterian Confession of Faith. Please to give your readers, Messrs. Editors, some information in regard to the reasons which the ancient compilers probably had for inserting no belief respecting the purpose of the incarnation and death of Christ. It does not appear, from this Creed, that any end was gained by such an amazing procedure. The forgiveness of sins and the life everlasting do not appear to depend upon it. No office is assigned to Christ excepting that of our Judge. The heathen can not learn, from this document, what we believe concerning the way to be saved. Now, as a belief on this subject would seem more important than to believe that the name of a magistrate was Pontius Pilate, and more important than a belief in several other particulars mentioned, why was no reference made to the doctrine which Paul placed in his Apostles’ Creed, that Christ died for our sins?
S. C. B.”

We suppose the reason of the omission referred to by our respected correspondent to be, that the atonement had not been impugned or brought into controversy when the Apostles’ Creed was framed. All creeds are framed with special reference to the maintenance of truths most assailed and imperilled at the time of their formation. These are

* See also an article by Dr. P. Schaff in the *Contemporary Review* (Oct. 1876) on the Antagonisms of Creeds.



apt to be asserted explicitly along with some of the fundamentals of religion or of Christianity; while many truths not disputed, but equally important with those which are attacked, are asserted only implicitly, and often by a somewhat remote implication. So was it with atonement and justification in the Primitive Church. They were not questioned, and were, therefore, not sharply defined or distinctly emphasized in creeds and polemic discussions.

The great controversy in the early Church centred around the Trinity, the incarnation of Godhood in manhood in the person of Christ, His crucifixion and resurrection, and the eternal salvation of His redeemed Church. The atonement and justification by faith are only implied in the "forgiveness of sins," asserted together with His crucifixion, because they had not been so assailed as to require emphatic assertion or precise definition.

At a later period the attacks of Pelagius upon the scriptural doctrines of corruption and grace led to the fuller explication and more formal assertion of the scriptural doctrines on this subject, so thoroughly defended and formulated by Augustine.

It was not till the Protestant Reformation that Luther and Calvin brought into due prominence the doctrine of justification by faith alone, founded on vicarious atonement, as the article of a standing or falling church. Although previously unfolded in some of its parts by such great theologians as Anselm, it never found its due place in the Church symbols till the Reformation era.

"S. C. B." is not alone in taking the exception made by him to the Apostles' Creed. So considerable a theologian as Principal Cunningham says, *Historical Theology*, vol. I., pp. 93-4:

"I think it is much to be regretted that so very inadequate and defective a summary of the leading principles of Christianity as the Apostles' Creed—possessed of no authority, and having no extrinsic claims to respect—should have been exalted to such a place of prominence and influence in the worship and service of the Church of Christ; and I have no doubt that this has operated injuriously in leading to the disregard of some important articles of Christian doctrine, which are not embodied in it, but are of fundamental importance. . . . It is, I believe, in some measure from the same cause, *i. e.*, having the Apostles' Creed pressed upon men's attention in the ordinary public services of the Church, as a summary of Christian doctrine, entitled to great deference and respect, that we are to account for the ignorance and indifference respecting the great principles of evangelical truth, by which so large a proportion of the ordinary attenders upon the services of the Church of England have been usually characterized."

On the other hand, it has been well said in *Mc Nintock and Strong's Biblical Cyclopædia, Article, Creeds*, "Nearly all the Churches in Christendom agree in reverence for this ancient formula as a beautiful, true and comprehensive statement of the great facts of Christianity, admitting, with Dr. Schaff, that though it is not in form the production of the apostles, it is a faithful compound of their doctrines, and comprehends the leading articles of the faith in the Triune God and His revelation, from the creation to the life everlasting; in sublime simplicity; in unsurpassable brevity; in the most beautiful order, and with liturgical solemnity; and to this day it is the common bond of Evangelical Christendom."

This article, of no more significance otherwise than any ordinary newspaper article, may serve as a specimen of the confusion that prevails in many minds at the present time in regard to the Apostles' Creed and its relation to modern doctrinal confessions. The editor's attempt to explain the matter for his correspondent seems very much like the blind leading the blind. His explanation reveals the same ignorance of the nature of the creed that his correspondent exhibits, and then as if in doubt how to sum up his general opinion of it he quotes two opposite estimates. Evidently the teacher and the taught here are in a quandary to know exactly why "the Apostles' Creed has been thought worthy of a place in the Presbyterian Confession of Faith." The place it occupies there shows that it forms no integral part of the Confession, no use is designated for it either in doctrine or worship, and altogether it seems to be placed there merely for safe-keeping as an interesting relic of antiquity. The Creed has been no living power in the Presbyterian Church, and therefore the older that Church becomes the more difficult it will be to explain why it is handed down in this external way in their Confession of Faith. As a crude and rudimentary statement of doctrine, as the editor seems to regard it, it only serves to show how little the early Church knew as yet of Christian doctrine. Yet it puzzles the correspondent to understand how "the ancient compilers" could be ignorant of so plain a truth as the purpose of the incarnation

and death of Christ, or if they knew, why they omitted any statement of it in the Creed. It is amusing indeed to follow the editor's explanation, that the attention of "the early Church centred around the Trinity, the incarnation of Godhood in manhood in the person of Christ, His crucifixion and resurrection, and the eternal salvation of His redeemed Church," because these mysteries had been chiefly assailed, while "the atonement and justification by faith are only implied in the forgiveness of sins, asserted together with His crucifixion, because they had not been so assailed as to require emphatic assertion or precise definition." As though the *atonement* stood in no close or necessary connection with the incarnation, crucifixion, and resurrection of Christ, and the eternal salvation of His redeemed Church growing out of these, but constituted in some way a doctrine separate and distinct from these, along with some theory of justification by faith!

This is amusing for its naiveté, and yet truly sad and deplorable as revealing such inability to comprehend the nature and meaning of the Creed, and the gulf of separation between it and the modern doctrine of the atonement as held by these men and thousands more whom they represent. It is sad to think that the first and greatest of all Christian Creeds has a strange sound in so large and respectable a body as the Presbyterian Church. It is not so with the original Churches of the Reformation, the Reformed and the Lutheran. The Apostles' Creed enters as an organic part of their catechisms, has had a controlling force in the organization of their doctrines, and finds a place also in their order of worship. In this respect the advance of the Puritan and Presbyterian Churches beyond the position of the original Reformation must be regarded as a radical advance at the same time beyond some of the deepest elements of the Catholic Christian faith of all ages. This advance beyond the Apostles' Creed involves the introduction of a new and different scheme of doctrine from that which roots itself in this ancient symbol, and also such identification of

doctrine and creed as leads in the end to the substitution of mere doctrinal statements, in the place of the unchangeable verities of faith.

The misfortune here is not merely that the correspondent, when he inquires why "the ancient compilers" failed to state the purpose of the incarnation and death of Christ, fails himself to catch what is implied in the whole creed, viz., the eternal salvation of the redeemed Church heartily confessing it. That much the editor seems to understand. He joins together the incarnation crucifixion and resurrection of Christ with the eternal salvation of His redeemed Church. He sees that this connection is in some way implied. In this view it seems puerile to ask such a question. It might as well be asked why the Church confessed its faith in God at all? Why believe in God, the Father almighty, Maker of heaven and earth? Clearly because in this faith stood their eternal salvation. Why believe in Jesus Christ, His only begotten Son, our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried, the third day arose again, and ascended to the right hand of God the Father? For what purpose but that men are saved by believing in Jesus Christ, the Son of God? That this salvation must carry in it the forgiveness of sins and deliverance from all the power of sin, is not only implied, but in its proper place is stated, issuing in the resurrection of the body and life everlasting. This much the editor sees.

But the chief difficulty or misfortune (and here the editor is clearly involved in the same condition with his correspondent) lies in this, that in the minds of both the forgiveness of sins is not necessarily inherent in faith in the person of our Lord, His incarnation, death and resurrection, but hold rather in a doctrine of justification by faith according to which it is joined in some external way, by an arrangement or decree of God, with the person and work of Christ as its instrumental procuring cause. Here lie the difficulty and the error. The Son of God

became incarnate in order that He might suffer and die for the sins of men, and rise again and ascend to glory. But salvation does not necessarily hold in this. In order that all this may issue in salvation, it must be stated that this offering is made as a substitute for man, that God is willing to accept it as such, and, on this condition, pardon sin and bestow the gifts and graces of His Spirit for the sanctification of His people. Those now who are prepared to believe *this*, that is the statement of this purpose and plan, which becomes thus a doctrine for the understanding, will be saved. Salvation thus becomes a sort of commercial transaction between God and men, according to which the blood of Christ is the price of pardon which God provides and man accepts. Faith then becomes an assent to this arrangement. Men are challenged, not directly to believe in Christ, but to believe *that* Christ has procured pardon of sin and salvation for them by paying the penalty of a broken law with His most precious blood, that is, to believe in a *doctrinal statement* in regard to the purpose of His incarnation and death.

We do not say that this doctrinal statement may not contain important truth in its place. We are not saying here what it is or is not worth as doctrine. But who cannot see that it is a miserable travesty of the ever-blessed Gospel, when it is substituted as an object of faith in the place of the person and work of Christ, as these are made to confront us in the Apostles' Creed? The two are as wide apart as heaven and earth when the one is thus attempted to be put in the place of the others. Even supposing the doctrine to be true, which it is far from being in the form it is here held, still the difference would remain as the difference between Creed and Doctrine, between faith in Christ and a doctrinal statement of such faith for the understanding.

Before we proceed to remark farther upon this difference in general, however, we are impelled to bring out more fully the false conception of the doctrine of salvation involved in the article under consideration.

The inquiry of the correspondent, "Why the ancient compilers of the Creed did not state the purpose of the incarnation and the death and resurrection of Christ," implies in his mind that the object or end to be reached by the incarnation is something outside of and beyond the person of Christ, whereas in the mind of the Creed the incarnation has its purpose and end in itself. The purpose of the incarnation is the incarnation. In this holy mystery, Godhood and manhood are brought together in one, and this is the atonement in its deepest sense. Man by sin had separated himself from God and rendered it impossible in this sinful condition to receive into himself the divine life. In the incarnation these two, the divine and the human, are brought into harmonious union. This is the primary purpose and end of the incarnation. "The Word was made flesh and tabernacled among us, and we beheld His glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." This is the form in which God reveals Himself to men, in order that they may know and glorify Him. This is primarily the atonement, God dwelling with men. And this therefore is the primary mystery for faith. "Who do men say that I am?" "Who say ye that I am?" Peter said, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." Thus our Lord always challenged the faith of men in Himself. He did not ask, for what purpose think ye I became incarnate? or, why do I suffer and die and rise again? but, believe ye that *I am*? "If ye believe not that *I am*, ye shall die in your sins."

So, too, redemption as deliverance from sin and its consequences holds primarily in the person and work of Christ, and not in something beyond Him to which His work looks as its purpose and end. Objectively man's salvation is wrought out in the incarnation, the life, death and resurrection of Christ. He Himself is the true tabernacle of which the first tabernacle was a type. In this tabernacle He was the ministrant. He made the offering for sin in His death on the cross, passed through the veil, that is His flesh, and entered the most holy

place. "For by one offering He *hath perfected* for ever them that are being sanctified" (Heb. x. 14). John the Baptist directed his disciples to Him as "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world." How then can any one look upon this mystery of the Word made flesh, His contest with and victory over the powers of darkness, His sufferings and death, His triumph over death and him that had the power of death, in His resurrection from the dead and ascension to heaven, and then ask for a statement of the purpose of all this, without revealing a want of all proper conception of the mystery itself? It has results or sequences, and these are stated in their proper order in the Creed. By reason of His glorification, He is head over all things to the Church, and He will come to judge the quick and the dead. He sent the Holy Spirit, the Comforter, and established the Church by its baptism with the Spirit on the day of Pentecost. In the Church then we have the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting.

All right doctrine will follow this order. Christ is the centre of the Creed, who has revealed the Father and sent the Comforter. Salvation was wrought out objectively in Him, and is made over then through the Spirit to all them that believe. This salvation holds forever in union with Him. "This is the record, that God hath given to us eternal life, and this life is in His Son. He that hath the Son hath life; and he that hath not the Son of God hath not life" (1 John v. 11, 12). Thus much in the way of criticism on the article in the *Presbyterian*.

We proceed to consider still further now the difference between creed and doctrine and the relation between them.

That such distinction may be made is apparent from the fact that the early Church embodied its faith in but three œcumenical creeds, while there were no lack of doctrinal systems in that age, as there have not been in the ages since. Of these three the Apostles' has always held the chief place. Whatever new truth the Reformation brought out, it did not produce a

new creed, but rested satisfied with adopting the old ones. In the original Reformation churches of the first generation, the Apostles' Creed was incorporated in their confessions in such a way as to indicate its controlling influence in the statement of doctrine. It was inserted, not as a mere relic of antiquity or dead tradition, but as having normative authority in the construction of a confession or system of doctrine. In that way it was reproduced and used in the original confessions of the Lutheran and the Reformed Church. The Lutheran Catechism has the Creed as one of its divisions along with the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Sacraments. So, in the Heidelberg Catechism, in answer to the question, what is necessary for a Christian to believe? the answer is, "All things promised us in the Gospel which the articles of our Catholic undoubted Christian faith in sum teach us."

We may refer also to the liturgical use made of the Creed as indicating a difference between it and a confession in the modern sense. From the earliest times the Apostles' Creed was used in worship. It was the confession made by the catechumen as he received the sacrament of baptism. It formed a part of the regular service, especially in connection with the holy communion, and it continued thus in the service of the whole Christian Church down to the Reformation, and in all the original Reformation Churches to the present day. No regular liturgy would be considered complete without it. Its use has been objected to, we know, in certain churches, such as the Puritan and Presbyterian, or at least this use has been allowed to pass away; but this results from looking upon the Creed rather as an epitome of doctrine than a confession of faith. Eighteen centuries of the use of a creed in worship is certainly sufficient to show that such usage is proper. He that cometh unto God, we are told, must believe that He is, and that He is the rewarder of all that diligently seek Him. With the heart man believeth, and with the mouth confession is made. Faith seeks words in which to utter itself. Indeed the element or office of

confession of faith enters into all worship, even where it is not separated from other portions of the service. Thus we find it in prayers and hymns. It is easy to see that such confession differs from the use or utterance of doctrine merely. Doctrine is for the catechism, or theology; Creed is for the liturgy. These facts—that the Christian Church of all ages has received these three creeds, and not attempted or desired to form new ones, that they were accepted in this character by the Reformation, that they have always been used in worship, are sufficient to show that a creed differs from a doctrinal confession.

A creed is always more brief than a doctrinal confession. It is at once felt that for the purposes for which it is employed it should contain only the essentials of faith, while doctrinal confessions are amplified. As a creed is for all it is clothed in few words. At the beginning it was no doubt shorter still than the Apostles' Creed. At a time when the whole of a man's religion turned upon confessing Christ, over against Judaism and Heathenism, the words, "I believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of the living God," were all that were required. When this confession became enlarged after the order of the baptismal formula, and in harmony with the Apostolic benediction, it was still included in twelve brief articles. In this view the Creed has been regarded as an epitome of Christian doctrine. It is the germinal standard according to which systems of doctrine have been organized and elaborated. The editor of the *Presbyterian* sees this and nothing but this in the Apostles' Creed. He regards it as a rudimentary form of doctrine and nothing more. But the brevity of a creed signifies more than this. When error arose and the Church found it necessary to define its doctrines at greater length, the Creed still remained the same in this respect. It was felt that it belongs to the nature of creed that it should be brief. The catechumens were instructed in the whole field of Christian doctrine. At the school of Alexandria they spent several years in such instruction. But when they came to make their confession, the brief Apos-

tles' Creed, or the Nicene it may be, sufficed. And so now, after all the progress that has been made in the development of doctrines, this form of confession still answers for Roman Catholic, Greek and Protestant. It is a question whether the Church gained anything by enlarging the Apostles' Creed into the Nicene, and then into the Athanasian Creed, so far as the proper office and meaning of creed is concerned. As doctrinal formulas, these two latter may be important as containing more elaborate definitions, but just for this reason they are not so well adapted to the purposes of worship. The Athanasian Creed, as it is called, especially, as it attempts to define mysteries that are beyond the grasp of the human intellect, jars upon the spirit of devotion, and is scarcely ever used in a liturgical way. Creed differs from doctrine, then, by its brevity of expression.

But this clearly is not all the difference. A doctrinal summary may be brief also, as, for instance, the platform of the Evangelical Alliance, yet this platform is not a creed in the proper sense. It is not adopted as such for use in worship. Hence, if we press the inquiry still further, we may say that creed limits itself more than doctrine to the objective facts of faith. It states immediately and directly *what* we believe, not so much the *how* or *why*. Creed is for faith, doctrine for knowledge. These two, faith and knowledge, are indeed closely united, but they are not just the same. We may say, indeed, that faith has to do with verities that are to be known as well as believed, and doctrine has to do with things that are to be believed as well as known, but the order in which believing and knowing are related is not the same in both. The Apostles' Creed, as compared with any system of doctrine, or epitome of doctrine, illustrates this. The Nicene, to some extent, and the Athanasian Creed still more, pass beyond the proper conception of Creed. In the Apostles' Creed we are confronted with the real objects of faith.

As all religion has for its object the union of man with God,

faith is directly confronted with God as its object, and as the Christian religion looks to God revealed in Christ, faith here is immediately directed to Jesus Christ, our Lord. There is no attempt at an explanation of the mystery of the Trinity for the understanding, because the Trinity is an objective fact that must be laid hold of by faith in its character as an incomprehensible mystery. So, also, there is no explanation given as to the nature of the person of Christ as divine and human, or of His incarnation. Here are objects that faith embraces directly by a spiritual activity which differs from intellectual apprehension. While faith has thus to do directly with objective realities, doctrine is concerned with statements or propositions in regard to these realities for the understanding. The statement, there are three persons in one God, is a doctrine; I believe in God the Father, and in His Son Jesus Christ, our Lord, and in the Holy Ghost, is creed. Doctrine has, indeed, in one view, objective realities for its subjective apprehension also; but, as doctrine, these are apprehended through the intellect, and therefore these objective realities here take the form of thoughts. That Christ was conceived by the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin Mary, that He is thus the Son of God and the Son of Mary, is a fact for faith; the explanation of it is for knowledge. It will at once be asked here, what is faith worth without such intellectual apprehension? That is a proper question in its place, and may be answered. But we are trying now to point out the difference between the two, not the nature of their union or relation to each other. It is necessary to see that they are different before we can know their relation.

A failure to make this distinction has led at times to substitute doctrines themselves in the place of the objective verities with which they are concerned as the objects of faith, and the result has been disastrous for the Church. This was the case, as the history of theology informs us, in the Protestant scholastic period, as it is called, of the XVIIth century. It was

the age of Protestant orthodox confessionalism. It perverted the very foundation doctrine of Protestantism itself. Whereas that doctrine originally meant that man is justified by true faith in Jesus Christ, by which, as a condition on his part, he is united to Christ and made a partaker of all His benefits, and so receives the assurance in himself of pardoned sin; it came now to mean that when a man believes the proposition or doctrine that he is justified by faith then he is justified. The formal principle of the Reformation, as Dorner describes the theology of this period in his *History of Protestant Theology*, came to be substituted in the place of the material principle. Orthodoxy was substituted for faith. The great question for assurance consisted in being able to summon an array of proof-texts for any given doctrine, and the assent to the doctrine thus established was taken to be the same thing as the *testimonium Sancti Spiritus*. It was not even Scripture that was directly believed, or made the object of faith, but the *doctrines* proved by Scripture. The result, we know. As mere intellectual demonstration of the truth of Christianity could not maintain itself against *Deism* in England, so in Germany this sort of orthodoxy could not stand before the attacks of rationalism.

This error still prevails,—this tendency to make mere doctrine itself the object of faith, and one cause of it is, we think, the fact that this old distinction between creed and doctrine is lost sight of to so large an extent. In many churches there is no provision made for any special act of confession of faith in the form of a creed. Not only is this wanting in the ordinary worship, but also on special occasions, as when members are received into the communion of the Church. The person to be received may be asked whether he *believes* that he is a Christian, that he has truly repented of his sins and is converted, and whether he is willing to accept, that is, give his assent to the system of doctrine maintained by the denomination into whose communion he is about to be received; but he is not

challenged with the only true object of faith as set forth in the Creed: "Dost thou believe in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ, etc.?" It is true, a person may repeat the words of the Creed also without having true faith; but, in this case, the form of confession is at least right, whereas in the other case it is not. It is equivalent to asking him to believe in himself just when he needs to look away from himself and fix his faith on the Lord Jesus Christ. It may be said that he is presumed to have privately and secretly exercised faith* in Christ previously, and that this profession is only a statement of this fact, a sort of public testimony before the witnessing congregation, but this only shows the inadequacy and weakness of the form of public confession. It is not really an act of worship performed to God, but a statement to men and for men.

Many feel the distinction without a clear consciousness of it, as may be seen in the discussions constantly recurring in regard to just how much doctrine it is necessary to believe. And, as a further consequence, the question of doctrinal orthodoxy is discussed as battles fought in the air. Theology too is often brought into odium, just because its proper office and function are not understood. We sympathize with this objection to theology so far as it presents a protest, consciously or unconsciously, against substituting doctrinal statements in the place of the true objects of faith, but this objection holds rather against the misuse than against the right use and office of theology.

In urging this distinction between creed and doctrine, whether we can clearly define it or not, we are not opposing the importance and necessity of maintaining pure doctrines. We are not overlooking the fact that a creed, consisting of brief statements of the facts of Christianity, as the Apostles' Creed, may become more or less negative merely if it is not accompanied by a right understanding of these facts. The Apostles' Creed may be confessed by Roman Catholic, Greek and Pro-

testant alike ; it may be confessed by a Socinian or Universalist as well as by an Orthodox Trinitarian ; so that what has been claimed as its great virtue as a Catholic creed may be turned as an objection against it. It is one thing for one person, and quite a different confession for another. This, however, is not really a valid objection to the Creed. It only argues man's imperfection in unfolding the contents of Christian faith. The same objection might be made to the baptismal formula, in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, or the Apostolic benediction, or to the Bible itself, which has received contradictory interpretations.

This difference between creed and doctrine is stated in different words by *Dr. Schaff*, in a recent article in the *Contemporary Review*, on The Antagonism of Creeds, although in the title of the article he seems to identify creeds and doctrinal confessions. He says : " We must distinguish between truth and dogma. Truth is a divinely-revealed substance, dogma the human form and logical statement of it. Truth alone can save, not the dogma. Many may sincerely believe the truth as exhibited in the Word of God, and yet feel unable to accept as binding any dogmatic formula. Theoretical orthodoxy is not always connected with living piety. It may be dead and worthless before God. ' The devils also believe and tremble.' To feel right and to act right is as important as to think right and believe right." These last sentences go, indeed, deeper than either creed or doctrine, viz., to Christian life itself. Again he says : " Another important distinction must be made between religious and theological differences. Learned Christians of different denominations, or of the same denomination, may be at perfect harmony in their spiritual life, and yet they may widely dissent in their theology. Most of the differences of the orthodox creeds '(doctrinal confessions?)' are not religious but theological, and hence secondary or non-fundamental. It was a serious mistake of an intensely theological age to introduce so much logical and metaphysical theology into the

creeds, and thus to intensify and perpetuate controversy, bigotry, and hatred. A creed is not a system of scientific theology. Many of our Confessions of Faith would be far better for being shorter, simpler and more popular."

And yet, with all this, we owe a great debt of gratitude to those theological controversies in the early Church in which the victory was gained over the great heresies, Ebionism, Gnosticism, Arianism, etc., which came in like a flood to vitiate and destroy the pure Christian faith. They were necessary. And in like manner we are greatly indebted to the Reformation for contending against the false doctrine that had crept into the Church during the Middle Ages, and once more establishing the true doctrine.

Doctrine is necessary as a positive unfolding of the contents of the Christian creed for the understanding. This is a positive necessity. Doctrines would have had a development, even if the faith had not been assailed by error, just because faith, though going before, is *in order to* knowledge. The deepest element of our Christian life is love as the inspiration of the will, corresponding to which, though not so fundamental, is truth for faith, and then faith which worketh by love also enters the understanding in the form of knowledge. These are organically related in the order of our being. Hence we are to add to our faith virtue, and to virtue knowledge.

But the rise of error unquestionably hastened and quickened the development of doctrine. The enemy sowed tares in the field of Christian faith. Error is theoretical evil. It has its back-ground in the kingdom of falsehood, the world of darkness. It comes in, therefore, as evil under other forms, to lead men astray and pervert the Christian faith. When that is the case the true faith must assert and defend itself against error, otherwise it becomes itself corrupted. Thus Augustine developed his doctrinal system over against Pelagianism in the early Church, and the Reformers propounded the doctrines of the Reformation against the errors of Romanism. When the

Protestant faith became established it was also attacked from without and within. It had, therefore, not only to defend itself against external enemies, but also against false doctrine rising up within its own bosom.

But it must be remembered that truth, while it is one in substance (to be distinguished in this objective character, however, from its subjective apprehension in the way of thought), is nevertheless endlessly various in its apprehension. It is not just the same for any two individuals. Its apprehension must be personal and individual. It can not be handed over as a *traditum* or a *depositum* from one to another. One may aid in unfolding it in another, but that is all that teaching can do. It must be appropriated by the individual, and made his own, and as minds are endlessly various so the intellectual apprehension of truth must be endlessly various. The life of a tree is one, and it comes in the end to one fruit, but the leaves of the tree are as various as their number. If truth in the form of thought were the same or uniform it would be something dead, not living. No two persons think exactly alike, and it would be a loss rather than a gain if they did, because it would destroy the variety of truth, a variety that does not necessarily disturb its unity. So as man's social life develops in certain comprehensive types, Christian doctrine will organize itself in certain sections or circles. In the early Church the type of doctrine in the Eastern Church was different from that of the Western; the Greek mind was speculative and metaphysical; the Roman, realistic and practical. It betrays a narrow view of the Reformation not to be able to distinguish two great types of doctrine, the Lutheran and the Reformed. The one did not exclude the other. The primary differences between them, which we have not space here to enumerate, show that there is a sort of polar relation between them, and these differences can never be overcome by one absorbing the other, but by both being taken up in a higher form of truth. So all legitimate differences or varieties, according to the very law of development, tend to reconciliation in continually higher forms of truth.

In this view we can see a relative necessity for denominational types of doctrine (which must be distinguished, however, from the spirit of sect and schism, which is its caricature and devilish counterfeit), and find in them a relative good as well as, it may be, a weakness and imperfection, weakness and imperfection which belong to all things human. Different types of doctrine appeared even in the Apostolic Church, and among the Apostles themselves, a doctrinal unfolding by Peter, and Paul, and John. We see the same thing in the Roman Church, and now also in the Protestant. It will doubtless continue so to the end. It has become apparent, we think, that no one confession of Protestantism can ever expect to absorb all the rest, and bring about unity of doctrine in that way. The sooner all denominations come to see and acknowledge that, the better it will be for the interests of our common Protestantism. In some way unity and harmony must come with these differences, not by attempting to overcome them by an external *dictum* which aims as Romanism has done, to force them into a corpse-like semblance of unity at the expense of freedom. Freedom in the Church as well as in the State is too sacred to be given up for the sake of such uniformity, which after it is gained at such a sacrifice proves in the end to be dead and not living. If such uniformity were possible as the Roman theory teaches, it would be inexplicable why our Lord did not provide once for all a system or confession of doctrine which could then have been handed down to all generations. We know the answer of the Roman theory at this point, that just to meet this supposed want our Lord appointed an infallible teaching authority in the Church that might always be at hand to meet the necessity as it arises; but besides the internal impossibility of one finite mind being able in this way to comprehend the wholeness of infinite truth for all other minds, which the more it is contemplated the more monstrous and profane the assumption becomes, the contradictions of the Roman Catholic teaching as matter of history, which can never be unwritten, has sufficiently

established the fallacy of their claim. Not here, as our Mercersburg theology has always maintained, is to be found a solution of the difficulty. In all its warfare against the diabolical spirit of sect and schism, this theology has always steadily maintained that Christianity is essentially life, not doctrine, and though it has labored earnestly for some solution of doctrinal and denominational antagonisms in a higher and better unity, yet it has labored with equal earnestness to maintain the freedom of all legitimate doctrinal development. It has opposed Protestant licentiousness no less than papal tyranny. It has held up the Apostles' creed as the venerable symbol of our Catholic undoubted Christian faith, and as the norm for the development of all Christian doctrine.

In discussing the subject of union among different sections and denominations of the Church, in the article in the *Contemporary Review* already referred to (October, 1876), Dr. Schaff sets aside: 1. An *absorptive* union of all creeds (doctrinal confessions?) in one. 2. A *negative* union, which would give up all distinctive creeds (confessions), and adopt the Bible alone. 3. An eclectic union, composed of fragments from all creeds (confessions), and then proposes: 4. A *conservative* union, which recognizes, from a truly broad and comprehensive evangelical Catholic platform, all the creeds in their relative rights as far as they represent different aspects of divine truth, without attempting an amalgamation or organic union of denominations. And in his *Suggestions for Promoting a Free Union*, among others he recommends continuance in prayer for a Pentecostal outpouring of the Holy Ghost upon all the churches which profess the holy name of Jesus. God's Spirit alone, he says, who is the Spirit of union and peace, can heal the divisions of Christendom, destroy the evil spirit of bigotry, hatred and jealousy, fill us with divine love, and overrule all sectarian divisions (sic!) for a deeper and fuller harmony.

This seems to us rather a giving up of the problem than a hopeful guidance to its solution. We see nothing in the fourth

proposition that can really bring any help. It seems with all its pleasant-sounding words to counsel a good-natured union on a "broad and comprehensive evangelical platform," without showing after all what more that is to be than the platform, for instance, of the Evangelical Alliance, which, however, he says elsewhere in the article is not sufficient or satisfactory. Then his suggestion of continued prayer for a Pentecostal outpouring of the Holy Ghost implies, in the first place, that there can be another Pentecost (which can not be, we think, except as a final fulfillment of the ancient prophecy in connection in some way with the *second coming* of the Lord), and in the second place—what is of the utmost importance—he *fails here to connect the office of the Spirit with the Divine Word*. It is the office of the Spirit, to illumine the *Word* of God, as containing in it the truth of divine revelation proceeding from the Lord Jesus Christ as its source. He is not only the Spirit of "union and peace," but as in order to this He is the Spirit of *truth*. "Howbeit when he, *the Spirit of truth*, is come, he will guide you into all truth: for he shall not speak of himself; but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak: and he will show you things to come. He shall glorify me; for he shall receive of mine, and show it unto you. All things that the Father hath are mine: therefore said I, that he shall take of mine, and show it unto you." (John xvi. 13-15.)

We think he has too briefly dismissed the second proposition in reference to what he styles a *negative* union, which would give up all distinctive creeds, and adopt the Bible alone. We would divide this proposition, or rather perhaps change it, so as to propose the holding of the creed, and the Bible alone, not in the way of private interpretation, that is its interpretation by the natural reason of every man, but the Bible alone in the original sense in which it was given, as the Word of God to be the only infallible guide in the truth as it is in Jesus. It is not certainly the office of the Holy Spirit to preside in the conflicts and controversies of contending human confessions, and to re-

ceive of *them*, and show it unto us, but to illumine the Divine Word, the Word of God, for our spiritual apprehension, and thus to lead us into the truth. The "mine" in the passage quoted from John's gospel is not indeed limited to the written Word, but refers primarily to the personal Word, the glorified life and the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ. Separated from Him the written word has no power or life; it is only as they (the Scriptures) testify of Him that they have in them the truth; but in this relation to Christ, as the two stand together, we may say the Spirit takes of the things that are the Lord's—His Word—and shows it unto us.

This leads us to say now, what may have seemed a serious omission in the exalted character we have given to the Apostles' creed in the course of this article, that the Bible, as the Word of God, stands for us above all creeds and confessions. This does not require at all that the creed must be given up, nor even all doctrinal confessions, in order to adopt the Bible alone, in the sense of a certain class of Protestants, to whom no doubt Dr. Schaff refers in his second proposition. The Apostles' creed was not framed from the Bible, but came in with the New Testament as pure Apostolic tradition, and it is therefore in full harmony with the New Testament. This creed came in in its essential elements before any theological controversies arose, and in any readjustment of the Church's creeds or doctrines, we may rest satisfied, we think, that it will never be necessary to go back of it.

But what is needed in this age of universal discord in the Church is not what Dr. Schaff recommends. We are not to sit down in a sort of despair of being able to reach any more truth than we already possess, and then seek to cultivate a spirit of charity towards all confessions. That is only a *negative* condition also, although it is called *conservative*. Old antagonisms can only be reconciled by new and deeper apprehension of the truth in which they are (*aufgeheben*) taken up. And where shall we look for such new and deeper apprehension

of the truth as it is in Jesus but in *His Word*? The misery is that it is imagined that the Word of God has been fully exhausted, so far as any general help for the Church is concerned. The immense learning, exegetical and historical, that has been brought to bear upon it by the complicated machinery of our modern commentaries, has drawn from it all the meaning that it contains, and therefore when theology fails to lift us out of our antagonisms, there is nothing more to be done but to pray for a Pentecostal outpouring of the Spirit. Thus while we are saying, Who shall ascend up into heaven, and bring the word unto us, that we may hear it, and do it, or who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it unto us that we may hear it and do it, we are forgetting that it is not hidden from us, neither is it far off, but very nigh.

What we need to see is that the Word of God is inexhaustible, infinite, as is its author. Any new measure of illumination from Christ through the Spirit must in the very nature of the case be joined with, or consist in, a new measure of illumination of the Word of God, for these are constantly the measure, the one of the other. How can it be otherwise if we have the Word of God in a completed canon? Nothing, we are told, is to be added to nor taken from that Book, under penalty of a solemn anathema. Does it then contain the whole Word of God that is needed by the Church until the final glorification? Then to it we must look for the help required in such a time as this. Even the Spirit of God will not reveal truth to us outside of this Divine Word. That would be a reflection on that Word itself. It must be a revelation in and through the Word. Such revelation may leave our present doctrinal confessions behind as belonging to a stadium of the Church's history now passing away. It may supersede denominational distinctions and carry with it the realization or fulfillment of the prophecy that it will no longer be necessary for one to say to his neighbor, Know thou the Lord, but all shall know Him from the least to the greatest. For they shall all be taught of God. That

would be indeed individualism, but it would be such individualism as would be joined with the fullest and freest unity of the Church of our Lord, and in it there would be one faith, one Lord, and one baptism, and one God and Father who is over all and in all.

This would be not merely a *conservative* union, in the sense of resting satisfied with what we have, but it would imply a new revelation of truth to help the Church to pass through the Red Sea which now seems to forbid all advance of the hosts of God's Israel. Can any one say, or for a moment think, that is too much to hope for, when the enemies have marshalled their forces in array, shutting out all retreat or escape? Such a position, by very general acknowledgment, the Church occupies at the present time. Surely the rod that smote the Red Sea in ancient days and divided its waters, so that the people of God passed through without harm, while their enemies perished beneath its returning waves, will not be wanting now or in any time of similar peril. When throughout the Christian world the wisest and the best have exhausted their resources in efforts to bring to an end the antagonisms of a struggling Church, it ought not to be thought strange that we should feel constrained to seek in the Word of God the solution of the difficulties. Rather ought it to be accounted strange if this were not done.

But, it may be asked, how can any new meaning be drawn from the Word of God if the Church has had it in all ages as its guide? The Church has indeed always had this Word, but its deep spiritual sense only came to be known in progressive revelations. The Jews had the Old Testament Scriptures for ages, yet the Apostle tells them that a veil was upon their faces whenever they read those Scriptures. Was there not a new illumination of those Scriptures when Christ came? Did He not, "beginning at Moses and all the Prophets, expound unto them in *all* the Scriptures the things concerning Himself?" And was there not a new illumination of the Scriptures when

the Holy Spirit came on the day of Pentecost, and Peter preached the meaning of the Old Testament in a sense in which no Jewish rabbi, no school of the Prophets understood them before? And was there no new illumination of the holy Scriptures when after Councils and theologians failed utterly to bring in the needed reformation in head and members, in doctrine and life, Wyckliffe and Huss, and Zwingle and Luther, and others all over Europe began to preach and expound the Scriptures? How then can we say that the sense of holy Scripture is now at length exhausted, just at a time when their help is most needed? The general statement is so plain that it seems to be unnecessary to urge it. And having presented it we now close our remarks upon this interesting subject for the present.

In whatever help may come from the sacred Scriptures to aid the Church in its present difficulties, it will appear, we think, that creed and doctrine are not just the same, but that without uniformity of doctrine or doctrinal confessions, the Church will be able, without sacrificing the truth in any part, to unite in making its common confession of faith in the words of its Catholic undoubted Christian faith as contained in the venerable *Apostles' Creed*.

T. G. A.

ART. VI.—CREATION AND COSMOGONY.

BY REV. DR. THEODORE APPEL, PROF. OF ASTRONOMY IN FRANKLIN
AND MARSHALL COLLEGE, LANCASTER, PA.

CREATION.

Faith and knowledge. There is a difference between creation and cosmogony, or the process by which the universe was evolved out of chaos. They are, of course, closely connected; but it is a matter of importance that the distinction should be kept clearly in mind. Sometimes they are confounded, and this always leads to more or less confusion when attempts are made to show the harmony between science and revelation. Creation is a fact of supernatural character, a mystery that goes beyond the grasp of reason and is addressed to our faith. By faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God. It is possible, therefore, for an individual to have a clear and intelligent faith in God as the Creator of all things, with little or no scientific knowledge of the process through which they passed into actual existence. This in fact must necessarily be the case with the generality of men whose circumstances do not allow them time to study all the details of the generation of the heavens and the earth. It is in fact quite possible for individuals to have very inadequate, crude and erroneous views of the science of creation without suffering serious harm to their faith. This has often been the case. But it is clear, that cosmogony is not a matter of indifference so far as faith is concerned: certainly not to such an extent that one system is just as good as another, no matter how it stands related to our religious convictions. Faith lives and thrives in the element of light, of truth and reason. It is repugnant to error of every kind, and sooner or later it feels its presence and by its own

inborn energy strives to throw it off as a dead weight. There must be, therefore, some system of cosmogony involved in the idea of creation 'that will harmonize with Scripture better than any other, with which faith can affiliate more freely, and by which it can be enlarged and expanded, to prevent it from becoming crippled, contracted and narrow-minded. To our faith here, as well as elsewhere, we should add knowledge, according to the injunction of Scripture.

Keeping this distinction in view, it will be useful for the discussions which we have before us, if we first present in a brief way the principal aspects of the scriptural doctrine of creation. Placed in its proper position, above the arena of logic, beyond the region of science, with which it is too often identified and mixed up in unseemly strife, it will then appear that it is a sphere by itself, which no shaft from an unfriendly science can reach.

Idea of Creation. The whole doctrine of creation is involved in the first verse of Genesis: *In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.* This is all that is necessary for faith, so clear and comprehensive as to be easily embraced, by all classes of men to whom the word of God comes with its own divine authority. But this simple statement of the primitive idea of creation has been developed in the consciousness of Christian nations by its antagonism with erroneous views; and it is, therefore, best understood by studying it in connection with the various theories with which it has been under the necessity of contending amidst the conflicts of the ages. These give it a definite character, and bound it as it were at every point.

Polytheism. It is distinguished from the polytheistic view, and asserts that the creation is the work of one Supreme Being and not of many.

Dualism. It also ignores the dualistic theory. Dualism sought to explain the mystery of the universe, and especially of moral evil, by asserting the existence of two original principles, one of light and the other of darkness. In this way the ancient Persians, in particular, sought to relieve the character

of God from the imputation that He was the source of evil. But this attempt at justifying the ways of God in explaining the origin of evil did not remove the difficulty. It only increased it. Dualism destroys the idea of one Supreme Being, places Him in a kingdom of light over against a kingdom of darkness, in which He has no power except as He makes conquests, and sets limits to His infinity. It virtually makes two gods, each supreme in his own sphere, but neither supreme over all things. It deifies matter, by making it eternal and self-subsistent. It lowers the idea of the Creator or destroys it altogether. He is no longer the Creator, but simply the former of things out of chaos. This error was wide-spread. It appeared early in the orient, and pervaded more or less the Greek philosophy under its various forms. Even Plato, for the want of a higher light, had to succumb to it.

The true doctrine resists this error, by asserting that God is the Creator of all things, matter, no less than its diversified forms. It asserts an eternity beyond the era of creation, where God alone existed, and yet not alone, but in ineffable communion with Himself as the holy Trinity. John i. 1. This, of course, baffles our finite comprehension; but the difficulty in any other view is greater both to reason and faith. In antagonism with the dualistic theory, theologians have sometimes taught that God created all things out of *nothing*. This, however, is not taught in the Bible. It is relatively true, but not absolutely, as we shall see.

Pantheism. Pantheism, when logically carried out, develops a theory of the origin of things which is equally adverse to the idea of a real creation. It makes God the soul of the universe, whilst this latter is His body. Nature as a whole is one living animal, and, of course, necessary and eternal. The doctrine of emanations or æons, which started in India and passed over in the course of time to the West, was essentially pantheistic; it was in fact, the philosophical basis on which Pantheism was made to rest. It regards God as a luminous fluid, from which

waves flowed forth and formed themselves into numerous æons, that commenced as spirits and then became grosser as they receded from God, until the result was matter and the universe. According to the Gnostics, one class of these dreamers, the Jehovah of the Old Testament was not the supreme God, but a subordinate æon, made up of light and darkness, and therefore, the being who was best qualified to form our present world with its changing aspects of light and darkness, good and evil. Christ was also an æon, although not in the descending sense, who came to reform the imperfect work of the Jewish demiurge.

It would fill many volumes to describe the various phases of pantheism with its endless ramifications among the ancient Hindus, the Greeks, the Gnostics, the New Platonics and the modern pantheists of Germany. Differing as they do, they, however, all agree in identifying God with the creation, and so either blur or deny altogether the notion of creation. They materialize the conception of Deity, destroy His unity by making Him an infinitely divisible quantity and divest Him of all the characteristics of personality. He, however, is; He has absolute being, and He is infinite, distinguishable from the creature and independent of His work. As He existed before the creature, so He could now. In His essence He is incommunicable. He cannot give His glory to another. He is the source, the ground, the living principle, from whom the universe proceeded and in whom alone it has its being. It is the work and act of His sovereign will. It is not the shell which He forms around Himself by a certain innate plastic principle, a process which we witness in the growth and work of certain marine animals. Sublime, wonderful and profound as the speculative, flights of earnest-minded pantheists must oftentimes be regarded, their conception of creation, divested of the bright colors of the imagination, does not in the end rise materially above the formation of mollusks at the bottom of the ocean.

The object of pantheism is the same as that of dualism. It

is equally earnest and sincere in its efforts to explain the mystery of evil. It springs up in all nations, where the divine revelation is lost, and men still think and reflect earnestly. In such circumstances, it is in fact a necessity of the human mind. As God is apprehended as life and activity, so He must become objective to Himself. This, it is supposed, can take place only in creation. There is truth in all this, and thoughtful persons must feel its force. But God as the Infinite, the Immortal and Invisible, cannot objectify Himself in finite nature. This He can only do in Himself, in the Trinity, in the eternal Logos, in whom, it is said, dwelleth the fulness of the Godhead *bodily*.

Materialism. Atheism. The failure of the dualist and the pantheist, in giving a satisfactory explanation of the origin of things in harmony with the idea of God, tends necessarily to discourage the human mind in its efforts to solve this question. The atheist cuts the knot in the summary style of the bold Macedonian conqueror, by eliminating one of the factors in the problem, and that the most important of all, the very thought of God. Atheism lies at the foundation of the philosophy of such ancient materialists as Democritus and Epicurus, who sought only a material principle for the origin of nature. This they found in the fortuitous concourse of physical atoms, a doctrine which was to them, no doubt, a mere convenience, for which they most probably would have substituted any other, if it had served their purpose equally as well in ruling out the spiritual element in nature. The same path is pursued by modern materialists, who have no love for the spiritual in their love and homage for the purely natural. It is therefore not strange that some of them who are most distinguished, like Tyndall and Huxley, in the absence of explicit expressions of faith in God as the Creator and Originator of all things, have incurred the suspicion of downright atheism, because they insist, in appearance, at least, only on a certain dark and obscure "cosmical life," as the womb out of which nature in its multiplicity and variety took its rise. For the honor of

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science, as well as for the sake of truth, it is a consummation to be devoutly hoped for, that these lights of English science would follow in the footsteps of their great predecessors, Newton, Boyle, Brewster and others, and in the ear of their auditors confess *ex animo* the faith of their childhood, in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth. The error into which materialists are ever prone to run is the denial of just this article of the Christian creed. Nature has no sufficient independent principle in itself. It throughout rests on a spiritual basis; and the principle of its unity, of its beauty and its harmony is to be found not in itself, but beyond itself, in the thought and purpose of its Creator.

Stoicism. Fatalism. Rationalism. The error of the stoic or fatalist does not differ essentially from that of the materialist, because it ignores the agency of a personal, intelligent Being in the creation, and attributes the formation of things and the order of the world to a blind fate, an impersonal reason, or the vague unknowable, lying back of the Divine agency—something to which Jupiter himself and all the gods had to succumb. This is something just as dark and obscure, and just as irrational as the dark forces of nature, out of which some would have us to believe that the entire cosmos, including man, with all his spiritual endowments, sprang in a natural course of evolution. It is equally destructive to the idea of creation as embodied in the first article of the universal creed of Christendom.

Summary. Summing up what has now been said, we may embody the doctrine of creation under its negative aspects, in a few words, when we say that the universe was called into existence by one Supreme Being, and not by gods many, as polytheism teaches; that the original matter out of which all material bodies were formed was created by a Divine act, and not simply arranged by the Divine will; that God is the source of all the laws or forces of the material world, and not chance, fate, nature or reason; that creation is the result of

the Divine activity, not the outflowing of His substance in a pantheistic sense; that it embodies His thoughts, but not only His thoughts according to idealism; that it is His work, an act of His will, but not exclusively so in a realistic sense; that it is rather to be viewed as a work of God in which thought and act are united; and that it is the work of a free, personal Being, and not the workings of a vague, impersonal reason, as the substratum of all appearances, according to the scheme of the rationalist.

Creation positively considered. Viewed under a positive aspect, the doctrine of creation presents greater difficulties to a rational comprehension than when considered negatively. We can more readily understand what it is not than what it is. This latter takes us beyond the region of experience, brings us to the confines of the spiritual world, and must in its actual character forever remain to a great extent a mystery. Who was present when the foundations of the world were laid, and with whom did the Almighty take counsel when He formed the plan of the universe and projected it as an actuality on the fields of time and space? Still some rays of light have fallen upon the process by which the Infinite saw proper to reveal Himself in the finite, and to make it the emblem of His presence in an outward, objective world. To such a light shining in a dark place we do well, if we reverently take heed, until in a higher and glorified state, with faculties free and unbiassed, we shall have a vision of the truth as it is.

Ex nihilo nihil fit. As already said, in opposition to dualistic views, it is correct to say that God made all things out of *nothing*. But this is only true when it denies a physical origin of things, such as a primitive matter or fluid. In any other sense it embodies a lurking error, and the old maxim that out of nothing nothing comes, is true. The Bible never says that God created the world out of nothing, although such language has crept into Luther's translation, and into some of the Christian creeds. The correct view of the subject is con-

tained in the passage where the Scripture says that "the things that are seen were not made of things which do appear;" or, as it perhaps should be rendered, *made of things which do not appear*. Such invisible things that do not appear to the eye are far from being equivalent to nonentity. They unquestionably have a better right to be considered as actual realities than the things which appear, because the visible has its existence only as it stands in the invisible. They are to be considered in fact as the substantive forces which the Creator employed in the actualization of worlds. They are His thoughts, His ideas, embodied in the Logos from all eternity, and now actualized in an outward universe by this same Logos, through the life-giving energies of the Divine Spirit.

Platonism. These ideas, by which the universe existed potentially in the Divine mind from all eternity, were however, not simply the models according to which the world and its contents were fashioned, for that were Platonism; but their foundations, their very substance, the spiritual basis on which the entire phenomenal world rests.

Creation two-fold. Creation, therefore, is two-fold. In the first place, it involves the creation of germs and their localization in time and space, and, in some degree, as independent centres of activity and sources of life and motion; and, in the second place, in the evolution of the visible universe out of these invisible forces. The first is the *creatio prima seu immediata*; the second, the *creatio secunda seu mediata*. This distinction was made long ago by the celebrated Church father, St. Augustine, and is fully confirmed by the researches of modern science.

COSMOGONY.

Faith. Now, so far as the primary creation, the creation of the germinal powers of the universe, is concerned, it is plain that it lies beyond the region of science. It addresses itself mainly to our faith. It is a Divine revelation which carries with it its own convincing power. It contains nothing abhor-

rent to our reason, and falls in fully with our intuitions of God. And so, if any persons, under the cover of science, are disposed to interpose here their scientific negative, we must waive all further discussion, for the reason assigned by Newton to the French infidels, that they are not qualified to discuss such matters.

Science. But when we come to consider the question of the evolution of the universe in its present form out of pre-existent germs, the *creatio secunda* of St. Augustine, we come to a region, in which science has a legitimate work to perform, and it may be properly called in to illustrate the biblical account of creation under this secondary aspect. But here the conflict commences. It is asserted that the two accounts of creation, the biblical and the scientific, contradict each other, and that as the facts of science cannot be denied, the Mosaic record of creation can no longer be maintained as historically true, but must be reduced to the category of myths, such as are naturally formed among all nations in their attempts to explore the origin of the world. Is this so? We think not. For a long time it was thought to be so, and the question was a perplexing one for the Christian student to consider. But the times of such strife have in a great measure passed away. The science of nature has made progress, and so also the science of the interpretation of Scripture, and the result has been a surprising harmony, we may say, between the two records. There are several classes of persons who, as a matter of course, see nothing here still but jarring discord; those who have grown tired of the discussion and despair of a peaceful solution; those who adopt what they consider the simple meaning of the Bible, and make no account of the results of science; and others again who do not wish or desire a reconciliation. These latter regard the account of creation in the first chapter of Genesis as the weak point in the Bible, and hence make it the centre of attack. If they succeed in their assault here against the Divine revelation, at the incidentals, not the essence of the Bible, they imagine that other

consequences must follow, and the day come when the Bible, the great Book par excellence of Christendom, will be put on a level with other books. There is therefore still room and occasion for a biblical apologetik, which neither the theologian nor the scientist should despise.

Fundamental axiom. The proper course here to be pursued is to adopt the general principle that there can be no conflict between science and the Bible. God cannot contradict Himself. He cannot say one thing in nature and another in revelation. Having adopted this as a guiding principle, we have the best preparation for the work of tracing out the harmony subsisting between the word and work of the Creator. Armed with this assurance, we can afford to exercise the utmost candor, acknowledging discrepancies where they occur, but regarding them only as apparent, and consenting to wait until the progress of science and of biblical interpretation shall remove them.

Difficulties. Before we proceed to compare the account of creation as given in Genesis with that which is taught by science, it will be of use to us if in advance we glance at some of the difficulties that stand in the way of their reconciliation.

Prophetic vision. One of the most prominent of these is that we do not sufficiently distinguish between a scientific view of creation and that of the inspired writer. That which is given in Genesis is the prophetic, not the scientific. As the prophets foresaw future events, so under the influence of inspiration, they could look back into the dim vista of the past, and see events as they occurred many years before. It is not at all probable that such history was repeated to them orally, so that they heard it with their ears and transcribed what they heard on the tablets of memory or on parchment. That is a mechanical view of inspiration, which happily is passing away, if it be not already exploded. Doubtless God did sometimes address the ear in audible, human language, just as He sometimes addressed directly the inner human consciousness of inspired men; but it was different where history, in the future

or the past, facts or events, were to be revealed. In that case the scenes in the future or the past were themselves spread out before the mind of the seer panoramically, and the activity of the prophet was called into requisition in describing what he saw thus prophetically. It was, no doubt, in this way we received the record of creation as we have it in the first chapter of Genesis. It appeared to the vision of the prophet, whether of Moses or some one else is a matter of no consequence here, in a series of tableaux, which he described in his own language, under the guidance, however, all the while of the Divine Spirit, so that he could commit no error in the use of his words. This view of the subject, advocated by Dr. Kurtz, in his work on Biblical Astronomy, and by other German theologians, is gaining ground in England and America. Hugh Miller employs it with good effect in his works.

Scientific view. Now, this prophetic view of creation differs from what we have called the scientific view. This latter seeks to give the whole process in its detail, all the phenomena with their underlying laws in logical order. This is its vocation. Let the reader think of what geology has already done in this direction and what it is still doing. Volumes upon volumes, for a long time to come, will be needed to trace out all the footprints of the Creator in His majestic walks through His dominions. But the prophetic view, on the other hand, omits details, leaves out of view secondary causes, gives general features and refers them directly to the agency of God. It does not even always follow a strictly chronological order. At times the past, present and future seem to be grouped together in one comprehensive view, one in the other, or side by side, as a panorama on a screen. In no other way can some of the prophecies of the Old Testament, or those of our Saviour in St. Matthew, or of St. John in the Apocalypse, be understood. The same remark is especially true of the retro-prophecy, if we be allowed the use of the term, in the first chapter of Genesis. Nor is this in the least disparaging to the biblical record.

For most persons, and indeed for all devout readers of the Bible, the prophetic is by far to be preferred to the scientific view. It is brief and comprehensive, but at the same time grand and sublime in the highest degree, and remarkably well adapted to make a deep impression on the mind of the reader. To the mass of men in all lands and ages, it will always remain the most intelligible, the most graphic and the most impressive.

Poetic view. Myths. The Scriptural view of creation, then, is not scientific. It was not intended to be so. It is simply religious. The Bible was not intended to teach us science, for that is something which man can acquire by his own industry and reflection. But then, on the other hand, we must not regard the biblical record as poetry or the result of a fervid imagination. There is a poetical view of creation as well as a scientific one. We have indeed many such; they grow up in all nations, and are as diversified as they are numerous, and generally as elevated or grotesque as the people among which they take their rise. Poetry, at least all true poetry, has truth for its basis; it omits details where these are not needed for the purpose of the poet; but then it does not consider itself bound by history. It creates facts or a history of its own, just as it chooses. It has a free license in this respect. When directed to the origin of the world, it is especially genial and productive. It gives rise to mythologies and cosmogonies without number, most of which are self-contradictory, and few of them entirely free from the charge of puerility. Even Milton's glowing description of the creation, intended no doubt as a truthful paraphrase of the record in the Bible, and so regarded by many generations of good people since his time, is not entirely free from much of what must be regarded in our day as ludicrous. Huxley has recently dignified it with a stately title and called it the "Miltonic hypothesis." Why attribute it to him, when thousands of others who lived before him held the same view? The prophetic vision of creation, however, differs from all this. It has nothing about it of the character of a

myth. It is a plain, simple and unadorned statement of facts; and, as we shall see further on, it is a truthful statement of events as they occurred in the order of their sequence. It is historical. In this respect the words of St. Peter apply with peculiar appropriateness, when he says: We have not followed cunningly devised *fables* or *myths* as it stands in the original. It is, therefore, surprisingly strange, we say in advance, that professed theologians, as in Germany, should have allowed themselves for a moment to be driven to the concession that the biblical account is a mythical one. To us it seems that it requires only a small amount of reflection to perceive that it rises up immeasurably above the cosmogonies of the nations in dignity and truthfulness, and that instead of being one of many other myths, it is their proper climax or truth, to which they all look, and of which they are nothing more than variations, corruptions or the dim shadows floating on the surface of human consciousness.

A Difference Without a Conflict. From what has now been said it will appear that there is a *difference* between the Mosaic account of creation and that given by science or poetry. No one can deny this. It could not be otherwise. So it is with many of the prophecies which it is sometimes difficult to reconcile with their fulfillment in all respects. But a difference does not necessarily imply a contradiction or conflict. They may be supplementary to each other, as we think can be made to appear in the case we have under consideration, and, instead of being mutually destructive, may support each other, and assist in placing the fact of creation in a clearer and better light. Such we firmly believe will be the conviction of every one, who earnestly, devoutly and without prejudice or unfriendly bias of any kind, studies the first chapter of Genesis in the light of the results which have been achieved up to the present time in the departments of Astronomy, Physics, Chemistry, Geology and Natural History.

The way having been thus prepared for us by these pre-

liminary explanations, we proceed to consider that ancient record of creation in the Bible, which to so many in modern times has proved a stumbling-block, somewhat more fully in detail.

Six Days of Creation.—Astronomical or Cosmogonic? The first point to be considered has reference to the six days of creation. Were they six astronomical days of twenty-four hours, or were they prophetic days, or in the language of science, geological periods? The popular view, generally held until within a comparatively recent period, that no other days except six natural days could have been intended by the sacred writer, has gradually and almost imperceptibly given way to the conviction that they were days of a different character, that is, periods of a long duration. Forty years ago Prof. Stuart, of Andover Seminary, with a vast array of Hebraistic learning, tried to show that the Hebrew word for day, *Yom*, in the account of creation in Genesis, could mean only a natural day. His exegesis was considered unassailable at the time. But as science advanced and the crust of the earth came to be better understood, it began to be felt that it was no longer satisfactory, and such theories as those of Dr. Chalmers and Dr. Pye Smith came into vogue, according to which the six natural days were retained, but in order to satisfy the increasing demands of science, room was left for the so-called geological ages in the period of time that preceded the six days. It was supposed that they could all be stored away somewhere within the limits of the first and second verses of the first chapter of Genesis. This scheme, which seemed to satisfy the claims of both science and revelation and calmed for the time some troubled minds, being of the nature of a compromise, did not last long, as in the nature of the case it could not. It is a question whether it does not in fact do more violence to the text of Scripture, than relieve it of its supposed difficulties. The theory has passed away under the influence of such writers as Hugh Miller and others; and the old view seems now to have

been relinquished by theologians as freely as by scientists themselves. Only two classes of persons demur to the new version ; and these are diametrically opposed to each other in their convictions. The first consists of a certain kind of theologians, whose ranks are certainly waning, who adhere to the old mechanical view of inspiration and imagine that the authority of the Bible would suffer if the old interpretation were given up ; and the second of certain peculiarly constituted persons, enemies of the Bible, who insist on the literal days of twenty-four hours as the true meaning of the sacred writer, because in this way they imagine they can best come to an issue with the Bible by bringing it into conflict with science, destroy its credibility and reduce it to a level with the sacred books of the Hindus or other ancient nations.

Literal days considered in connection with the sacred text. The arguments in favor of geological periods drawn from science seem to us to be so overwhelming, and they have been moreover brought out so forcibly by many writers that we do not deem it necessary in this connection to consider or press them. But as it is still urged, or at least feared by some pure and tender consciences, that the new interpretation does violence to the text of the Bible, it will be proper to notice briefly the objections of the literalists, and show that they are without foundation. Huxley is evidently a literalist, so far as the meaning of Genesis is concerned, judging from the sneer in his recent lecture at New York at what he calls the flexibility of the Mosaic account, which can be twisted and made to suit one view of creation just as well as another. He probably has no sense of the true character of the word of God as a light that shines with new and increasing splendor from age to age. To him most probably it is only a book, like any other book, whose meaning can be exhausted by a single perusal. Its full meaning has not yet been exhausted. Most probably only a moiety of the light that is in it has flashed across our human consciousness.

The Hebrew word, Yom. The literalist maintains, with Prof.

Stuart, that the Hebrew word for day means a period of twenty-four hours. This is doubtless so, but it is not always so, either in the account of creation or elsewhere in Scripture. In the first chapter of Genesis it has quite a variety of significations. In one place, it is used synonymously with a period of light without any limit, as opposed to darkness or night; in another, it means the period when the sun shines, and rules the day as the moon rules the night; and in another, no doubt, an astronomical day of twenty-four hours, where it is used in connection with times, seasons and years. See Genesis, Chapter 1: 5, 14, 16. In chap. 2: 4 this same Hebrew word, *yom*, designates an indefinite period of time, or the whole period or day in which God created the heavens and the earth. So we also read in other places of the day of the Lord, and the day of Christ foreseen by Abraham. So it is common in most languages to speak of the period or time in which an individual flourishes as his day. The mistake of the literalist, who misses the real sense of Scripture in his homage for the mere letter, consists just in this that he does not distinguish between the scientific and prophetic view of creation already referred to. He makes the days scientific or astronomical, whereas they are prophetic. It is not required of a prophet in his visions to conform to the divisions of time as established in the order of nature. His revelation, which is something freer than ordinary history, can not be bound rigidly by any purely earthly element of this kind. Else it would not be prophecy in the proper sense of the word. Thus in the prophecy of Daniel, chap. ix. the weeks spoken of, it is well known, were not literal but prophetic weeks. So with the Lord, it is said, that a thousand years are as one day, and one day as a thousand years. It is plain, therefore, that there is nothing in the text of Scripture that requires us to think that the days there spoken of were astronomical, and not cosmogonic. On the contrary as the narrative is of the nature of a prophecy, it is much more in harmony with this its peculiar character, to regard them as

prophetic, and therefore indefinite and not ordinary days. Their duration accordingly must be determined by study, reflection and science.

Other Difficulties. But in addition to what has been said, there are serious difficulties in the version of the literalist, because it does not satisfy the text and it leaves it, as we might expect, involved in more or less contradiction with itself. The objection of Celsus, the ancient foe of Christianity, that Moses in his narrative puts light before there were luminous bodies or light-bearers, although a sneer, was not without weight as directed against the popular belief. It is said that light was made on the first day, whilst the sun, moon and stars were made on the fourth day. How could this be so? So also, as the division of our days and nights depends on the sun, how could the first, second and third days have been natural days, when the sun itself did not yet exist? The usual explanation that the sun was not actually made on the fourth day, but was behind the clouds, and was only *made to appear* on the fourth day is unsatisfactory. To change the meaning of words in this way, what is it, if it be not doing violence to the text itself? These discrepancies and others can not be reconciled by those who insist on six literal days as the only correct reading, and they are serious. They can, however, be readily harmonized with the assistance of science as we shall see.

The objection to cosmogonic days, drawn from the institution of the Sabbath in the fourth commandment, does not, we conceive, open up any special difficulty, because the analogy between the six periods of creation ending in the Sabbath on which God rested from His work, and the six days in which man labors ending in a day of rest, remains essentially the same, whether the former were precisely of the same length, with the same number of hours and minutes, or whether they were much longer in duration. The dignity of the week, whose appointment seems to have been divine in origin, is rather enhanced, we think, when it is based on that grand week of creation during which God worked and then rested.

Evenings and Mornings. But how are the evenings and the mornings of the successive days of creation to be understood, if they did not mark the periods of sunrise and sunset of ordinary days? They are prominent points in our days as they come and go. To this question we reply by saying that as the days were themselves prophetic, so almost must their evenings and mornings have been also prophetic. If they had been astronomical, we may here suggest, that it is not unlikely that the morning would have been mentioned first, and not the evening as we shall see further on. Some say that the evenings were purely *subjective*. After the prophet had seen the work of a whole day, then his vision failed him, the curtain fell upon the panorama, and all was darkness, until another period of light and activity presented itself to his spiritual eye in some new tableau. This is the view held by Dr. Kurtz in his *Bibel und Astronomie*, in which he is followed by Hugh Miller in his *Testimony of the Rocks*. But there is no reason for such a supposition. The narrative is wonderfully brief and wonderfully comprehensive. Every word no doubt represents an outward fact. The nights, therefore, we believe, were *objective* and historical no less than the days; as Lange in his Commentary has well remarked, the evenings were words that described something real which presented itself to the mind of the prophet. They were the intervals of transition between two successive days of work, periods of apparent inactivity, and of more or less obscurity to the view of the seer, and therefore appropriately described as evenings or nights. They were, however, no less periods of activity in the way of invisible preparation for the day or development that was to follow. This, in fact, is the true meaning of our natural nights. They are not only periods of rest for our minds and bodies, but also of preparation for the coming day. Hence it is, as we apprehend, that the evening is made to precede the morning in Genesis, and not contrariwise, as the beginning and not the end of the day. The ancients, who commenced their day at sunset, were therefore

more philosophical than the moderns who give the day the preference. Perhaps their practice in this respect was a relict of the primitive revelation.

Six Days and the Geological Periods. It might also be asked in this connection whether the six days of Moses corresponded exactly with the six geological periods. In the estimation of some, it would help amazingly if it could be shown by scientists that there were six and only six geological periods, in all respects corresponding to the biblical days of creation. We reply that no such an agreement can be traced out, nor is it necessary or even desirable that it should be. It would be, when we reflect for a moment, something unhistorical and mechanical, and any scientist that should attempt it, would most likely be charged with a want of fidelity to his mission, and a stronger bias in favor of peace than for truth. For the sake of simplicity, and no doubt for some deeper reason, the Bible divides its cosmogony into six periods or groups of creation, whilst science gives us many more, astronomical, chemical and geological. They are somewhat difficult to arrange or classify, and it is a question whether they have all as yet been discovered. But it is a very easy thing to resolve all the cosmogonic periods into six groups or pictures, something precisely which the prophet under the guidance of a divine illumination did. There is a difference here again but no contradiction. The whole process is merely looked at from different points of view.

Age of the World. From what has been said it follows of course that the age of the world is much greater than the literalist would allow. He says it is only six days older than man. Science admits that it is only some six or eight thousand years since man made his appearance on the earth; or, at least, that its facts do not demand a longer period; but it has proved that the earth itself with many of its animals is much older. Here their arguments are entitled to our respect, based as they are upon facts, and a faithful and diligent examination of the crust of the earth. The stratified rocks, extending down many

miles into the interior of the earth, were formed gradually under water, and could be the result only of a slow process extending over myriads of ages. Many of them, like the limestones and chalk, were formed by the industry of small animals, whose skeletons they still reveal to a careful examination. Forty years ago clergymen in their pulpits without difficulty explained the origin of these fossils by saying that God made them as they are, just as He made other things. But such appeals to credulity or piety will no longer suffice. The immense gorge washed out by the waters of Niagara will convince even an unscientific visitor of the great antiquity of our part of the world. Lyell estimates the entire period since the beginning at 240, and Darwin at 300 millions of years. These estimates are believed to be excessive. A recent writer in the *Eclectic* (Oct. No. 1876), basing his calculations on scientific data, makes it out that 80 millions would be long enough to account for all the facts. Perhaps as science advances, the period may be further diminished without destroying the extreme longevity of the grains of sand or dust which we tread under our feet.

Reflections. These conclusions, less startling and less offensive to our religious feelings than formerly, are coming to be better appreciated, and less fear is felt that they may detract from the glory of God, or rather, as we might and ought to expect, it is beginning to be felt on all sides more and more, that they enhance that glory and illustrate the divine attributes in a much higher degree than the view of the literalist, which after all makes creation appear as the work of magic. They present the Supreme Being not only as a being of great power, but also as supremely wise and good; working in and through natural laws, the Supreme Lawgiver, as the King, immortal, invisible, the only wise God, dwelling in light that is inaccessible and full of glory. Nor can fault be found with the Mosaic account, because it was not so constructed as to teach us at once the full grandeur and extent of creation. He wrote for his own people, for all nations and for all ages. How absurd then

would it have been, if he had plunged into the intricacies of science or given anything like a scientific coloring to his narrative! The object of the revelation was to make a religious impression on the minds of men generally, and to set forth the true relation of the Creator to the creature, in opposition to the various forms of error or unbelief, such as we have already referred to, which must needs spring up in our present course of history. It therefore passes over secondary causes, omits details, and in a few comprehensive pictorial views, also brings out into prominent relief the agency of the Creator in His works. This for the world at large is after all the most important lesson for men to learn in regard to nature. It inspires faith in God, and reverence for His character. The form, language or record, in which this is given, is inimitable, sublime beyond all description, and infinitely removed in dignity and grandeur above the myths of the most cultivated heathen or the highest flights of poetic genius in Christian or heathen lands, when they attempt to teach how the "earth rose out of chaos."

The primary creation—Genesis i. 1. In the beginning, we are told, God created the heavens and the earth. This verse is sometimes regarded as a mere inscription or title giving the contents of the chapter. But to this there are grave objections. It is connected with the second verse by a copulative conjunction, showing that it is the statement of a fact that was followed by something else in historical order. Besides, unless the first verse describes a creative act of God, the chaos of the second verse would stand by itself without any author, and the narrative would teach dualism or the eternity of matter. It does not of course imply that the heavens and the earth were complete in any sense, for the work of evolving and organizing the worlds took place during the six following days or periods of creation. They were, however, created in germ or possibility. All the elements, laws, forces or centres of forces by which the whole visible universe was afterwards evolved, were

now called into existence out of non-existence by a Divine act. These, which had been mere thoughts in the Divine mind, now received a local habitation and a Divine commission to build up the world in a sub-independent capacity. Time and space began. Matter, made up of an infinite number of dynamic centres or atoms, was universally diffused, covering areas of space on which future worlds were to be evolved. It was in a gaseous or nebulous state. But this diffusion of the primitive particles was itself already subject to law. Philosophers tell us that they are so small that they might be brought together so as to occupy a comparatively small amount of space. We may suppose, therefore, that from a mere point, from the hand of God, as it were, they moved out in all directions under the action of heat or repulsion to the remotest points of space, there to await the Divine command, and then to march back again, in order to contribute their part in building up the multitudinous worlds that were to be. Gases it is well known are still indefinitely expansible. The law of repulsion or expansion was the first law of nature that became active: it is still active as the counterpart of attraction. By their combined action they hold the universe together.

The Beginning. This was the beginning of things, the dividing line that separated eternity on the one hand from physical existence on the other. Moses says nothing of that awful eternity beyond, where there was nought but Deity; but St. John, chap. i. 1, with wonderful brevity, describes it for us in his eagle-flight beyond the limits of time and space. The godhead dwelt there, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost in perfect unity and ineffable beatitude. It was a universe of activities, not slumbering in an infinite abyss, like the Hindoo Brahma, but infinitely active in itself; a universe of which our own is only a faint reflection on the fields of space. Before time began the Logos was, and as He was before all creatures He was eternally with the Father, as one brought up with Him.

Creation. From what has been said above, the meaning of

the Hebrew word, *bará*, translated as an act of creating, becomes evident. It implies the calling forth of beings from non-existence. It is used therefore in reference to three things in Genesis: in reference to *matter*, in the first verse, in reference to *life*, where it said that God created great whales, and thirdly, in reference to *man* whom He created, male and female. It is therefore to be distinguished from another word which is employed to describe the formation of individual existences. Thus it is said that He *made* the firmament, the dry land, the sun, the moon and stars, not because they were not created, but evolved out of something which had a previous existence. The difference between *creating* and *making* is, therefore, clearly implied in the sacred text. The one describes the primary creation, the other the secondary or derivative.

Chaos—Gen. i. 2. The first verse of Genesis is didactic, as in the nature of the case it had to be, whilst the second, as well as those following, are mainly pictorial, forming a series of panoramic views, bound together by an inward historical order. *And the earth, it is said, was without form and void, and darkness was on the face of the deep, and the Spirit of God moved on the face of the waters.*

Evolution. The picture here presented to view was the primitive chaos already in motion. Professor Guyot, of Princeton College, regards it as the primitive nebula, out of which the sun, moon and stars were formed; but to this we think there are valid objections.* It makes it necessary for

* See his excellent address on "Cosmogony and the Bible," delivered before the Evangelical Alliance, which met in New York in the year 1873, and published in its "Proceedings." We agree with the Professor in what he says of the Nebular Theory, that the arguments in its favor "amount to a demonstration of its truth." We also concur with him in applying it as a help to a proper understanding of the Mosaic Cosmogony, as the reader will perceive. We always mention his name with profound respect, not only for his services in the cause of education and science, but for the Christian spirit that pervades his writings. The use which he makes of the theory just mentioned in the illustration of Biblical Cosmogony, we regard as an advance in the

us to suppose that the earth here spoken of includes the heavens and all the primordial matter in the universe; but in the first verse a distinction is made between the heavens and the earth. Why, then, should this vanish immediately in the second verse? The whole chapter has mainly to do with our single planet, and after a general reference to the creation of the universe, the narrative becomes more and more geocentric. It seems most natural, therefore, to regard the chaos spoken of in the second verse as one of the derivative nebulae out of which the earth was formed after it was thrown off from the solar nebula. After the first or primeval nebula, that is, the heavens and earth of the first verse, was formed, according to theory, it must necessarily contract under the influence of attraction, assume a spherical form, like the dew-drop, and in accordance with the laws of dynamics, acquire a motion of rotation around an axis. In the course of time, fixed stars or suns were thrown off by the centrifugal force, and these condensing threw off planets, which in their turn, by a similar process, threw off satellites, or moons. Comets and meteors were also formed during this same process. The planets Neptune, Uranus, Saturn, Jupiter, the Planetoids and Mars had all been projected from the solar nebula, and out of a nebulous state were organizing themselves into planets, when the scene in the second verse was presented to the eye of the prophet. It was our inchoate earth still struggling in its gaseous condition after its final form. After it had been detached from its parent mass, it revolved as a ring—like one of Saturn's rings,—around the equator of the solar mass; but not being balanced, it broke

solution of its difficulties. Twenty-five years ago, Hugh Miller, whilst he brought forth enthusiastically his vast geological knowledge in showing the harmony between science and Genesis, doubts whether astronomy can throw any further light on the subject. With him, all that precedes the geology of creation, was still a chaos in regard to which we probably would never receive any further light. The world certainly moves, and so our knowledge of the Bible and science advances. Other sciences besides geology are now bringing forward their treasures to the feet of their Lord.

up into fragments, and coalesced into one body, which assumed gradually a globular shape. This steaming, unorganized mass of matter floating over a wide extent of space, beyond the orbit of the moon, must have presented to the eye of the prophet apparently a scene of wild confusion and disorder. By heathen writers it was called chaos. It was, however, not lawless, nor, strictly speaking, confusion. Matter here was just as obedient to law as it has been ever since.

A Cosmogonic Period. The interval of time between this condition of things and the primary creation as related in the first verse, was no doubt very great, as the first movement of the solar nebula, in the nature of the case, must have been very slow. It may have stretched over many millions of years. It may not have been so long. We do not know. What was done between the first and second verse in the development of the solar, as a matter of course, was omitted in the biblical account. It lay beyond its sphere. It was not here needed for the spiritual object which the writer had in view. The prophetic view omits much, leaves out details and processes, and gives only prominent results. It made most account of the earth. An astronomer, writing for scholars, would have probably commenced with the sun or the fixed stars.

Thohu Vabohu. This chaos, as it is most convenient for us now to call it, at first gaseous, vapory or nebulous, has been variously described. Ovid, in his account of creation, which presents in all essential points a remarkable resemblance to that given in the Bible, calls it a confused mass—*rudis indigestaque moles*, in which there was nothing as yet distinctly defined, where *Unus erat toto naturæ vultus in orbe*. The original Hebrew—*Thohu Vabohu*—is said to be wonderfully expressive. It is an alliterate expression, well adapted to impress itself upon the popular mind. We have something similar to it in German—*gehaltlos und gestaltlos*. The expression in Scripture suits a nebulous or gaseous state of matter

better than any other. Gesenius translates it as "emptiness and vacuity." It was a period when darkness rested upon the abyss or ocean of fluids that had no bottom. The waters here spoken of was not water in the proper sense of the term. That is a compound, the result of a chemical process, which did not take place until afterwards. It was a gaseous fluid, the original out of which water was subsequently formed. Physics reigned during this period. Chemistry had not yet commenced its mission. It needed light and heat for its work, which, as we shall see, it received in due time. Nature herself supplied her with crucibles.

Myths and Traditions. Reminiscences of the primitive confused condition of matter appear in the legends and traditions of all ancient nations. In the Greek mythology, the world is referred back to chaos, night or Uranus, as the first existences that preceded the era of the gods. The knowledge of the true God had vanished from the minds of men to a great extent. He was their unknown God. According to a wide-spread myth, the world existed first in the form of an immense egg, out of which all beings were produced. So the Brahmins in India, and Pythagoras, in Greece, taught. Our own great epic poet has given expression and form to this old myth, under a Christian form, which has been universally admired:

Thou from the first
Wast present, and with mighty wings outspread,
Dove-like, sat'st brooding o'er the vast abyss
And mad'st it pregnant.

The Spirit of God. We are further informed that the Spirit of God moved on the face of the waters. This movement of the Spirit, or breath of God, as it might be translated, indicates the first motion of the primitive mass of matter, when it began to assume form, then to contract by the movement of the particles towards the centre, and afterward to establish for itself a motion on its axis. The Spirit of God was here the vital power realizing the ideas of the eternal Logos. God was operating through natural laws, of which He was the law-

giver. Genesis gives the spiritual aspect of this first cosmogonic period, science gives the material. Between these there is no conflict.

An Hypothesis. The view urged by Kurtz and other German theologians of eminence, that the chaos was the ruins of a former world, in which Satan and his angels fell, and from which they were expelled by a dire catastrophe involving its destruction, we here simply notice without further consideration. There is no impossibility in such a supposition, but it seems to us destitute of the necessary proofs in its favor outside of the mere imagination.

Chaos and Law. The general impression, which we receive when we use the term chaos as the primitive condition of the world, is that of disorder, confusion or lawlessness; but this is an error of heathen origin, without any real foundation in the Scripture or anywhere else. Law here, as well as elsewhere throughout nature, was paramount, and science teaches us that it was actively present from the very beginning. When the Spirit of God moved, or as it might be rendered, fluttered as a dove, on the face of the deep, there could be nothing that was beyond His domain. The particles or atoms of the original matter of the world were all tending towards the centre of gravity of the mass, moving in spiral lines, that is, regular mathematical curves, in consequence of the rotatory movement which had come to be established in the gradually contracting nebula; this was as necessarily so as the similar motion in an eddy, a whirlwind or whirlpool. Such a process as this must have gone on for a long period of time, a cosmogonic age, involving at one point of its duration the projection of the matter of the moon in a nebulous state, and ending, as we shall see, in the production of light on the first day.

Evening of the First Day. This period of darkness and night brooding over the abyss of creation was doubtless the evening of the first day, and might be so regarded very fitly by the prophet. It was a long night, in which we may suppose his power of vision failed for the time and lapsed into a

subjective night. But it was not, in reality, a period of rest or cessation from activity in nature. From what has been said, we may rightly infer that it was just the contrary. The hidden forces of the nascent world were deeply moved and intensely active, although invisible, in the way of preparation for the work or result that was to follow. The first day was only the realization, therefore, of what had been going forward during the first night. So it generally is in history, which has its days and nights, the latter preceding the former, and making the morning dawn of a real historical day a possibility and a reality. Hence primitive night preceded the era of light and day.

Morning of the First Day. Gen. i. 3-5. *And God said, Let there be light, and there was light.* We have already seen that the light here spoken of could not have been solar light, some few rays of which came struggling through the clouds without revealing their source to the eye of the prophet. The sun did not yet exist as a sun, but simply as a nebulous mass, producing most probably only feeble indications of light. As the Scripture says, it was made, formed or organized as a light-bearer, on the fourth day and not before. Some theologians and some scientific men also, in order to get rid of the difficulty here apparently involved, suppose that light was created as a primitive substance on the first day, and was then afterwards more fully expanded, and gathered around the sun, moon and stars on the fourth day. But such a theory is in conflict with well-established principles of science, and destitute of a scientific basis. The doctrine of light, developed by the genius of a Newton, an Euler, a Herschel, a Brewster and a Young, is now well understood, and there ought to be no difficulty in regard to its general nature, at least. Certainly we know that it is not an element, a principle or a substance, but a result of motion and most probably of the waves of a refined, ethereal fluid. It is, therefore, something produced or evolved out of matter. Hence Genesis does not say that God *created* light,

but simply that He called it forth by His word out of the darkness of the primitive chaos.

Earth-Light. The light here spoken of was not solar, stellar nor lunar light. It was, as we might suppose, simply telluric, or earth-light. It was, in a word, the result of the motion of our own nebula, attributed to the Spirit of God in the preceding verse. Rotation once having been established, the mass would continue to revolve with increasing velocity in proportion as it diminished in size. This is in accordance with the laws of dynamics. The period consumed in this motion, until the original gaseous matter of the earth, at first extending beyond the orbit of the moon, should wrap itself up and contract itself into the size of our planet, would, in the nature of the case, be very great. How long it would be no one knows. It should be measured by myriads upon myriads of years, and possibly by millions of them. During this process of condensation, however, there would be a point at which there must be an evolution of great heat. The original heat of creation, which had become latent by the first diffusion of matter, must now become active again. All pressure, friction or arrested motion, as is well known, produces this effect, and it could have been none the less so in the rush of material atoms towards their common centre of gravity. As the distance from which they fell was great, so the heat generated must have been proportionally great. At first the mass would become red-hot, then white-hot, and light would afterwards follow. The atoms would tend to arrange themselves according to their weight, the heavier descending, whilst the lighter would remain uppermost. The gases, such as oxygen and hydrogen, would be above. But the heavier particles below, in a state of ebullition or vapor, and driven upwards by the intense heat from the centre, would combine with the superincumbent mass of oxygen, and result in combustion, fire or light on a large and extensive scale.

The Earth a Sun. The earth, at first, a nebulous mass of matter struggling in darkness, and concentrating its energies,

becomes a fire-ball, rising out of chaos and sending out its light over the dark profundities of space. It was an object singularly beautiful to behold, this meteor rising upon the brow of night. The earth is now a *sun*, as Prof. Guyot affirms, has a photosphere of its own, with which it illuminates surrounding space and feeds its own fires by sending up fuel from within itself. The other planets, including the satellites, have doubtless passed through the same or a similar process. The sun and the fixed stars, on account of the immense mass which they contain and the consequent heat which they are capable of evolving, are still balls of fire and have not yet reached the state of the planetary worlds. By and by their light will go out in darkness. Some of the nebulæ have not as yet been condensed into fire-balls; at least that was not the case, when the light with which they are now seen through the telescope, started out on its long journey to the earth, some hundreds of thousands of years ago. This is the scientific view of the formation of light. It was not created, but made, as already said. The vision of the seer on the other hand, leaves out of view all the details of this wonderful process. That was not necessary for his purpose. It would indeed have been destructive to it; but in their place he presents, what to the mass of men of all lands and nations must be regarded as something better. He holds up to our view the result of the secret workings of the laws of nature, in a beautiful picture of a new world rising out of the darkness of chaos, now ushering in the morning dawn of the first day of creation and then shining with the dazzling splendor of a newly arisen sun over the darkness of the great deep, all in obedience to the word of God. That is sufficient for faith; but faith seeks to penetrate its own contents with the lamp of knowledge, and it is sheer indolence or fanaticism which turns its back here on knowledge and ignores its office as the complement of faith. There may be also some spiritual pride in the composition of such a state of mind. This we opine is more or less the case with those who wish to dispense with all help from science in the reading of the Bible.

Gen. i. 4. It is somewhat remarkable that the sacred writer is careful to repeat at the end of each successive work of creation that God Himself pronounced it to be good. Light was good or useful in reference to the end of creation, which was man; it was useful in reference to all the succeeding stages of the cosmic process, and as a fundamental agency, in connection with heat, it was a necessary element in all subsequent chemical processes, as well as a vital agent in the development of vegetable and animal life. It, with all other creatures, was also good in a sense opposed to Pantheistic, Manichean and Buddhistic errors which should spring up in after times, according to which matter is regarded as essentially evil or ignored as of no account. God is good and so are all His creatures, because He made them. The love of the finite may run into idolatry, but it is just as bad for men, when like Spinoza or the Buddhists they become so intoxicated with the idea of the infinite as to lose sight of the finite and hurl their anathema at the creation of God itself.

The separation of light from darkness was a process of differentiation, in which the manifold grew out of unity, out of the divine thought or plan, not out of God Himself. As we shall see, all the works that followed the formation of light were of this character. It was throughout, in the proper sense of the term, an evolution or development of a single germ that proceeded from the Divine Word, including in it many other germs.

The Work of the First Day. During the first day the elements of the heavens and the earth were created and set in motion. This was a purely physical process, resulting in the evolution of light. During this same day and the following evening, with the aid of light and heat, chemical processes were developed. Chemistry came to the aid of Physics and entered upon its magnificent career. The matter of the universe was all elementary, existing under a gaseous form, more than half of which was doubtless oxygen, the most active of all other agents in nature. But now, in the next place, in order that these elements might be made useful, they must enter into com-

binations, so that solid and liquid bodies might be formed. The earth needed a foundation or solid crust, in which gases and liquids might rest, and which should, at the same time, shut in its internal fires. All this was brought about by the agency of the light and heat that were formed on the first day. It was a period of combustion, during which there was such a marshalling of the primitive atoms, until each should come to occupy its proper place in the grand host, as to throw into the shade all other commotions in nature. It was the elective affinities of oxygen that presided over the whole process. Its active presence was felt everywhere along the line. The heavier elements, such as calcium, aluminum and silicon, were driven upwards, in the form of vapor by the internal heat, rushing against the oxygen above in a fierce struggle for the mastery; the result was fire and the formation of all those compound particles, out of which the silicious, aluminous and calcareous rocks were afterwards formed, when Geology took up the results of Chemistry and started out in its wonderful history. So oxygen united with hydrogen, and the result was a supply of water for the seas that has been found to be ample down to the present time. Sodium combining with this same oxygen produced the salt of the ocean. In the same way the ores of the different metals were no doubt formed. Gold was an exception. It had no affinity for oxygen, and it has for the most part remained native and pure to the present day. During this period of intense heat all the conditions for the successful prosecution of the work of crystalization were present, and we may suppose that the precious stones, crystals, diamonds, rubies, emeralds, were born in the unfathomed depths of the primitive ocean. So it is most natural to suppose; for, if we merely ask the question whether all compound bodies were formed directly by their Creator or as the result of a process, there seems to be room only for one answer. God might have made the world just as it is in an instant, but we know He did not. He always works by laws, means and agencies of His own appointment. We therefore infer that all bodies on the earth, most of

which are compound, were fashioned not directly, but by a process, and that these combinations must have taken place when the temperature of the globe was still very high, during the first day and to some extent during the succeeding days. As already said, the earth was a sun, and during this period the results of combustion in the form of oxides, acids and other compounds falling down in a storm of fiery meteors, accumulated in sufficient quantities to form a crust around the white-hot nucleus. The matter of our land and seas, over which we travel, are, we may say, simply the ashes of that primeval tempest of fire. It encloses still the original fire in the earth. What has been once burned by fire is the best prophylactic against its spread.

Evening of the Second Day. How long this period of fire continued, no one can say. We infer that it must have been very great, when we consider the amount of oxygen and other gases that had to go into the solid state. According to Prof. Dana, fully one-half of the matter of the earth's crust consists of oxygen, in combination with all other substances. But there was, necessarily, a period when the burning above must have grown feebler and then ceased altogether. The falling meteors must have gradually formed a crust around the central fire and the ascending vapor of elementary matter was arrested. The earth still glowed with fervent heat as a liquid mass or, it may be, as an ocean of fire. This would cause it to be enveloped with a thick cloudy vapor rising up to unknown heights, which tossed about by contending currents or winds, might have sometimes disclosed some lurid flashes through its openings or belts. The waters of the ocean could not as yet rest quietly on such a burning bed, and they must have all been gathered together as an ocean of vapor above and surrounded the whole globe as a cloudy envelope. The waters had not yet been divided nor gathered into seas. All that was to follow. This gradual cessation of light or transition of the earth from a fire-ball into a world of steam, cloud or water, constituted the evening of the second day. To the eye of the prophet it was therefore

evening. Night had come on, with a corresponding degree of darkness and obscurity. His vision for the time rested on a comparatively dark world of fluids. But nature during all this period knew of no repose; its activity, although invisible because internal, was intense. The waters above were contending with the fire below and seeking their future ocean bed. Frequent were their rebuffs before they found at length a resting place.

The Morning of the Second Day. Gen. i. 6, 7, 8. The morning after a long night dawned. A new prospect in the history of our planet presents itself to the eye of the wondering Seer. It is again in the form of a picture. He sees the clearing up of the stormy ocean of cloudy vapor, and the formation of a clear and serene firmament. *And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters, and God made the firmament, and divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament, and it was so.*

In the first place let us try to understand what is exactly meant by this picture of waters above and below the firmament. It has always created some difficulty. Luther says he does not exactly understand it, although he has his own opinion about it. He was probably correct in his surmise. Prof. Guyot, from whom we must here again reluctantly differ, thinks that the separation of the waters means the separation of the earth nebula from the nebula out of which the sun and planets were formed, or perhaps the separation of the anterior nebula, out of which the fixed stars with our sun were evolved, from the matter of the nebulae that are still visible through the telescope. This seems to us too artificial an explanation. Moses knew nothing of the nebulae. He describes only what he sees, or, according to common opinion on this subject, only what any other individual could have seen, had he been present to witness the successive scenes unfolding themselves in the grand drama of creation. As we have seen, it is better to suppose that the earth was detached from the solar nebula already during

the first night of creation, as in verse 2d. The waters here spoken of are, therefore, terrestrial, not celestial phenomena. The prophet has his eye on the earth as it passes through its various transitions in order that it might become a fit abode for man. The common or ordinary view of the second day's work, is, we think, without doubt, the correct one, according to which the waters above the firmament consisted of the cloudy vapors, of which we have already spoken, as driven up from below, whilst the waters under the firmament were those which had at length found a resting place on the surface of the globe itself. The earth had in a great degree cooled off; it was no longer so hot as to send up the ever descending mist and vapors in the form of hissing steam to an immense height. The storm of fiery meteors was over. The strife between fire and water had ended; our world presented to the eye of the prophet a general clearing up, and a comparative calm after this conflict of the elements, the ocean rolling its billows peacefully from pole to pole.

The Firmament. The firmament here spoken of is simply the open expanse between the waters, as appears from the fact, that it is said in another place in this chapter, that fowls fly in the open firmament of heaven. It is the region under the clouds, and the original word *rakiah*, would have been better translated, if it had been simply rendered as *expanse*, which is its real meaning. The word firmament conveys the sense of a solid vault, and something extra-mundane. This expanse was the region now filled with the newly-made atmosphere of our earth, that helped to support the waters above. Its formation is a wonder among many others revealed to us in this chapter of wonders, the first of Genesis.

The Atmosphere. As already said, certain gases were active in forming the compound particles that entered into the composition of different terrestrial bodies. The larger part of them went into solid or liquid substances. But a certain amount of oxygen, the most active of all and the most ready to combine with other elements, was not thus absorbed. There was just so

much of a surplus of it left, as was needed for the formation of our atmosphere. But existing in an undiluted state, it would not have answered the future purpose of an atmosphere, inasmuch as it must have proved destructive to life. Hence it was necessary to be diluted, and accordingly a certain amount of nitrogen had also been left behind—had not been absorbed—so that it might be mixed, not combined, with oxygen, and so form a safe and healthy element, in which future living beings, many ages afterwards, might live and thrive. Twenty-one parts of the former and seventy-nine of the latter formed the healthful aerial beverage. No other proportion would have answered the purpose. But the atmosphere was not only intended to develop the vitality of man and animal; it must also supply nourishment to the vegetable world. No simple gas, however, could be found to answer this purpose, and it was necessary that one containing carbon, should be improvised for the emergency. Accordingly oxygen entered into chemical combination with carbon, so as to form carbonic acid gas, another constituent of the atmosphere, out of which a large portion of all the fibre of the vegetable world consists. At present this gas constitutes only a small portion of pure air; but in the beginning it must have been very abundant, as it was needed in order to build up the plant-world which was to follow in all its gorgeousness on the third day. We have reason to suppose that our first atmosphere was surcharged with carbon, in which no animal could live, and, therefore, well adapted to stimulate that wonderful vegetation, which must have covered the earth before man and animals made their appearance. With such a gaseous envelope surrounding the earth, we may understand the existence of the waters above the *rakiah* or firmament. The earth still retaining much of its primitive heat, must send forth steam, or a copious evaporation from the surface of its still hot waters, which collecting together and condensing in the higher regions, must needs have some support beneath. This it received from the dense atmosphere from below. The Creator was a chemist, so wonderful in His manipulations, that

it is strange, that any one bearing that honored name should rise up and dispute the accuracy of the record of His works.

Illustrations. We have seen that the first condition of our globe is illustrated by the *nebulæ*, many of which, it is believed, are undeveloped worlds or universes. So, too, its subsequent condition as a fire-ball, is the same as that through which the sun and stars are at present passing. And recent investigations tend to show that the planets, Jupiter and Saturn at least, are in a physical state precisely analogous to that in which the prophet saw the globe on the second day. They are both surrounded by dense cloudy envelopes, more or less in commotion, in which here and there are openings (their belts), through which the planets themselves may be seen. According to Mr. Proctor, as thus seen through their belts, they are not entirely dark as was formerly supposed, but show feeble indications of a reddish or pink appearance, from which he has inferred that their nuclei or heavier portions are still red-hot or glowing from internal heat. If this be so, and theory favors this supposition, because these bodies are much larger than the earth and would require a longer time to cool off, they present a condition of things, precisely similar to that through which our planet passed long ago. From data which has been regarded as reliable, the cloudy canopy of Jupiter is elevated by the heat below to an almost incredible height. Mr. Lockyer places it at 20,000 miles above the now forming crust of their globes.* It may have already an expanse and an atmosphere underneath, and it may not. If this latter is not the case, it has not yet advanced as far as our globe when it was seen by the prophet on the second day, and it is still in the midst of its war of the elements, a veritable cave of the winds on the grandest and most magnificent scale. It is not unlikely that the waters above our firmament in the beginning receded many hundreds or even thousands of miles beyond the region of our ordinary cloud-land, just as our pho-

*See his small book on the "Elements of Astronomy," a most admirable work for general use, p. 145.

tosphere or fiery envelope occupied such a high position ages before the reign of clouds.

A Remark. In this connection it ought to be remarked, that, as we have already shown, natural causes serve to explain the changes through which our globe passed in organizing itself; but they do not explain everything. These forces are found to be constantly in harmony with a general plan or thought outside of themselves. They contribute their part in bringing about a certain intelligible and definite general result. This, however, they do not and can not explain. Manifestly they are mere servants of a power which lies beyond them and is transcendental. So, as an instance, the formation of the atmosphere was of course a natural process. But science cannot explain why just so much oxygen and just so much nitrogen were left behind or unabsorbed, as was sufficient to form a healthy atmosphere for man and beast. In the case of the moon, the gases were all absorbed after it had undergone an ordeal of fire like the earth, and it has at present neither an atmosphere nor water, at least, not to any considerable extent. Why was that so? Most manifestly because they were not needed. It was not intended to be an inhabited world, whilst the earth was, and that idea ruled throughout its history. Natural laws or forces, are plainly not sovereigns; they are only agents of a supreme will, which rules and subordinates them at every point.

Evening of the Third Day. The work of the second day was a general clearing up after the storm and a cooling off of the body of the earth, attended with valuable and permanent results. It commenced with the earth in an incandescent state, and ended in a dark, opake body of water. The cooling-off process, we may suppose, was, therefore, the prominent feature of the evening of the third day. With this was connected a period of increasing darkness and obscurity. Earth-light was passing away, and the sun was organizing itself behind the clouds and getting ready to supply the earth with other light as soon as it should be needed. With this increasing obscurity over the globe, the

vision of the prophet became feebler. It rested for the time. It was night. But whilst night reigned, and the earth continued to lose its temperature, a process of contraction was going on in the primary crust of the earth, by which the necessary forces were stored up, which in their turn produced those fearful, but useful convulsions that followed during the subsequent history of this terraqueous ball of ours. The evening of the third day was the invisible preparation for the period that was to follow.

Morning of the Third Day. Gen. i. 9-13. It is plain that the loss of heat by free radiation into space during the cooling process, would produce a gradual contraction of the crust of the earth, and such shrinkage prepared the way for subsequent vast inequalities in its surface. That is the case when a sphere is compressed: it is broken, or bent in lines and ridges running out in different directions. So it was with the earth as it hardened and diminished in size. Certain parts of it went up whilst others went down, as when ice is fractured by the withdrawal of water from underneath. Prof. Guyot thus describes the breaking up of the first crust of our globe, in the address already referred to: "Considerable surfaces and low mountain chains, both in the old and new world, belong to this age. Geology explains very plausibly the sinking of the large surfaces—now containing the oceans—and the rising between them of the continents, by the gradual shrinkage of the coal interior, forcing the hard exterior crust—now too large—to mould itself on the smaller sphere, by folding into mighty wrinkles." These changes on the crust of the earth, when the dry land was made to appear, were of the nature of earthquakes. No doubt subterranean gases under compression in the interior had something to do with the explosion which put an end to the reign of water. The era of earthquakes and volcanoes was now inaugurated. Mountains rose and valleys sunk.

The Era of Earthquakes and Volcanoes. Reliable investigation has shown that the earthquake was more active than the volcano in the primitive history of the globe and its preparation for its ulterior ends. In the case of the moon it was just the

reverse. There volcanic agency seems to have been almost exclusively active during the corresponding period of its formation, in as much as it has few if any seams or chains of mountains, the result of the earthquake. Its mountains are nearly all circular or volcanic. The light weight of bodies on its surface, owing to its smaller mass, was the cause of this difference. In the case of the earth on the other hand, the volcano had no such free range. Its crust was thick and heavy, and its internal forces, as a general thing, only sufficed to raise up immense ridges or mountains on its surface; still within certain limits the volcano was active in places all over the earth, the internal forces not only lifting up the crust, but breaking through it at times and sending forth the fiery contents of the interior upon the surface above. Many substances, like basalt, trap rock, &c., are evidences of this.

Idea of History. The agency which caused the dry land to appear on the third day was one, as facts serve to show, that was to continue. It formed an epoch that opened an historical era which did not end with the third day artificially and abruptly. It extended through all the other eras of creation, and it is active at the present day, as dry land is still appearing in the seas under its influence; but its intensity is less frequent now than it was during its own proper day in the early history of the globe. This illustrates an important principle in regard to the nature of history in general. Its divisions are not logical. Eras do not follow each other exactly like the order of the seasons, so that the one begins exactly where the other ends. They run into each other and overlap each other. Every idea, after a previous history of growth in obscurity, develops itself at length prominently during the period allotted to it; but it does not cease to be any longer active after the advent of another idea which seems to take its place. Thus in history proper, orientalism did not end when the occident began to rule the world. So also Platonism did not cease to be a living fact when Christian philosophy superseded it. It still lives. And so it is generally. This view of historical process, should be kept in view in this connection, as it will assist us materially in

understanding the work not only of the third but of all the succeeding days.*

Dry Land. Gen. i: 9, 10. It is not at all supposable that the third day brought up from the depth of the ocean all the dry land of the present condition of our globe. Most probably it was at first only the smaller portions of it, that is, only the more elevated parts or beginnings of our continents. It did not, for instance, include the dry land which at present rests on what are called our stratified rocks extending downwards some fourteen or fifteen miles. These were formed a long time afterwards and gradually in the ocean, after the era of life had commenced, as they all contain fossils, either of vegetables or animals, as Geology has shown. The first dry land that appeared above the surface of the ocean had as its basis what are called the primary or bottom rocks.

Archipelagos. Surfaces that rest on the first or igneous rocks have been found in both hemispheres. They are not covered with any of the stratified or aqueous rocks, formed afterwards. They are frequently found tilted upwards at an angle, forming the leading mountain ranges of the old and new world; at other times, they are conformed more nearly to the horizontal bend of the earth, and covered with a layer of earthy soil. Such surfaces were the first to emerge from the water on the third day of creation. They were not large enough to form any where an entire continent: they constituted only a series of archipelagos or groups of islands, where continents were to

* Thus Prof. Dana, of Yale College, speaks in reference to this matter in his "Manual of Geology," a work of great merit, on p. 125: "All attempts to divide the cause of progress in man's historical development into ages with bold confines are fruitless. We may trace out the culminant phases of different periods in that progress, and call each culmination the centre of a separate period. But the germ of the period was long working onward in preceding time, before it came to its full development and stood forth as the characteristic of a new era of progress. Geological history is like human history in this respect." This view of the subject will assist materially in understanding the Mosaic days of creation, and in divesting them of the magical character with which the literalist too often invests them.

be formed afterwards in the process of time by their union. In the course of ages under the action of various agencies, intervening spaces were filled up and continents began to be organized.

Dr. Hitchcock says that where the American continent now is, there were six islands, three in North, and three in South America. Africa formed one large island, and Europe two large ones and six or seven smaller ones. In Asia there were from three to five of them, one vastly the larger. This last one was in central Asia, including the Himmalaya range and its contiguous highlands. This large island, fanned by ocean breezes and watered by the rich dews of heaven, many ages afterwards, became the birth-place of man, and then again the centre, from which the descendants of the second progenitor of our race, were dispersed into all parts of the earth.*

The formation of dry land in the way described was a necessity, as in no other way could it have been separated from the seas and have answered its purpose so well. Had not the original crust been disturbed in this way, either no land could have emerged from the ocean; or, if local causes had elevated the land in certain parts, the soil would have lacked in that variety of ingredients which are necessary for vegetable life in its present endless variety. It was necessary that the primitive soil should be broken up, so that different substances might be mixed together, comminuted and prepared agriculturally for the season of planting which was to follow. The Creator was the first husbandman as well as practical chemist. After such a process of mingling together of different elements, such as silicon, calcium, magnesium, aluminum, the soil must have been a good and rich one. So also if it had not been for such internal convulsions, many substances, needed in one way or another for the development of human history, useful, precious or ornamental, such as the various kinds of metal and precious stones, must have remained for ever hidden in the earth beyond the reach of man.

* See his "Geology of the Globe," p. 25.

The Two Trilogies. It is something remarkable that the work of the third day was two-fold, the formation of dry land and the creation of the vegetable world. The same is true of the work of the sixth day, which records first the creation of animals and then of man. We thus get two trilogies out of the whole six days, the one corresponding to the other on a higher plane of existence. The one, consisting of the first three days of creation, commencing in terrestrial light, ends in vegetation, the lowest form of life; the other, including the three following days, begins with celestial light and concludes with man, the highest form of terrestrial life. All these periods united with the seventh, constituted a heptad, a sacred number. In this arrangement or symmetry of parts lies no doubt some symbolical meaning, which, however, does no violence to the historical order or regular sequence of events. The entire process is a natural one. The prophet by no consciousness of his own reduces the whole process to two groups, each including three tableaux, the one higher and the other lower; and he simply describes what he saw passing before his eye in regular, objective, historical order. The immediate covering up of dry land with vegetation was natural, and there was no room for any considerable interval of time for this to take place. As there was no evening after the forming of dry land, it would have been out of keeping in the narrative, to have placed the creation of the plant-world on a new day by itself. The soil of the earth had been prepared for planting and sowing; its rocky crust had been ploughed and broken up by the agency of earthquakes; and its particles had been worn fine by friction, by the action of winds and the waves of the sea. Thus commingled they combined to form a virgin soil. The dry land was further watered by copious exhalations from the waters below the firmament and by gentle dews descending from those above. The temperature of the earth itself was no doubt still warm. It was the spring-time of creation.

Grass, Herbs and Trees. Gen. iii. 11, 12. The question might be asked, how could plants spring up and flourish with-

out the light of the sun, as all observation shows that light is essential to vegetation? At first view it would appear as if we had here an anachronism or blunder; and it might be supposed that vegetation should have been described as having made its appearance after the formation of the Sun on the fourth day. If Moses had been a scientist, guided by his own reflection, he would most likely have put it in that connection. But the fact that he did not and so left his narrative open to criticism, is a proof that he was guided by a divine impulse when he wrote. There are other apparent discrepancies in Scripture, which in the end only prove its divine character.

The resources of science are sufficient to explain the difficulty. According to theory, the sun, from which as a nebula the earth was separated, by this time, must have been so far organized, as to give out from behind the clouds some degree of light and heat. The cloudy envelope around the earth was now no longer so dense as to keep off the rapidly increasing influence of the sun, so that we may suppose that it was already sending down enough light and heat to stimulate a vigorous vegetation. The moon also as a fire-ball, must have exerted considerable influence on the temperature of the globe, either at this period, before or afterwards. It has often been remarked that vegetation is more active during spring, under a cloudy sky, than when the sun shines. Besides the earth was still a warm body and it may have continued to emit some cosmic light from numerous volcanic centres.

Another Question. The next question that might be asked in this connection is, was the vegetable world a *creation* or a *formation* out of pre-existing matter? The English translation might seem to favor the latter supposition, when it says, *Let the earth bring forth grass*; but the original does not convey any idea of the nature of a generation. Luther's translation conforms better to the original meaning. Lange thus renders it: *Es lasse spriessen die Erde Gespross*; or still better, perhaps, in pure idiomatic German: *Es grünele der Erdgrund das Grüne*. The general sense seems to be that the earth, in obe-

dience to the word of God, sent out buds or sprouts, and covered itself with a green verdure.

As, however, in the sequel, it is said the fish, birds, and man were created, it may be inferred that He also created vegetable life, and that, if the sacred writer had had occasion to use the word create in regard to vegetation, he would have so used it. He would not have said that God made the grass as He made the firmament. In ancient times the doctrine of spontaneous generation, that is, that plants and animals grew out of mineral matter or slime, was generally believed, as a fact; but it has been set aside by modern investigation, and, since the time of Harvey, the theory that every living thing proceeds from a germ or seed—*omne vivum ex ovo*, has become until recently a settled question. At present it is most strenuously resisted by one-sided evolutionists, but thus far without success. The discussions are interesting; the failures to induce life in its humblest forms by artificial means become more and more instructive. The conclusion is, that if the most minute creatures, such as the infusoria, scarcely distinguishable from plants, cannot be called forth without the presence of germs, much less can the larger plants and animals be originated without similar beginnings. The maxim of Harvey, therefore, remains unassailed, and the conclusion intact, that vegetation in the third day was a distinct creation. Here new forces were called into requisition, and not a mere union of others nor a result of their joint operation. They were not physical, chemical, electric or magnetic, but vital. They brought forth a new and higher creation. By physical forces man can bring about physical results, but he cannot make a plant or tree. The power to do this belongs to God. Every plant includes an immaterial principle, a principle that controls its own and other forces, so as to form itself into a distinct individual or organism, which is something different from the mineral. It has an inward growth an aim and an end. It is a power that rules over matter and renders its forces subservient to itself. It is a mystery in the grand mystery of creation.

Other Questions. Species and Genera. Science has gone a step further and pressed upon the student of the Bible other perplexing questions, closely allied to the preceding. They need not be answered so far as a profitable reading of the Scriptural account of creation is concerned. But as they are sometimes put in a form that is hostile to revelation, it becomes necessary for the Christian student to stand up in self-defence. Fortunately science itself comes to his relief and furnishes him correct answers in harmony with faith. The advocates of spontaneous generation further assert that the vegetable world, in its endless variety, all sprang from a single germ, that one species gave rise to new and higher species, until in this way the wide diversity of grass, plants and trees was brought about. Strict evolutionists consistently carry out the theory, and further affirm that the animal was evolved from the vegetable and man out of the animal. The objections to this view of the case are numerous. It has not been established by clear and undisputed facts, or such a proof as scientific men themselves regard as necessary for the establishment of a truth or a principle in the sciences generally. It is not sustained by experience. It asserts a process that took place myriads of ages in the past without sufficient evidence in reason or facts. It further seems to be contradictory, unphilosophical and contrary to reason. Rigorously speaking, in evolving the plant out of the mineral or man out of the animal, it asserts in so many words, that the sum of the parts is greater than the whole. We do not here ignore the interesting facts which evolutionists have brought to light nor wish to be regarded as disparaging the laborious investigations which they have made in the interest of science. If their theory now be one-sided and fragmentary, it may lead to something better, and, in the end, bring us all to a more comprehensive view of the origin and development of the universe and its contents.

The language of the Scripture certainly seems to favor the view that the plant-world, as well as the animal and the human, originated in different germs, centres, genera or species. It

speaks of grass, herbs and trees. Then it describes each of these as yielding *seed after its kind*, the plain meaning of which seems to be that each member of these different families was created as something distinct. It was created after its kind or species.

But if this be granted, it must not be supposed, that what are now called species in the plant-world, are necessarily all distinct species and were all created as such in the beginning. The varieties of the same plant take a wide range and differ sometimes as much, in external appearances, as members of different species. Many species, therefore, may yet be proved to be nothing more than varieties of the same species. Some years ago there was a controversy in Germany whether rye and oats are not the same plant, the latter having grown out of the former. We have not heard how the dispute was settled. Species may thus be very much diminished, and the remarks of good Dr. McCosh on this general subject, at the Evangelical Alliance, cannot be regarded but as wise and judicious when he says: I am not sure that religion has any interest in holding absolutely by the one side or the other of this question. . . . Religion is not entitled to insist that every species of insects has been created by a special fiat of God with no secondary agent employed.*

The Finger of God. Reason teaches us that there must be some point or line where, in studying the works of nature, we must encounter the direct agency of God, and be compelled with the Egyptian magicians to confess that this is the finger of God. Aristotle, therefore, very justly ridicules those philosophers who maintain that there is an endless succession of causes and effects, that leaves no room for faith. Among uncivilized people, all terrestrial phenomena are regarded as direct acts of God. So it was generally in the early history of the world. But as science advances, all this is changed, when it is discovered that the visible and outward phenomena are the results of invisible forces or secondary causes, and the instances of such immediate agency of God go on diminishing.

* See Proceedings of Evangelical Alliance, at New York, p. 267.

The atheist with one bold stroke attempts to rule out the supernatural altogether; the evolutionist does not go so far, but seeks to circumscribe it within the narrowest possible limits. This he does when he passes beyond the line that separates the natural from the supernatural, and sets aside the distinctions of genera and species, with the essential differences between the plant and the mineral, between the animal and man. So far as we now know, that line is found when we come to the germs or central forces of creation, as these reveal themselves in genera or species. These are mineral, vegetable, animal and human. All on the one side is a direct thought or word of God, whilst all on the other side may be safely regarded as belonging to development or evolution. We thus see the two-fold character of creation. The single germ, from which all other germs proceeded, must be sought for beyond nature.

If it be further asked whether all individual plants originated in single germs, or all species of animals in single pairs, we answer, that this perhaps cannot be known with certainty. There is nothing absurd or incredible in such a supposition. The fauna and flora of the three continents are as a general thing different. But there is nothing absurd in the other supposition, that many germs of the same species may have been placed in the earth at the same time. Recalling the image already applied to the Creator, as the divine husbandman, we may say of Him, that the sower went forth to sow, and the original soil of the new earth teemed with life, and was covered with a rich and luxuriant vegetation, suitable to climate and soil. Grass may have appeared in green swards, birds and animals in nests, and bees in swarms. The question in regard to the origin of man is a different one, and must be decided from a different point of view.

Era of Plants. The era of plants must, like those that went before, have been long. It was measured by many geological ages. As science has shown, they made their first appearance, in their humblest forms, in the warm waters of the ocean, as sea-weeds, before they appeared on the green hills, and then

afterwards in species, rising one above the other, ending in the stately palm or the cedar of Lebanon. Each order had its day when it flourished best, as their fossil remains in rocks testify, and was then swept away to make room for something better, under other conditions of soil, temperature or moisture. Some no doubt came long after animal life had made its appearance; some during the sixth day. This would be historical. For if in attempting to harmonize Genesis and science, it is maintained that all kinds of plants should appear first and then the different species of fish, birds and animals, in a stiff, mechanical order in the rocks, it must be confessed that there is no use in trying to bring the two records to fit together. But this is not necessary. The intelligent student of the Bible does not look for such a correspondence. All that he asks is that the different kinds of life made their *first appearance* in the order set forth in the Bible. This geology abundantly confirms. Animal and vegetable appear together in the lower rocks; but much of the first vegetation has disappeared and left no trace behind, in consequence of its first frail texture under the action of internal heat. It was necessary that the plant world should be organized on the third day, before as yet any animals existed. It is known that the animal cannot subsist without vegetable food or animal food formed out of the vegetable. It might be surrounded by all the mineral substances that enter into the composition of its body, and yet it would perish in the midst of this apparent plenty, unless it receives them in the form in which they are prepared for it by the mysterious processes of vegetation. On this third day, therefore, the Divine Husbandman gathers up, so to speak, and deposits in the vast store-houses of nature those provisions which the animal world should need in after times.

The prophet from his high position sees the whole process from the beginning to the end, as it commences in the ocean or on the hill-side of the newly formed land, and then extends upwards through other and higher eras. He need not speak of it again. He comprehends the whole history, with its breaks, its changes and its progress, in a single picture.

The Trilogies again. Thus ended the first trilogy of creation. In its first tripartite division it corresponded to that of the second, and prepared the way for it. The cosmic light of the first day answers to the solar light of the fourth; the firmament and the waters of the second were the homes prepared for the fowl and the fish of the fifth day; the dry land and vegetation of the third were the home and provision of the animals that were to come in on the sixth day. The lunar cosmic life of the plant was a mute prophecy of the higher life of man. So it is throughout all nature. It is a single thought, in which all parts support each other, the lower looking upwards and prophesying the advent of the higher.

Evening of the Fourth Day. After the work of the third day had come to an end in the light of prophecy, the evening of the fourth was at hand. The vision of the seer became dim, as it again rested upon some corresponding dimness or darkness of nature. It was the period during which the cloudy covering, which had enveloped the earth since the morning of the second day, broke up and passed away. Storms and tempests prevailed, and the clouds became dark and heavy, sending down rain in torrents, giving back to the seas their last instalment of waters which had been held back for many ages. The light and heat of the sun had been increasing in intensity, as the solar nebula continued to contract, and constituted now, probably, the chief agent, in connection with the diminution of heat on the earth's surface, in dissipating the clouds and in causing them to descend to the earth. Such a change could not have taken place without another titanic struggle of the elements, the winds roaring and struggling to bring about a new order of equilibrium. The conflict continued for a long time before it ended in the victory of sunshine. In the case of the planets, Jupiter and Saturn, it still continues. The Earth lost its cloudy shell long ago, and then came forth as a renewed creature, greeting the sun and its sister planets above, adorned with new robes of beauty. In all this there is no doubt much of that true symbolism which no one can fail to observe that views nature in the connection of its parts.

Morning of the Fourth Day. Gen. i. 14-19. The light of the sun breaking through the dissolving clouds was the dawn of the fourth day. We may indeed suppose that the sky was already clear to the prophet long before the twilight and the dawn. This gave him an opportunity to contemplate the new heavens, studded with glittering stars, an immense host. Then gradually came on the dim twilight, and afterwards the rising sun, bathing all nature in a flood of light, painting the heavens in purest azure and the green earth below in enchanting colors. It was the first aurora, the first gorgeous sunrise. Then followed the smiling hours of the first natural day. But as the sun, now finished and complete in its glory, had risen in the east, so in the evening, it sank again beneath the western horizon. It was the first glowing sunset. As the evening shades began to prevail, the stars again glittered in the vault above; but now the moon arose as the representative of the sun, to rule the night with queenly dignity and grace. The prophet no doubt saw all these, the sun, moon and stars; not at a single glance, we may suppose, but in succession, in the order very likely which we have thus just designated.

The Sacred writer says that God *made* the sun, moon and stars; that is, He did not *create* them, but evolved them out of pre-existing matter. Here again the theory, which we employed in explaining chaos and the subsequent organization of the earth, seems to be the only one, which will enable us to understand the formation of the sun and other heavenly bodies on the fourth day. According to Prof. Guyot, it is no longer a mere hypothesis.

The Sun and Moon. Accordingly, we may say, that it is literally true that the sun and moon were made, organized or finished during the fourth period of the earth's history. The matter of the moon must have been separated from the earth at an early day by the centrifugal force, most likely previous to the generation of light. It first existed as a ring revolving around the earth, similar to those of Saturn; it then broke up into fragments and coalesced into a sphere, which, after pass-

ing through many transformations, like the earth, became a fully developed satellite of the earth on the fourth day. The sun, on the other hand, after projecting the earth into its orbit, continued to rotate with increasing velocity, contracting its size all the while. At certain stages in this movement, it threw off Venus, Mercury and probably some other smaller bodies. Its power to generate planets then ceased, but the process of contraction continued until it resulted in a luminous star, a fully organized sun. This culmination of a long process must have taken place after the earth passed beyond its chaotic state, and the sun, therefore, rightly placed on its fourth cosmogonic day, when he appears in his full orb'd splendor, breaks up the shell of clouds around the earth, supplies it with light and heat and carries forward the old life of the earth to its highest form. The earth had reached the acme of its own cosmic life, and it needed the presence of other agencies from beyond itself to enable it to reach its true destination in man.*

The Stars. In regard to the stars, we may say, that some of them at least were finished and shining with their first and purest light on the morning of the fourth day. This was true of the planets, and it may be true likewise of the fixed stars; but inasmuch as the heavenly hosts are the result of a genetic process, similar to that through which the earth passed, it is most

* Prof. Morris at this late day still maintains that the sun was not made, but only made to appear on the fourth day. See his "Science and the Bible," published in 1871, in many respects, an interesting and valuable book. But his theory, as it seems to us, does not do full justice either to science or the Bible. After the style of Dr. Pye Smith and others he allows the fossils or geological animals to have lived and run their course in the interval that elapsed during the first and second verses of the 1st chapter of Genesis, and asserts that the chaos was the wreck of that old geological world. This is the view of Kurtz under another form. But how does that agree with the statement of the Bible that the animals were created on the 5th and 6th days? All this with his explanation of the sun, we must regard as unscientific and as "torturing" the plain sense of the Bible. With all our reverence for the words of Scripture, we must give up in despair, if there is no better reconciliation of Genesis with science. He also thinks that if the six literal days are sacrificed, everything in the Bible is hazarded!

natural to suppose that some of them may have been complete long before, whilst others were finished with the sun or are still going forward, through transformations towards their final organization. The eye of the prophet takes in the whole prospect. Past, present and future are all embraced in one comprehensive view.

The formation of the sun formed a new epoch in the history of our earth. With its own internal resources it had been struggling forward to its true destination, through storms, tempests and earthquakes. It had even produced various forms of life in the plant-world, probably protozoans also in the animal as well as protophytes in the vegetable world. But it could make no further advance. The old order of things must pass away, and from this time onward its organization must complete itself under an influence from beyond itself. The earth, therefore, bursts its vapory envelope and stands forth as a full member of a system. With its sister planets, now no longer luminous, it revolves around its centre, reflecting its light and receiving into its bosom quickening influences. Now it was in a condition to fulfill its mission, to carry forward its feeble beginnings of life up through a gorgeous vegetation to the animal world, and then to receive its sovereign, in the person of man, the crown and glory of the whole process.

The design of the heavenly bodies was given only so far as our earth is concerned. Each one, no doubt, has an organization, a history and a vocation of its own. In this respect they resemble our own world or system. They were made for beings like ourselves, beaming with intelligence and glowing with affection and love, all looking up to the same Creator and Father of all. There are millions upon millions of worlds like our own with inhabitants among the stars. Moses, however, was no astronomer, and he speaks of the heavenly bodies only as they were connected with the earth. He says they were intended to divide our days from our nights, to give light upon the earth, and to be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and for years, according to our translation. As signs they were

to be guides to the traveler by land and by sea. They were intended to regulate the labors of the husbandman and of men generally. They were also, we may believe, to be signs and guides of a higher character. Like the rainbow after the flood, they were also in their way symbols of the presence and power of God. Thus they were regarded in the beginning, as appears from the fact that this symbolism of nature ran into superstition and idolatry in after times. This, however, was only an abuse of their original, spiritual purpose. The heavens declare the glory of God and the firmament showeth his handy-work.

Fifth and Sixth Days. Gen. i. 20-26. With what has already been said of the general principles ruling during the first four periods of creation, there can be no special difficulty in regard to the last two. The latter were like the former. They had no doubt their evenings or transition periods, which, although now difficult to specify, were similar to the evenings already described. They were the more prominent convulsions of our globe, of which geology reveals a great many during the development of the animal world in these two periods. There were upheavals of the bed of the ocean, the subsidence of dry land, changes of the earth's temperature, and, with these, changes in the types of animal and vegetable life. They were seasons of intense activity, resulting in something like a chaos at first view, but in fact, in the actual preparation of the earth for a new order of life, both vegetable and animal.

We mention only a few of the many interesting results brought to light by the untiring industry of the geologist, confirmatory of what has already been said in regard to cosmic ages. The developments of animal life, marine, aerial and terrestrial, extended over wide areas of time. They all began in humble and simple forms, and were then succeeded, after some geological revolution, by higher and more perfect creatures, down to the present time. Thus marine animals commenced in the radiates, and passed onward to the mollusks, articulates, and ended with the fishes, birds and reptiles. So it is recorded

in the chronicles of the rocks. Their testimony is unequivocal.

The primitive seas literally swarmed with living creatures. Our English translation, when it says, *Let the waters bring forth abundantly*, Gen. i. 20, falls short of the graphic expressiveness of the original. Lange renders it thus: *Es sollen wimmeln die Wasser vom Gewimmel lebendiger Wesen*; Knobel, in more epigrammatic style, thus: *Es wimmeln die Wasser ein Gewimmel*; in English, we would say, let the waters swarm with swarms or swarms of living creatures. Myriads of corals were busy at work building up islands and coral-reefs; then trilobites in countless multitudes, the crinoids and the cuttle fish, up to the fish dynasty, when sharks and other monsters of the deep make their appearance. The order in which they came forward into life is indicated by their fossil remains in the ascending series of rocks. After the fish, birds had their day, and left behind their tracks on the sand, some of which grew to a monstrous size, three times the size of our modern ostriches. Reptiles followed also with a monstrous development, crocodiles, lizards, frogs as large as a rhinoceros, the megalosaurus taller than an elephant, and the ichthyosaurus with eyes nearly a foot and a half in diameter.

After the reign of the fish, birds and reptiles, then land animals, bears, tigers and hyenas, of immense size roamed through the forests. The elephant, the mammoth and the mastodon lived in distant northern latitudes. The deinotherium was twenty feet in length with height corresponding. The megatherium had legs three times the thickness of those of the elephant, and a tail five or six feet in circumference. All these orders of animal life had their day and then passed away, making room for another class, not so monstrous in size, but better adapted for the era of man. It is still a question among geologists whether any of the fossil races of plants or animals are represented in the modern world. These long series of development, it seems, all converged towards the sixth day, and then gave way for the best specimens of their kind.

The Sabbath. Our world was finished. Our continents were formed in general outlines, as they exist at the present time, and made to rest on foundations that could not be so easily shaken as they were in the ages preceding. The fauna and the flora, plants and animals, received their normal types and were blessed. They were not again to be swept away, but to remain. They are nearly all probably with us to the present day. There could now be no evening or further convulsion of the frame work of nature. Man made his appearance, and the Sabbath or seventh day, with no evening preceding it like the other days, dawned upon the world. It came on dressed in festal robes after the work of the preceding days. The era of History and Intelligence opened; Cosmogony was ended and Anthropology began.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

LECTURES ON THE GOSPELS FOR THE SUNDAYS AND CHIEF FESTIVALS OF THE CHURCH YEAR. By Joseph A. Seiss, D.D. In 2 vols. 1 vol. Philadelphia: Lutheran Book-store: Smith, English & Co. 1876.

WE gladly welcome this work as another contribution toward a better appreciation of what is required of a faithful preacher of the divine Word. The question is often asked, what shall guide the pastor in his selections of Scripture for the various services of the Sanctuary? The efficiency of the pastor, in our judgment, depends very much upon the answer which he may give to this question. His response may be, that the matter of selecting texts belongs to his own private taste, and that he must from week to week consult his own intellectual and spiritual temperament, which temperament is greatly modified by the varying circumstances of health and history—by motives physical and metaphysical over which he can have but slight control. In this case but little regard is paid to his flock, or to the order and scope of the divine Word itself. Of course, there can be but little real teaching in all this. It would be strange indeed if a teacher, without reference to that which is to be taught or to those who are to be taught, should suit his own pleasure in now taking this and now that theme, spreading himself over his

science and in the end hiding it from view by his own shadow. So, also, if there be order in the divine revelation itself, and capacity of rational apprehension in those who are to hear the preacher, we cannot see how the method just referred to is not as strange and inexpedient in the minister as in the case of any teacher in any department.

Again, the question may be answered in this way, viz., that by studying the wants and peculiar condition of the flock, suitable Scripture to apply thereto must be searched for and used. In proper teaching, wants and conditions must be developed by the teacher in conjunction with the subject taught. We may say here, that just in proportion as any subject of thought and meditation is discussed after the order which rationally belongs to it, in just that proportion will the mind be led on to proper wants and conditions, proper states of inquiry and stand points of observation. No teacher, therefore, can make himself the mere creature of the wants and conditions of those who are to be taught. As before, he will in this case spread his class over the science, in the end hiding it from view with their shadow.

Divine revelation presents itself after an order and method belonging to itself. Such order is sought to be expressed always in Creed and Confession, and no Church has long allowed itself to be destitute of these. The Creed, in its most fundamental form, is inherent in the revelation, if a true Creed. It is an expression of the apprehension, through faith, of the contents of revelation after its own law. Such is the Apostles' Creed in its substance and form; and upon this norm the whole Church year is constructed, and its selections of Scripture are governed by the same. Hence, the great power of such an order of presenting the revelation by the faithful pastor. It is symmetrical, and moves forward accumulating power from Sunday to Sunday, and awakening deeper and deeper interest in the heart and mind of the flock, becomes filled with more warmth and light, flowing, as it were, from the self unfolding of the truth.

In the preface to the work under review, this subject is handled with a proper appreciation of its importance; and we trust it will be of service to those who may read it. It may be true, as the author says, that no full series of discourses on the Pericopes, as those are in the Lutheran Church, has been furnished in the English language. But there is so little difference between the Pericopes of the Lutheran Church and those of the Episcopal Church, that we are surprised that no reference should be made to the discourses of Rev. Isaac Williams, B. P., and others.

Of course, the work of Dr. Seiss does not profess to enter into any history of the various Lectionaria of the Church, or to give any critical attention to the general cultus of Christendom. It is made up of such discourses as an earnest pastor delivers to the flock which

he serves; and we feel confident that they will serve to edification when read. We shall be glad to welcome the second volume whenever this learned Lutheran pastor shall see fit to issue it.

E. E. H.

A HISTORY OF THE REFORMED CHURCH IN PHILADELPHIA. By Rev. David Van Horne. Published by request. Philadelphia: Reformed Church Publication Board, 907 Arch street. 1876.

This little work grew out of two discourses preached by Mr Van Horne, July 2d, 1876, in the First Reformed Church of Philadelphia. It was well, we think, that these discourses were requested for publication, and that they are now embodied in this permanent form. In the last number of this *Review* we had the pleasure to notice the biographical and historical work of Dr. Weiser's, and now this, though smaller, forms another volume of our denominational history in this country. That history is growing more precious the farther we are removed by the passing years from the beginnings of our Church in America. How carefully we should gather it up before any of it shall be lost from the memory of man! How ardently good Dr. Harbaugh labored to give us the Fathers! His zeal and self-denying labor should serve to inspire others to carry on the work he began. And the Centennial just gone should have served to fix attention on this matter. We hope it has done so, and that we shall yet see the fruits of labor performed in preparing the local histories of our churches. These local histories ought, then, to be embodied in a general history of the Reformed Church in America. We may be glad that we are at least getting material for such a history, and it is in this view we welcome this little volume of Mr. Van Horne's.

He has shown wise consideration in turning his attention to the history of his Church in the early ministry in the same. We cannot labor intelligently in any sphere without connecting our labors with the past. It is so in our own lives and also in congregations. The present is always in some way a product of the past. The past, like the present, has its lights and shades, but we are a product of it, and we are in duty bound to honor it as our parentage. Then we commend the manner in which Mr. Van Horne has written down this history. It is done with wise discretion. Old Race street has passed through many storms. After giving of its life and substance to build up other churches, it is now gathering up its energies for a still prosperous future. May the heavenly benediction of peace henceforth rest upon it!

THE MERCERSBURG REVIEW.

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ART. I.—THE SPIRIT OF PROPHECY.

THE Testimony of Jesus Christ, we have seen, is the universe of truth, proceeding forth from Him as its origin and source, held together in Him through its entire extent as the one sole principle of its being, and returning to Him again as its necessary end. From Him, by Him, and to Him, are all things. All that is comprehended in the ideas of creation, providence, and redemption, all the actualities of the world of nature, and all the realities of the world of mind or spirit, come together and stand together in Him, as a single constitution, bearing upon it everywhere the impress of His wisdom, goodness and power, and conspiring everywhere in one and the same witness to His glory.

He is thus continually present and active in all the forms of outward material existence. They are not only from Him by virtue of the fiat which originally spake them into being; but they remain in being only through the power of that same speech or word, active in them every moment as at the first. This we see, not by outward sense, but by inward intellectual vision; namely, "that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear" (Heb. xi. 3); and this being so, we see just as plainly (if such super-bestial intelligence be in us at all) that it is only by the word of God thus always in them, as invisible spirit and life, that these phenomenal existences can ever have in themselves

any true and proper reality whatever. Thus it is that the truth which is in the things of the natural world universally—the things in which natural science is so prone to stop and stay self-complacently, as if the mere sense-side of them were in some way the beginning and end of all they mean—is in fact the constant presence and power of the very word and voice of the Lord there, reaching into them inwardly from the spiritual world, and causing them to have in this and from this perpetually all that serves to make them of any account either for life or for science. In the idea of this informing voice or word only can nature be said to have in it any animating soul, any wisdom, any order, any law, any light. All these conceptions meet together in the fundamental comprehensive designation, TRUTH; and in this way refer themselves everywhere, directly and immediately, to the kingdom of truth at large of which Christ is the one only absolute King. The kingdom, which He came into the world, according to His own declaration, to advance to its supreme perfection in the way of living self-testimony; by taking upon Him the form of our weak and fallen humanity, and then returning with it, through boundless battle with the powers of hell, to the full glory which He had with the Father before the foundation of the world. An actual self-sanctification (John xvii. 19) in this way; the true finishing of the work (John xvii. 4) which the Father had given Him to do; a real going before His people as the author and finisher of the Christian faith, by which “being made perfect He became the cause or power of eternal salvation unto all them that obey Him” (Heb. v. 9; xii. 2).

Here, in the sphere of intelligence and freedom, we come as it were into the inner realm of truth, as compared with the general externality of nature, and may the more readily see accordingly, what is to be understood by its actuating force entering as the thought or voice of God into the universal constitution of the world. It is the reign still of law, order, wisdom and right; but the reign of all these now in higher self-moving form, as mediated by the action of created mind acknowledging and ac

cepting them as its own. It is the natural, raised through the rational and moral to the spiritual; the region in the end of all that is comprehended in the full testimony of Jesus, through which life and immortality are brought to light in their profoundest and most far-reaching view; whereby, as we have seen, all worlds and all heavens are joined together in their inmost life as one in Him, who is at once the principle and the end of their universal being.

Here it is that we are introduced to the idea REVELATION, as the presence of the Divine voice or word, transcending the realm of mere nature altogether, and making itself answerable to the higher realm of spirit. Thus in the opening of the Epistle to the Hebrews it is said: "God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in times past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by His Son, whom He hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also He made the worlds; who being the brightness of His glory, and the express image of His person, and upholding all things by the word of His power, when He had by Himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high; being made so much better than the angels, as He hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they."

In this most pregnant passage, we are made to feel very distinctly the intimate connection there is between the kingdom of truth in the natural creation, and the same kingdom in the higher creation of the spirit; while at the same time this last is felt to be immeasurably nearer than the other to Him who is the central sun of the kingdom. It is by the word of His power, all things have been made and are still upheld in their natural existence; and by the same word, He speaks and works in the formation of the new heavens and the new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness. But in the one case it is the voice of nature simply, as we commonly call it; in the other case, it is the voice of revelation; and the difference between these two voices is as the distance between earth and heaven. Revelation itself, moreover, is here presented to us in its true

character and form. It might seem at first, as if some opposition were intended to be expressed between its older forms, as "spoken unto the fathers by the prophets," and what it has become in these last days as spoken by our Lord Jesus Christ. But the opposition is only in appearance, like that between earlier and later development in the progression of all real life. Revelation, in this view, has been one life from the beginning, the WORD OF GOD, as it styles itself, sounding through the ages with various utterance and tone, but looking onward always to the advent of the Word Incarnate, in whose voice only it was possible for it to become ultimately full and complete. That is what is meant by the declaration, "God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in times past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by His Son." In Him all previous prophecy, all older voicing of the Divine mind, comes to its end. He is The Prophet, eminently so-called, to whom all the prophets before Him gave witness (Acts x. 43); and in whom was fulfilled once for all that ancient promise: "The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto Him shall ye hearken" (Deut. xviii. 15).

Thus we reach what must be considered the sense in brief of the angelic declaration, *The Testimony of Jesus is the Spirit of Prophecy.*

Let us, in the first place, direct our attention to the way, in which these two ideas of testimony and prophecy are made to flow together everywhere in the Apocalypse. Prophecy here means primarily the Divine word contained in this revelation itself; as where it is said, "Blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book." But this, we can see at once, involves a great deal more than any particular sayings or teachings found in the Apocalypse; since the design of the book is professedly to open the way for the disclosure, at the proper time, of the full sense of the entire previously existing Word of God, as that is to be reached only through His second advent, the scope regarded in the Apocalypse from beginning to

end. It is in reality, therefore, the word of God at large, which is made here to stand throughout in such complemental relation to the testimony of Jesus Christ, that while we feel their difference we cannot help feeling at the same time that they are regarded as forming together but one and the same life. This might offer no difficulty for ordinary thought, if the testimony of Jesus Christ signified simply witness concerning Him; and that is the way, no doubt, in which the sense of what is here said is commonly taken; as if all came to this only, that the word of God is to be regarded as in some way, universally, the sure attestation of Christ's glorious evangelical mission and work in the world. But nothing can be clearer in fact, as has been already shown, than that the relation between testimony and prophecy in the Apocalypse is not at all of any such outward mechanical order as this. Christ is absolutely His own testimony; in such sort that all other witness-bearing in His favor, whether angelic or human, or from the world of nature below man, is in truth only light from Himself reflected back, as it were, upon its original source. In this sense He declares Himself to be the AMEN, the faithful and true Witness, the Beginning of the Creation of God. That is what He is for the natural creation; and that is what He is also, in still more intimate and full sense, for the spiritual creation. They are, each in its own order and degree, spheres flowing forth around Him from His own central life, having part in this continually, and yet standing continually over against it also, with separate existence, as the manifestation of His power and glory. In the spiritual creation, this circumambient sphere of the Divine is the spoken and written word of God (the self-testimony of Jesus Christ), as we have it in the Bible. That unquestionably is the relation which the living Lord and the word of prophecy are regarded as holding to each other, all through the Revelation of St. John the Divine; and on which the full light of heaven is made to descend more particularly, we may say, in the voice of the angel: "I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren that have the testimony of Jesus; worship God; for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy."

But just here now, it is not to be disguised, we are brought face to face with what must ever be for the merely natural mind an insuperable stumbling-block and offence, in the way of the whole subject with which our present discussion is concerned. If the word of prophecy is to be considered, in the way we have now stated, not simply testimony toward the Lord and concerning Him in any outside view, but testimony from the Lord Himself, issuing forth directly from His own Divine life in the very power of this life itself, it must follow that the life of the Lord is actually in such word of prophecy, in a real and not merely figurative or tropical manner. But how, it is asked, can such life be actually resident in words spoken, when the speech itself is at an end? Or more confounding still, how can it be in words written or printed in a book, and so passed on from one age to another? Can even Divine oracles be said to have in them any actual Divine life in that way? Surely any supposition of this sort may well be counted incredible, and quite at war with common sense; enough in short to justify in full the old interrogatories: How can these things be? This is a hard saying; who can hear it? (John iii. 9; vi. 60).

To all such skeptical ratiocination, however, we have only to say at this point, that the stumbling-block over which it falls is actually there, where it seems to be, in the teaching of the Apocalypse itself, and is not by any possibility to be spirited out of the way by hysterical appeals to common sense or natural logic. The testimony of Jesus and the spirit of prophecy are in truth so brought together here, that the life and power of the one are made to appear directly as the life and power also of the other. The prophecy, or word of revelation, is not before the testimony or from beyond it, but after it in the order of real existence (John i. 15), and from within it; related to it in fact, as the body is to the soul which it proceeds from and surrounds, and without which it can never be more than an inanimate corpse. As the soul is the life of the body, so the testimony of Jesus, in its boundless plenitude of ever-living, ever-active truth and grace, is the spirit and animating soul of

all prophecy, or of the universal world of Divine revelation. This must mean, of course, that there is in the constitution of God's word itself as such, wherever found, whether spoken or written, an inward nature different from all other speech or writing, nothing less in reality than a Divine life of its own, derived from the life which it is thus made to enshrine. It has in it the quality of the living, self-affirming testimony of Jesus Christ, which is here declared to be its indwelling and informing spirit. How otherwise indeed should it be the very word of God at all, with any real distinction from the word of man? Offence or no offence, then, that is what the Apocalyptic idea of God's word we say plainly means; and it is for the rationalistic habit of thought we have mentioned to dispose of it as it best can.

But the idea, as we shall see, extends far beyond the Apocalypse. Whatever difficulty there may appear to be in it, any earnest consideration of the New Testament must show that the same view of revealed truth runs through it generally; and that it characterizes especially the teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ Himself, from whom as the Word incarnate the written Word of the Gospel derives its universal substance and form. Centrally, as we often rightly say, He was in the days of His flesh, as He still is in His glory, the entire Gospel. All its powers and possibilities were comprehended in His person. But its presence there required and necessitated its going forth from Him in the way of outward self-revelation, that is, in the way of actual works and words of redemption, without which His being in the world could have had no meaning. Can we now, however, possibly conceive of this effluent life, whether as work or word, so losing itself in the surrounding world ever, as to become something absolutely apart from its Divine source in Him, running its course and doing its office afterward in mere outward earthly form? It were well for all of us to think seriously within ourselves what that question means; and not to stop thinking, till we have within ourselves an answer, yea or nay, that we can look steadily in the face. Who cannot see, that to put the miracles of Christ in such purely outside rela-

tion to His living person, must amount to resolving them into mere magic? And can it be any less sacrilegious, we ask in all seriousness, to treat His parables in this way, or His words generally (which in truth are all parables, having in them celestial and divine life), by resolving them into ordinary human thought or speech, though even of the highest kind?

Whatever we may think of the subject, looking at it in this manner, there is no room for any doubt at all as to the actual mind of Christ Himself in regard to it, clearly expressed as it is in every part of the Gospel. As His miracles were wrought by virtue that went out of Him, with inward perception, as part of Himself, so also the words that He spake had in them divine power and grace, which He knew to be part of His own life in the same way.

The passage John vi. 63, with its context, is of cardinal authority on this point. The occasion will be remembered: the memorable discourse of our Lord at Capernaum, in which He declared Himself to be what the manna signified of old to the Israelites in the wilderness, namely, the true bread of God, which had come down from heaven to give life to the world; and then went on to speak of His flesh as being this bread, declaring His flesh, in so many words, to be bread indeed, and His blood to be drink indeed, and making eternal life to be incorporation with Himself, by eating the one and drinking the other. Many, we are told, who had joined themselves to Him superficially as disciples, when they heard all this were offended, taking His words in their sheerest natural meaning. Thousands of professed disciples since their time have managed to get clear of the offence, by turning it into strong figure of speech; only substituting in this way, however, the naturalism of spiritualistic thought for the naturalism of materialistic sense. Our Lord places the true solution of the enigma in the mystery of His own life, as this was to be perfected soon in the coming glorification of His humanity, the "ascending up of the Son of man where He was before;" the same key exactly, that is presented darkly to Nicodemus (John iii. 12, 13), in explana-

tion of the new birth; and then adds (in full parallelism again with what is said of this new birth, John iii. 6): "It is the spirit that vivifies, the flesh profiteth nothing:" "the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life." The declaration regards immediately the hard sayings He had just been uttering in the synagogue of Capernaum. But it is intended plainly to set forth a general truth, and to express what must be considered the essential necessary character of all words proceeding from Him as a Divine Prophet. They must have in them universally the quality of His own being. That stood centrally in the power and glory of the substantial heavenly and spiritual world; beyond the whole shadowy realm of matter, time and space; and it was not possible, therefore, that His words, the direct outgoing of His life in such form, should not be themselves interiorly pregnant also with the celestial fire of that life.

That we are not wrong in this construction of the case, becomes abundantly clear from what follows; when the Saviour says to the twelve: "Will ye also go away"? and the thrilling answer is at once returned: "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast words of eternal life; and we believe and are sure that Thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God." Our English text gives it, "Thou hast *the* words of eternal life"; unfortunately helping in that way the common misconstruction of the thought, by which it is taken to mean simply that the teaching of Christ regards eternal life, and leads to it; or in other words, is a true doctrine of eternal life. But that falls immeasurably short of the real sense of this apostolic confession (as also of Peter's rock-faith, Matt. xvi. 16, derived not from flesh and blood, but directly heaven-born); the confession meaning here most certainly, not *the* words of eternal life didactically understood, but, without the article, words having in themselves eternal life—with plain reference to the Master's own self-testimony just before, "The words that I speak unto you, they *are* spirit and they *are* life." The truth of this, these first confessors had learned from actual experiment. They felt in themselves

what as yet they had no power at all to explain or understand. The words of Christ were for them Divinely vivific. They had in them the quickening, energizing vitality of the life of the Lord Himself, and in this way such power of spiritual consociation with Him as formed for these disciples even at that time a blessed antepast of the subsequent grand assurance, "Because I live ye shall live also."

And surely no one can read the New Testament with serious attention, without perceiving that just this character of life from the Lord is regarded as going along with His words universally, making them to be thus a real and not merely imaginary medium of communication with His own living spirit. Only in such view can we at all understand, for example, the Sermon on the Mount. It consists of precepts throughout which are practical more than doctrinal; and which it is the fashion with some, accordingly, to parade as the confession of their Christian faith in such merely ethical view, for the purpose of depreciating the significance of what they suppose to be theological faith, or belief in Christian dogma, regarded as being in any way the power of Christian practice. But it is easy to see that the words of Christ, in this great sermon, mean infinitely more than any such simply ethical or moral instruction in common human form. They refer themselves at every point to the super-natural or spiritual, as the true effectual soul of all that they are in the lower moral and natural sphere, and involve the idea of this as something directly in the Divine utterance itself from which they proceed. Hence the impression, "Never man spake like this man" (John vii. 46). "He taught them as one having authority, and not as the scribes" (Matt. vii. 29). And how grandly all this is brought out by Himself in the conclusion of His discourse. "Whosoever heareth these sayings of mine and doeth them"—the doing possible only through the power of the voice heard—"I will liken him unto a wise man which built his house upon a rock"—the very faith of which it is said, on this rock I will build my Church—"and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat

upon that house; and it fell not; for it was *founded* upon a rock." But on the other hand: "Every one that heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them not"—the hearing in that case being outward only, and not reaching at all to the actual living *voice* of the Lord in His own words—he "shall be likened unto a foolish man, which built his house upon the sand: and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell; and great was the fall of it" (Matt. vii. 24–27). We could not well have a better example than this very passage itself, to bring home to the sense of all who have the inward ear to hear, what the voice of Christ is in His Word as spirit and life, in distinction from its outward sound, as syllabled in common human speech.

If we wish, however, to see in full the place which belongs to the words of Christ in the economy of His kingdom, under the view we are now trying to enforce, we must turn our gaze most especially of all on His own teaching in regard to it at the close of His earthly life, and just before His heavenly glorification. The field for study here is wide, and radiant with celestial light. We can only glance at it now in the most cursory manner.

The end of religion is full union with God. This is made possible for man only through the coming of our Lord into the world, and the raising of His own humanity first of all to the throne of the Majesty on high; whereby room was made for the going forth of the grace and truth which were in Him, by what is called the sending of the Holy Ghost—the great promise of the Gospel, comprehensive of all else belonging to it as the power of God unto salvation. Hence to His sorrowing disciples Christ says: "Let not your heart be troubled; believe in God, believe also in Me"—that is, let your belief in God fix itself directly on ME, as the actual being and presence of God in human form. "I am the way, the truth, and the life; no man cometh unto the Father, but by Me." Again: "I will not leave you comfortless; I will come to you. Yet a little while, and the world seeth me no more; but ye see me"—by

virtue of the faith which was already in them as a vein of life from His own person; and so, "because I live, ye shall live also. In that day ye shall know that I am in my Father and ye in Me, and I in you." What tongue can express, what thought grasp in full, the height and depth, the length and breadth, of such Divine speech as this! But then comes the question: How can all this be? The difficulty in fact of Thomas: "Lord, we know not whither Thou goest, and how can we know the way?" The difficulty involved in Philip's confusion: "Lord, show us the Father, and it sufficeth us." The difficulty that millions have felt since, in the same stage of imperfect Christian experience. How is such life-union of the soul with God in Jesus Christ to pass beyond doctrine and promise into the form of actual fact? In this inquiry we meet the inmost nucleus of the Gospel, the problem in short of regeneration, rightly understood, as the only door of real admission into the kingdom of God. Does the inquiry find now any solution here, where it would seem most of all proper to look for it, in this parting discourse of the Saviour on the very eve of His triumphant glorification?

All find, of course, a general answer to the question, in the promise of the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of truth, whose coming was to follow His own going away, and who when He should come was to guide His followers into all truth. But the inquiry still comes back: How was this office of the Holy Ghost to be discharged, so as to effectuate a real and not merely notional conjunction of the Divine life with the human in the way here required and promised, namely, "Ye in Me, and I in you"?

In reply to this we are met at once, in the Christian world, with the two opposing theories of private judgment, as it is called, and church-authority; both pretending to be ruled by the Word of God, but each claiming at the same time to be the organ of the Divine Spirit for the right understanding of the Word. The private judgment may be simply the common reason of men; or it may take the form of a supposed "inward

light," having in it the power of direct conjunction with God. In either case, it thrusts itself in between God and the Written Word, using this last really as outward natural knowledge only in the service of its own fancied higher position; by which means the word ceases to be a rule of faith altogether, and is turned into a mere kaleidoscope of all sorts of opinion put into it from the outside. Hence the common easy and cheap argument then in favor of the other theory, the notion of outward church authority, as the seeming necessary alternative to such endless confusion. But what is this we ask other than the naturalism of private judgment over again; affecting as before to come between God and His word; in that way, making itself to be an outward mechanical rule of faith; and thus virtually denying altogether the presence of any actually living rule of faith whatever in God's Word? To this it comes at the last with all such high church pretension, whether in Papal, Greek, or Anglican form; and the case is not improved certainly, by metempsychosis into either Lutheran or Reformed Confessions. Every Protestant denomination does in fact try to make itself the living soul of the Bible in this way. But the result, as we see on all sides, is only Babel.

So much, in this place, for these opposing theories. They are alike unsatisfactory; and we notice them here only for the purpose of fastening attention the more effectually on what our Lord Jesus Christ Himself, in His valedictory teaching now before us, declares to be the one only rule and mode and method of coming into that vital union with the truth in Himself, which is no theory or dream simply, but the veritable power and blessedness of eternal life.

All was to be by the Holy Ghost, of course, the effluent operation of His own glorified life; but not by the Holy Ghost working either spiritualistically on single minds in their merely natural life, or magically through the outside authority of the Church. It could be only by a medium making it possible for the human spirit to come into the very element of this Divine life in an objective and not merely subjective way; and

that medium is most explicitly declared to be the word of the Lord, voiced or written, issuing from Himself and having in it thus the presence of His own life. The thought answers exactly to what is said of the Old Testament sanctuary and its arrangements—all made, we are told (Heb. viii. 5), as the example and shadow of heavenly things, according to the pattern shown to Moses in the mount: "THERE I will meet with the children of Israel, and the tabernacle shall be sanctified by MY GLORY. And I will dwell among the children of Israel, and will be their God. And they shall KNOW that I am Jehovah their God, that brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, that I may dwell among them: I am Jehovah their God." (Ex. xxix. 43-46).

What our Saviour lays such stress upon, reiterating it over and over again, in the case now before us, is just this idea of the outward revelation of truth proceeding from Himself; as having in itself, therefore, spirit and life not of earth but of heaven; and as constituting thus a real place of meeting or coming together between His own Spirit and the spirits of men, by which these might become one with Him more and more in the strict sense of His promise, "Because I live ye shall live also."

"If ye love Me, *keep my commandments*; and I will pray the Father, and He shall give you another Comforter, that He may abide with you forever." See here, at the very outset, how the *keeping* of Christ's words or commandments is made to be the indispensable condition of having part in the mission of the Spirit! Not the knowing of His commandments, but the continuous doing of them; the actual being of the will, it means, and not merely of the understanding, in the words of Christ, seen and felt to be *His* words. That itself, as far as it prevails, is real inhabitation in the love of God (the actuating soul of all Divine truth and law issuing from God), and in this way the embryonic principle at least of like answering love for all who put themselves in such relation to God. And so it follows: "He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that

loveth Me; and he that loveth Me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him." The manifestation plainly in and through the word, made luminous from within itself by the life of the Lord dwelling there. And then when it was asked: How this for us, and yet not for the world? the answer comes again with new startling intensification: "If a man love Me, he will KEEP MY WORDS; and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him!" Our permanent abode (*μονήν*), is what the promise means—the true tabernacle of God with men (Rev. xxi. 3). On the other hand, it is added, "He that loveth Me not, keepeth not my sayings" or *words*, as the Greek text has it rightly); which of itself shuts him out from all like vision and taste of the Divine.

Then follows (John xv.) the graphic parable of the vine and the husbandman; where it is said, "Now ye are clean *through the word* which I have spoken unto you;" the sense of which is manifestly that the word spoken unto them had become in them already the principle of new heavenly life, issuing forth from Himself as its fountain. Whence now the exhortation: "Abide in Me, and I in you; as the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine, no more can ye, except ye abide in Me." But how were they thus to abide in Him, so as to make sure of such reciprocal life-relation, yielding more and more, from year to year, its proper spiritual fruit? The answer is, as before; they were to do it, by simply making room in themselves for the presence of Christ in His own words. "If ye abide in Me, and *my words abide in you*, ye shall ask what ye will, and it shall be done unto you. Herein is my Father glorified, that ye bear much fruit; so shall ye be my disciples." All turning on the mystery of His own glorified life, working in them by the power of His inwardly heard voice or word, like the vital sap of the vine in its branches. "If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love; even as I have kept my Father's commandments, and abide in His love." The nexus in the one case being just what it is in the other; not

logical or didactic simply, and not moral merely, but inwardly dynamic and vital in the supremest degree.

If there could be any doubt otherwise with regard to what we have now shown to be the sense of our Lord's teaching here on this great subject, it ought surely to disappear at once in the light of what He says on the office of the Spirit of truth, through whose procession from Himself His work was now to be continued in the world. "He dwelleth with you," it is said, "and shall be in you"; but not in the way of any agency separate from the Lord Himself; not so as to be at any point outside of the sphere of the Lord's own proper life; and therefore *never* in disjunction from that Divine Revelation, which is called the Word of God, just because the life of the Lord is in it. "The Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send *in my name*"—that is, in the full power of all that I am as the Son of God, one with the Father Himself—"He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance whatsoever I have said unto you." Again: "When the Comforter is come, whom *I will send* unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth which proceedeth from the Father, *He shall testify of Me.*" His whole office and work, in other words, were to be the testimony of Jesus, which we have seen to be always in truth *self-testimony*. And so it follows; "When He, the Spirit of truth, is come, He will guide you into all truth; for He shall not speak of Himself; but whatsoever He shall hear, that shall He speak; and He will show you things to come"—things yet latent in the Word, but to be disclosed hereafter. "He shall glorify Me; for He shall receive of Mine, and shall show it unto you. All things that the Father hath are mine; therefore said I, that He shall take of Mine and shall show it unto you."

In one view this looks like limitation and restriction; and it has ever been one of the devices of Satan, accordingly, to assert for the Holy Spirit a wider range of action, in the form of supposed afflatus, particular or general, put forth independently of the Word altogether. But from the time of the Montanists

down to the present day, every such imagination has proved only a hurtful delusion. There can be no dispensation of the Spirit, which is not at the same time the glorifying of Christ in and by His Word. That is the only true home and range of the Holy Ghost; and the very supposition of larger freedom here, in the way of range beyond it, is no better than diabolical insanity. The circumscription of the Spirit by the Word in this way, is the highest conceivable freedom of the Spirit; while it shows at the same time the boundless, inexhaustible fulness of life which is in the Word, that it should be capable of affording such indefinite freedom to the action of the Spirit age after age. And yet men will have it, that *their plummet* has in fact already sounded the entire depth of this ocean; that they have the riches of it stored up in their systems of theology; that the full final measure of it is to be found in their church catechisms and confessions; and that to look at all for any farther large illumination of the Word, through the shining of the Spirit *from within it*, is to dream of a new Bible, as they say, superseding the old one altogether!

In His pontifical prayer, our Lord very distinctly assigns to the Spirit in His Word, the continuation of the service which He had Himself previously rendered to His disciples as the Word Incarnate, during His stay with them in the flesh. That service was His standing between them and the Father, as a medium of life-giving truth, issuing through Him from the Father, whereby they were held apart from the world, in the incipient sanctification of a true heavenly life. But now He was to be removed from them in such outward personal view, and they must be thrown upon the power of His life in its higher spiritual form. So the prayer on this point runs: "I have manifested Thy name unto the men which Thou gavest Me out of the world: Thine they were and Thou gavest them Me; and they have *kept my word*." Note well, here again, the Divine potency ascribed to the mere keeping of the word, the simple being of the soul in the element of spirit and life thus effluent from Himself. "Now they have known that all

things whatsoever Thou hast given Me are of Thee. For I have given unto them *the words which Thou gavest Me*; and they have received them, and have known surely that I came out from Thee, and they have believed that Thou didst send Me." Then: "Now I am no more in the world, but these are in the world, and I come to Thee. Holy Father, keep through Thine own name" (the presence of the glorified Christ in the Word,) "those whom Thou hast given Me, that they may be one as we are. While I was with them in the world, I kept them in Thy name.—And now come I to Thee.—I have given them Thy word.—Sanctify them through Thy truth; Thy word is truth." Pause here also; and consider earnestly what truth and sanctification are in the vocabulary of heaven. Truth, as we have seen, nothing less than the inmost substance of life issuing from the very being of God, the absolute fountain of all life; and sanctification, real conjunction with the Divine, as this is made to flow into the soul through the truth in such view. That is what the Word means here, then, as a principle and power of holiness. It is, in the case of all true believers, an image of Christ, as the Word Incarnate, working out His own glorification or full union with God, so as to open the way for the salvation of His people. And so He adds: "For their sakes I sanctify myself, that they also might be sanctified through the truth."

In discussing this part of our subject, what we may call the spirit of prophecy in the evangelical history of the New Testament, we have kept ourselves closely to one point, the direct teaching of our Lord Himself in regard to the living power of His own spoken words. But it is plain at once, that the same character of life and power must be regarded as extending itself also to His entire work and ministry in the world under every other view. He could not speak and act at any time as a common natural man. The natural in Him had its governing soul continually in the spiritual and Divine, from the beginning of His earthly life to its end. Even in early boyhood He could say: "Wist ye not that I must be about My

Father's business?" The kingdom of heaven was in Him from His infancy, and lay around Him in all His relations to the world from the cradle to the cross. He stood in the bosom of it throughout. "Ye are of this world," He could say to those around Him, "I am not of this world." The order of his life in this view was never, anywhere or in any respect, from the outward to the inward, from the terrestrial to the celestial; but always the other way—the true heavenly order—from the inward to the outward, from the celestial to the terrestrial. His whole thinking, speaking, and working, had their reason and motive power in the sphere of the infinite. He was in the world not to do His own will, but the will of the Father that sent Him; so that He could say: "The words that I speak unto you I speak not of Myself; but the Father that dwelleth in Me He doeth the works." His works were universally in this way parables of the Divine, just as His words also were miracles of the Divine. He was Himself the Gospel He came to publish; the Truth, He was in the world to bear witness to. This is graphically shown at the very beginning of His public ministry in the synagogue of His native Nazareth. When He had opened the book of the prophet Isaiah, we are told, He found the place where it was written: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me, because He hath anointed Me to preach the gospel to the poor; He hath sent Me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord." Whereupon, having closed the book, He sat down; the eyes of all being fastened on Him, as by strange heavenly enchantment; when He began to say unto them, "This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears"; and then went on in such style of more than human speech, that "all bare Him witness, and wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of His mouth."

The whole life of Christ, while in the world having been of such transcendental order—the presence of the ineffably Divine in the bosom of the natural and ordinarily human—it follows

necessarily, that the same character must belong also to the evangelical record given of it in the New Testament; if indeed this is to be considered at all a true inspired transcript of the life, in any way answering to its original mystery, as the Church from the beginning has believed and taught. To conceive of the New Testament as only the ordinary writing of man, reporting the heavenly things of Christ, and telling about his life with mere outward description, what He did and what He spake, is the same thing in the end with conceiving of the actual historical Christ Himself under the like merely extrinsical view. The Word of God, in the evangelical record, means a thousand times more than that. It is the inward living self-testimony of Jesus Christ, resident there as spirit and life—the spirit of all true prophecy—just as really as this had place in the gracious words themselves, which proceeded from His mouth in the days of His flesh; just as truly as it dwelt in His person when virtue went out of Him through the hem of His garment, to heal the woman who touched it with trembling faith for that purpose (Matt. ix. 20–22), or, when He put forth His own hand upon the supplicating leper and said, “I will, be thou clean” (Matt. viii. 23.)

The full force of all this, however, comes into view only when we take the revelation of the New Testament in connection with the revelation of the Old Testament. They form together one revelation, given at sundry times and in divers manners, but having for its soul throughout one and the same Divine inspiration, namely, the living and life-giving testimony of the Amen, the Faithful and True Witness Jesus Christ, who is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever. We cannot understand either the Old Testament or the New Testament, except as we are taught of God to see each in the other, and rise thus into some apprehension of what the Scriptures themselves mean by their self-distinguishing title, *The Word of God*. To this part of our subject we now come, therefore, as forming what we may call the ultimate cumulation of proof for the great argument we have here in hand.

That the Gospel is to be considered in some way the fulfil-

ment of the Old Testament, all who have any belief in Christianity at all must, of course, admit; since it is expressly affirmed by Christ Himself, and has been a sort of traditional truism for the belief of the Church from the beginning. But it is not to be concealed, that in our time especially this belief has come to be held for the most part, in a very vague and loose sort of way; the consequence of which is a tendency, more and more, to depreciate the worth of the Old Testament, as compared with the New, to place it on a lower level, nay even to see what is felt to be serious discrepancy between its religion and the religion of Christ. After all, it is said, there is little direct specific argument from it even by our Lord Himself, in favor of His Gospel; and much of the small use that is made of it for such purpose, seems to be more in the manner of general accommodation than as strict logical evidence.

But all such skepticism here, though it may be found even in minds otherwise seemingly reverent toward Christianity, proceeds from a false view of the Word of God in general; and a want of power, therefore, to perceive where and how it enters into the constitution of the Old Testament Scriptures in particular. And that, alas, is such a grievous defect here, as cannot possibly stand in harmony with true Christian faith in any form, but must be sure in the end to turn the New Testament, as well as the Old, into mere human myth and fancy.

Only when we get clear of all such notion of the literal and the outward in the Old Testament, as makes this to be *per se* a base of evidence and demonstration in favor of the New, can we be able to do any sort of justice in our minds to the place which rightly belongs to it in the system of Divine Revelation. Its significance then will be seen and felt to dwell at every point in its interior spiritual constitution, as something far different from ordinary human cogitation lodged in ordinary human speech; as being nothing less, in truth, than the presence of the Divine itself, the veritable living testimony of Jesus Christ and His kingdom. Only in that character does it bear witness really to the coming of Christ in the flesh, and only in

that character can it be said to have its universal fulfilment in Christ. The fact of such fulfilment then is seen, not so much in any light thrown forward on the Gospel from the Old Testament in outward view, as by the light rather of the Gospel itself shining out, as it were, from the very bosom of the Old Testament, and causing this to become radiant with its own heavenly glory. We have the image of it in the shekinah of old, the glory of the Lord in the cloud, otherwise dark but thus made luminous, over the mercy-seat and between the wings of the cherubim.

Such unquestionably is the view taken of the correspondence of these two systems of Divine Revelation, by the New Testament itself. We see this at once in the sermon on the mount; which some take perversely to be a new doctrine of righteousness, in distinction from the law of righteousness as it stood before; whereas our Lord Himself most explicitly asserts just the contrary. Whatever there was of new in His teaching, consisted wholly in the bringing out into full view of what had been from the beginning the interior life and power of the Old Testament Scriptures. He stands forth majestically as the deliverer of Moses and the Decalogue out of the hand of their enemies, the carnal Jewish literalists, who for ages had been using the letter of the Bible only to destroy its spirit. "Think not," we hear Him saying, "that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled." Again: "Whosoever shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven, but whosoever shall do and teach them, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven. For I say unto you, That except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. v. 17-20). The *evangelical* sense of which, we are sometimes told by our modern Christian scribes and Pharisees, amounts to this: namely, that our righteousness now has nothing whatever to do

with the law as a rule of life to be obeyed on our part, but is something that must come to us wholly and only in an *ab extra* way, from the merit of Christ credited to our account in the chancery of heaven! Alas, alas, for our human frailty and folly. Who in this case again, can help being reminded of the old castigation: "Full well ye reject the commandment of God, that ye may keep your own tradition; making the word of God of none effect through your tradition, which ye have delivered" (Mark vii. 9, 13). All *such* solifidianism is essentially one and the same with the external legalism of the ancient Jew—the religion of sheer natural selfhood in fact, having no root whatever in the eternal righteousness of God.

Holding such living relation as we have now seen to the inmost life of the Word of God in the Old Testament, there was only one way in which Christ, the Word Incarnate, could bring into view effectually the truth which was in it as evidence and testimony in favor of Himself. It would have been for Him an infinite solecism, we see at once, to establish a theological school for any such purpose as that, a rabbinical gymnasium, where the appliances of historical learning, philology and logic, might have been brought into requisition with superhuman ability, to prove to His disciples and others that He was the Messiah foretold by Moses and all the prophets. If this were to be done at all, He must in His own person and life unfold the actual interior sense of Moses and the prophets; so that the light of evidence should go forth first of all from Him to them, and then come back again from them to Himself—according to the law of all testimony centering upon Him who is the Light of the world, and therefore the one only source of all truth beyond Himself whether in heaven or on earth. In no other way could He fulfil, and so expound, the universal sense of the Old Testament; and thus it was, that His exposition proceeded in fact from the beginning of His ministry to its close. It was, so to speak, genetic and never analytic; from centre to periphery, from the whole to its parts, and never in the reverse order. He stood in the very heart of the Word itself, and from

that Divine sanctuary—the holy of holies—proclaimed the everlasting Gospel (Luke iv. 21), which thus shone forth from His countenance, and made itself felt in His voice.

His relation to the Old Testament in such whole central view, finds its proper exemplification in the vision on the mount, where Moses and Elias appear with Him in glory, through the sphere of celestial light which is seen to flow into them and around them from His transfigured person. We can feel what it means again, from the way in which He is said to have expounded to His disciples, after His resurrection, the things concerning Himself in *all the Scriptures*, beginning at Moses, but taking in also all the prophets and the psalms (Luke xxiv. 27, 31, 32, 44, 45, 46). How few pause to think of the necessary import of these words! There could be no teaching here in common didactic form, no operation of the logical or critical understanding, laboriously working through the outward letter to the inward sense. It was in some way, as far as it went, a proceeding which took hold of the Word as a whole at once, in the very centre of its being, and from thence outward caused it to shine with the light which belonged to it of right all along from its own original inspiration. This had become possible now, as it had not been before, only by our Lord's glorification; and it came upon the disciples, accordingly, as a vision apprehending them from the spiritual order of existence into which their Master was thus passing away from them, rather than in the character of any mere time and sense experience of their simply natural life. "As He sat at meat with them," we are told, "He took bread, and blessed it, and brake, and gave to them; and their eyes were opened, and they knew Him; and He vanished out of their sight. And they said one to another, Did not our heart burn within us, while He talked with us by the way, and while He OPENED TO US the Scriptures?" What can be more absolutely preposterous than to imagine, that such opening of the Scriptures from the Lord of life and glory in the spiritual world came to nothing more after all, than a scientific manipulation of certain passages and texts here and

there in the Old Testament, admitting mere outward application, prophetic or typical, to the now finished work of the Messiah!

The Scriptures here brought into view are distinguished as the law, the prophets, and the psalms. All these meet together as one Divine revelation in the Old Testament Word. The basis of their common constitution is the law as represented by Moses; and this rests fundamentally again on the decalogue or ten commandments.

To gain proper insight, then, into the nature of the inspiration which forms the interior life of the Old Testament universally (according to its own testimony), we need only to study well what the Law was, and still is, as given in that radical form from Mount Sinai; following for this purpose the particular account we have of it in the book of Exodus.

Such study demands, first of all, a lively sense of the full historical reality of the events going before, in the deliverance of the Israelites from their bondage in Egypt; the passage of the Red Sea; the triumphal song of Moses and the Lamb on its eastern shore; the three days' journey in the wilderness of Shur; the sweetening of the bitter waters of Marah; the subsequent advance to Elim, "where were twelve wells of water and threescore and ten palm trees;" the next station between Elim and Sinai, with the sending of the quails and manna there; then the miraculous flow of water from the rock in Horeb; and at last the solemn encampment before the mount in the wilderness of Sinai. All these outward things, as we know most certainly, having been so ordered of God as to signify corresponding spiritual realities in the economy of man's redemption; and forming in that way a preparatory discipline, for the right reception of the law as a bond of union between the Lord and His people. In that view the discipline has throughout but one sense, the same sense that belongs to all Divine discipline, namely, the crushing out of the principle of self-trust and self-worship from the human spirit (the source of all our darkness and misery), by which only room can be made

for the entering into it of a higher divine life from the Lord. Man absolutely nothing in and of himself; God all in all. That is the idea that is thundered forth upon us from the giving of the Law; as it reigns also in the universal grace of the Gospel. There is not a page of Divine Revelation in which we are not met with it, as the necessary key for the inward opening of the light and power of the Word.

Then follows, in formal declaration, the great object and purpose of the Law. It was to be a medium of living communication between God in heaven and men on the earth. "Moses went up unto God," it is said, "and the Lord called unto him out of the mountain, saying, Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob, and tell the children of Israel; Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto Myself. Now, therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto Me above all people; for all the earth is mine; and ye shall be unto Me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation." Moses reported these words to the people. Their answer was, "All that the Lord hath spoken we will do;" and Moses again "told the words of the people unto the Lord." The transaction in this way was a covenant, the whole force of which for the people turned on their obeying God's voice in the Law, and thus having the living power of that voice in themselves as their own life.

"And it came to pass on the third day, in the morning, that there were thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of a trumpet exceeding loud; so that all the people that was in the camp trembled. And Moses brought forth the people out of the camp to meet with God; and they stood at the nether part of the mount. And mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire; and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole mount quaked greatly. And when the trumpet sounded long, and waxed louder and louder, Moses spake, and God answered him by a voice. And the Lord came

down upon mount Sinai, on the top of the mount: and the Lord called Moses up to the top of the mount; and Moses went up " (Ex. xix. 16-20).

Some have said that all this was simply a natural tempest of extraordinary violence and power. That, of course, is open infidelity, the monstrosity of sheer rationalism, without disguise. But what better is it, we ask, to own the supernatural character of the phenomena, and yet to stop after all, as many do, in the mere natural side of the phenomena, as if that were in the case the only object for faith, and all beyond it mere outward reasoning from the miraculous to the spiritual divine? The miraculous in its true form, as we have it in the Bible, is *never* mere wonder-work in any such outward view. It has in it always direct regard to Christ and His kingdom. It is always in such way the bearer of the Divine in its own bosom, the sacramental presence in truth of the very spiritual itself which it serves to certify and attest. This, indeed, is the universal criterion of all miracles proceeding from God. The apparently miraculous without this, is only diabolism and magic.

Jehovah, then, the origin and fountain of the new spiritual creation in Christ Jesus, was actually in the "mountain that burned with fire," as He is here represented to have been; while that whole demonstration, at the same time, forms but the awakening prelude to what comes after it—the Divine utterance of the Law itself. And how then, we ask, shall we hesitate to allow the actual presence of the Lord in the Law (at that time, and through all time since), full as much at least as in the Mountain!

"And God spake all these words, saying: "I am the Lord thy God which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, and out of the house of bondage. Thou shalt have no other gods before Me." (Ex. xx. 1, 2). Such is the familiar introduction to the Decalogue; so familiar, alas, that is only with an effort we can rouse our sluggish minds to anything like a just perception of the magnificent meaning, which lives through the ages enshrined in its simple words.

The whole Law here goes forth from the unity of God. The first of the commandments is: "Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God is one Lord; and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength" (Mark xii. 29, 30; Deut. vi. 4, 5). And this unity of God is no abstraction, but the actual living origin and ground of all things; forth from which must issue therefore forever, the universal constitution of all created things; apart from which, or outside of which, there can be no life, no order, no law, no truth; no room so much as to think rationally even for a single moment of any such thing. This One Jehovah, now, "Christ the Son of the Living God," is in the Law from the beginning; He is there as the immanent soul of the Law; the true interior spiritual side of it within its exterior verbal side, whether as spoken or written; in such sort that to think of such Divine presence as not there at all really, or as there only in outward mechanical view, must be as far as all such thinking goes the destruction of the Law altogether. It may seem then to have value and force still in the merely civil and moral spheres of our life; the only marvel in that case being, that it should have been thought needful to herald it with so much supernatural pomp and apparatus as we find attached to it at mount Sinai. But even such semblance will be a nullity; for in truth the moral and civil signification of the Law, amounts to just nothing at all, without the spiritual-divine perceived and felt to be in it at the same time. There only we come to the real intimate heart and core of all that the Law is rightly in any more outward view; and this, we repeat, belongs to it, wholly and only, from the life that dwells in it perpetually as an emanation flowing directly from the one ever-living and only true God.

Every one that is of the truth, Christ says, HEARETH MY VOICE. Does that mean outward hearing simply? Or does it mean the hearing of the intellect simply, translating the outward speech or word into natural human thought? Most assuredly, neither of these. It means, the actual felt presence of

the living Christ in His own voice. And who may not see that the same thing must be true of the TEN WORDS, as they are called, which God spake from heaven, represented by the top of mount Sinai, that they might be the universal basis of His covenant-presence with men through all time? Even the gross natural sense of the Jews could not shut out fully the mystery of the Divine in what was thus outwardly heard. They said, "Let not God speak with us lest we die." The voice that spake, in this case, was not a dead voice, not an automatic personation of voice in any way; it was a *living* voice; speech having in itself its own life or spirit. And that life, or spirit, we know, was nothing other than the life of the Lord Himself. "God SPAKE all these words"—the infinite mind or thought of Jehovah being thus as much a constitutive part of the words as their outward utterance.

Allowing this, however, of the words as spoken, of the voice of Jehovah originally heard in its actual utterance, can the same thing be imagined to go in any way with the words, after they have been sundered from that first utterance, and are known now only as matter of historical record in the Bible? Can the Written Word have in it the full life and power of the originally Spoken Word? If not, we may well ask, what does the inspiration of the Bible mean? If the Divine Spirit which voiced it at the first be not the voice of God immanent in it as Divine life and spirit still, in what possible rational sense can we affirm it to be the word of God at all, and not simply the word of man, telling us of divine things in an outward way? It might seem, indeed, as if it were for the very purpose of meeting beforehand this plausible infidelity, that the original writing of the Decalogue came also from the mount that burned, given by the hand of the Lord, no less than the original preaching of it given by His voice. The two stone tables of the testimony, we are told, "were the work of God, and the writing was the writing of God, graven upon the tables" (Ex. xxxii. 16).

We might go on to enforce what has thus far been said of the Divine quality of the Law, by a more particular considera-

tion of its general constitution and form ; in which it surpasses all human productions, and is felt, the more it is studied spiritually, to be what may be called the organic fulness and wholeness of the powers of the world to come ; its only fair counterpart, in this respect, being the similarly constituted *Lord's Prayer* of the New Testament. But we cannot follow the subject farther at this time.

What the Law was for majesty and glory, in the representative religion of the Jewish nation, is familiar to all, who have any knowledge of the Old Testament. After its original promulgation, it was laid up in the ark, over which was the mercy seat, overshadowed by the golden cherubim. The ark became thus both testimony and covenant between Jehovah and His people, and was put into the very inmost part of the tabernacle, as being the first and last, the beginning, middle, and end of its worship, in every other view ; on which account, that place was called the holy of holies. The tabernacle was made to be in this way the habitation or abode of Jehovah, around which the whole people of Israel encamped in military order, and after which they marched in like order—a cloud then being over it by day, and a fire by night. When the ark set forward, Moses addressed Jehovah as present in it, “ Rise up, Lord, and let Thine enemies be scattered ” ; and so again when it rested, “ Return, O Lord, to the many thousands of Israel.” Through this presence, accordingly, miracles were wrought by the ark of the most stupendous kind. It caused the waters of Jordan to separate, so that the people passed over on dry ground. Carried around the city of Jericho, it caused the walls to fall down flat so that the people went up into the city, every man straight before him. Such in brief are some of the things told of it in the inspired Word of God in the Old Testament ; all serving to show the supernatural power and glory of the Law that was in the ark. Something therefore which belonged to it now, of course, not merely as a past voice from Mount Sinai, but as constant life still in it through God's handwriting preserved on the two tables of stone.

For the Jews of course, who were a pre-eminently unspiritual nation, this entire revelation was purely external; but that, we can easily see, does not weaken in the least the force of the revelation, as being in such outward form the veil simply of corresponding inward reality; embracing in the end the full testimony of Jesus Christ, the universal kingdom of truth, righteousness and everlasting salvation, which He came into the world to establish, and over which He still reigns as Head over all things to the Church. Looking at the subject in such view, we have full right rather to argue from the letter to the spirit of the Old Testament in a *fortiori* style, as the apostle Paul does, when he says: "Even that which was made glorious had no glory in this respect, by reason of the glory that excelleth; for if that which was done away is glorious, much more that which remaineth is glorious" (2 Cor. iii. 10, 11). What the Bible tells us of the supernatural wonders which attended the outward inauguration of the Law among the Jews, is after all only a feeble picture of the Divine majesty and power and glory, which belong to it in its inward spiritual constitution, for men at large and through all time.

The Decalogue, we have already said, underlies the universal structure of the Old Testament revelation, distinguished as "the Law of Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms"; and the quality of its inspired origination out of heaven from God, as we have now considered it, is to be regarded then as extending into every part and portion of that revelation; making the whole to be what is to be understood by the Word of God. The Jewish history, the Jewish commonwealth, the Jewish civil institutions and laws so far as they are brought forward in the Bible, the Jewish ritual in all its details, come alike under this supernatural character and rule. So it is with every one of the psalms; and so it is also with all the prophets.

It would be easy to show, that the assumption of such presence and power of the Divine in themselves—as something altogether different from mere human intelligence and will—dwells in these sacred writings throughout; just as we are made

to feel it also in "all that Jesus began both to do and teach until the day in which He was taken up" (Acts i. 1, 2). They proceed everywhere on the supposition of a helpless impotency on the part of men to reach the Divine from the natural side of their life, and offer themselves as a real medium of communication with it on the opposite spiritual side. It is not too much to say, that every verse of the 119th Psalm fairly thrills and tingles with this celestial sense. And how grandly it comes out in Psalm xix., over against the objective powers of the natural creation: "The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul; the testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple. The statutes of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart; the commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes. The fear of the Lord is clean, enduring forever; the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether. More to be desired are they than gold, yea, than much fine gold."

And so we might go on indefinitely; but here we stop for the present. It is enough for the object of this article, if it may serve only in a general way to establish, from the demonstration of the Holy Ghost in the Word itself, the truth of the angelic thesis, *The testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy*. That means necessarily, as we have seen, that the self-witnessing power of the Lord's life actually lives in the Holy Scriptures, as their animating spirit or soul; so that it may be said of them universally, as of the ark of old, *JEHOVAH IS THERE*. *How* that great wonder can be—the "flame of fire out of the midst of a bush, and yet the bush not consumed"—is another question, going deep into the doctrine of God and the science of the human mind. But the first thing needed here, as in all the mysteries of Christianity, is full heaven-wrought persuasion of the reality of the fact itself, which is thus made to challenge any such deeper study (Matt. xvi. 17). Where that persuasion of faith is wanting, as with men commonly, all pretended farther study of the subject can never come to more than a helpless self-reliant floundering of the understanding in the asphaltic sea of naturalism—the burial place of Sodom and her sister cities of the Plain.

J. WILLIAMSON NEVIN.

ART. II.—CHRISTOCENTRIC REDEMPTION.

BY REV. I. E. GRAEFF.

THE falling of an apple, it is said, led to the discovery of the law of gravitation. Such an occurrence would be commonly regarded as insignificant, although it can only happen by the force of a central law of the physical universe. And, this time, when the apple fell, the idea of the grand power that caused it flashed into the mind of the great philosopher, and the discovery was proclaimed to the world. Similar occurrences are frequent in the history of natural science, and they have their analogy in the higher sphere of grace.

A woman, afflicted twelve years with disease, came after Jesus saying within herself, "If I may but touch his garment, I shall be whole." And so it was—her entire restoration followed instantaneously. How much she knew of the mystery of Christ's person we are not told, nor does it matter for our purpose here; but what she did is recorded, and this is of profound significance as a fact by which we come to a proper knowledge of Christ and His saving power. This woman drew near, as it were, secretly and touched but the hem of His garment, and she was then and there restored to health, a boon which she sought in vain at the hands of physicians. This is one of the incidents in the life of Jesus, which has directed the world to Him as the healing fountain of its own fallen life. Redemption must come by the grace of the Son of God, and the world must follow after and lay hold upon Him by a voluntary act of its own, in order to be saved.

And if we say now that the intellectual activities of the race must come under this Christocentric power to find a normal flow, we only announce a well-authenticated historical truism. The question is not whether there can be no profound develop-

ment of thought and culture, independent of the life and light of the Gospel. The matter has been settled long ago in a matter of fact way, and it would be blind folly indeed to contradict or ignore the testimony of actual experience in so plain a case. Vast progress was made in the culture of the mind, long before the light of the Gospel shone in upon the nations; the classic era had reached its climax in the Augustan age, when Jesus was born; and even much of the intellectual culture of modern times is comparatively free from Christologic control. There is no necessity for insisting upon a direct Christocentric supremacy here. The issue requires a different solution than a denial of intellectual growth, on a mere natural basis. Knowledge, as such, does not necessarily come from Christ, although He is our chief Prophet in whom the secret will and counsel of God are fully revealed; yet the knowledge that comes from Him is fundamental and normative to all that the world may know besides. In this sense He is really and truly the light of the world, and His Gospel must rule the thinking of the race if this is ever to be saved.

No intellectual movement that the world ever saw, either in ancient or modern times, has had the power to come to a knowledge of the one true God and of His will. The gifted sons of ancient Greece, with all their superior mental endowments and their sublime productions in philosophy and the arts, could not tell whether there was but one God, or a thousand. Both the personality of the Godhead and His government were, to them, an unfathomable mystery, and how could they know His purposes of redemption in behalf of our fallen humanity? These things scarcely entered into the dreams of their masterly metaphysical speculations. If indeed they ever had glimpses of these celestial verities, they were but of a shadowy nature and had nothing but mere conjecture to rest upon. And where scriptural knowledge on these subjects has either not come, or where it has been given up in the interest of a skeptical mannerism, the same confusion and helpless uncertainty in the higher regions of intellectual activity always rule the day. The

skepticism of the nineteenth century has no more power to comprehend the personality of God and His will, than had the master-spirits of ancient metaphysics. Faith in God, as revealed in His word, is the only power that can rise to this higher *gnosis* and keep clear from materialistic dualism on the one hand, and pantheistic confusion on the other.

And as we know not God out of Christ, so also can we not understand the condition and destiny of the world out of Him. No amount of abstract reasoning could ever establish the immortality of the soul; and the resurrection of the body, and the judgment at the last day, lay still farther beyond the reach of the logical mind. The Gospel brings us a satisfactory settlement of these points, not by the force of arguments but by the power of facts. Jesus, in His personal history, makes all these mysteries perfectly clear and gives us absolute certitude as to what is in store for us. He was really dead, and was buried, and rose again the third day, and ascended into glory, and from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead. In these facts lies the sure guarantee of a blessed immortality, and of a general resurrection—all speculative powers of reason, however extraordinary and sublime, will struggle but in vain to furnish a foundation like this for human hope to rest upon. When this Christologic evangel was first proclaimed among those who had been under the influence of a classic culture, it was treated with scorn; but the logic of facts soon proved too powerful for the loftiest ideals of the intellect, or the imagination, and all the grand models of a cultivated era had to come down before the higher supremacy of the life of Christ. And the certitude which has thus been reached will not likely be given up in favor of another Gospel, which may offer itself at any time as a better solution of our origin and destiny. Individuals may turn away from Christ in the vain hope of finding a better knowledge, and generations may be deluded by the plausibility of skeptical tendencies; but Christendom will never abandon the safe moorings of the faith, and fall back into the helpless misery of the natural mind.

And we need the help of the Gospel, to secure the interests of the present life, fully as much as those of the life to come ; in fact, this is the arena on which the grand and solemn issues of our being must be firmly laid hold of. The divine word furnishes the only key to the social and political economy of the race. If man is not rightly understood and his origin and destiny are involved in uncertainty and doubt, social and political relations cannot come to a legitimate and normal activity. Under all such circumstances the family fails to be properly organized, the two sexes are not lifted to the generous level of a common and equal dignity, and the marital relation will not be held sacred as a divinely ordained means of domestic happiness and peace ; and hence parents and children, masters and servants, rulers and people, must lack the genial support of a redemptive civilization, which always presses forward towards a better and more normal state of things. The Pagan world found it quite easy and natural to dream of a golden age in the past, and the faint and mournful echoes of a paradise lost are heard all along the ages ; but when the veil was to be lifted from the hidden mysteries of the future, and a way pointed out for the recovery of the lost fortunes of the race, there was no power to devise anything reliable and satisfactory. What a marked difference there is between this characteristic ignorance and gloom of all heathendom, and the hopeful view always taken by the ancient Hebrew prophets ! These knew the sad story of the fall far better than pagan sages did, but they knew also how to sing of a paradise regained and of a world delivered from the consequences of the fall. In the fulness of time this prophetic evangel was realized in the personal history of the Messiah, and a progressive central impetus and direction was thus given to the various relations of life which has since made steady strides towards the bringing in of the promised restoration. However unsatisfactory the social and political condition of the Christian world may yet be, the ruling principles of our civilization answer to the demands of our nature and have already furnished abundant proof, historically, of their pro-

gressive animus. All our energies need no longer be left without proper balance and aim, but may look continually towards some high and noble end. The broad and liberal popular culture of modern times is one of the noble fruits of this Christocentric way of looking at human affairs, and the prevailing idea of the common brotherhood of men and their equality before the law is entirely due to this beneficent historical agency. Beyond this basis of economic wisdom and equity the world will as little be able to go, as it was competent to furnish, from its own resources, anything that will at all bear comparison with it, in the past; but it will find abundant employment for all its powers, in developing and applying the principles of the Christian life.

But no intellectual scheme, however broad and comprehensive, can answer to the full measure of redemption. This must reach much deeper than all the powers of the mind are capable of going. If light for the understanding was all that was needed, this great work would be a comparatively easy one; but now the whole man must be included in the scheme. His will and emotional nature lie under the power of sin, as well as his mind; and respect must be had to this fact both in dealing with individual life, and with the status of the race. The results of the fall are as extensive as life, and the remedy that is to remove the evil must correspond fully with the complex character of the disease. Sin must be atoned for, as justice demands; and it must be also taken away, as the necessary fruit and condition of the new economy. Christocentric redemption is of this twofold kind. Christ gave Himself a sacrifice for sin, and He is the second Adam in Whom is the fountain of a new life.

The presence of sin is a sad reality, felt and acknowledged on all hands; and the universal sense of its presence gave rise to propitiatory measures and sacrifices, all the world over. A consciousness so common to all must be founded in fact, and the measures taken for its removal must have a deeper reason than the influence simply of priestcraft and selfish caprice. As sin

is a reality, so the necessity of atonement is a demand that must be met. The only question, therefore, is, as to how this may be done; and just as men were left to themselves in answering the same, they adopted the various measures which history records. The only scheme that meets the case is not of human invention. No sacrifice of beast or of bird will do. The same human nature which sinned, must also make satisfaction for sin; but the sacrifice must be spotless. Hence the work cannot be accomplished by one of the fallen race of Adam. A real and a righteous man even would not be equal to the task, if he were not very God also in one person. In this way only can he be priest and sacrifice at the same time, and give effect to the great work of reconciliation. When these divine-human qualifications are found to be at hand in an actual historical personality, the problem of atonement has found its normal solution and all other schemes are ruled out. It is just on this account that Christ must be embraced, as the only Mediator between God and man. His humanity, absolutely natural and yet evidently in living personal conjunction with the nature of the Godhead, is, by hypostatical union, the mediatorial centre around which a guilty world finds itself constrained to gather, and to which it must surely cling. The blood of Jesus, shed once but always in force to atone for sin, was, and is, and shall be, the cherished boon of penitent sinners. It is a witness that is spoken against, it is true. Self-righteous pride rejects it with scorn, and infidel madness rails against it with blasphemous rage; but as long as men find themselves afflicted with sin, they will gladly seek refuge at the cross of Him who can save. In this central fact lies one of the grand secrets of the Gospel, to draw all men into the same bond of fellowship with the one true God.

But this is but one aspect of the scheme of Christocentric reconciliation. This involves not merely ransom and pardon, in the way of forensic or juridical acquittance; but it comes to its full right and aim only in the glory of a new creation. This carries with it, from the start, a real deliverance from the

power of sin and looks towards the glorification of our fallen manhood into heavenly immortality and bliss. Just this is what is meant by Christ being the second Adam, and Head over all things to the Church. Our present corrupted life comes down to us from the first Adam, with all the misery in which it is involved. Hence redemption cannot come by a mere covering of sin, though this be with the righteousness of the Son of God. A second Head of the race is needed, whose headship is not limited by the scope of mere human possibilities. A new life must flow from Him, not in the order of nature but in that of grace. Righteousness and life must be obtained for us, and they must be made over to us in the actual organic efficacy of our new spiritual relationship. And just here is another point of contact for the world, with the personality of the God-man. In addition to what He is to it as the propitiatory ransom for sin, He answers effectually to the call for regeneration. His example is a spotless agency, working powerfully for good; and His glorified humanity, through the power of the Holy Ghost, is a perennial fountain in the flow of which sinners are born again and made partakers of a royal inheritance. All profound and earnest religious movements lead to a better state of morals, even where they have but the dim light of uninspired intelligence to guide them. None of these ever rose to the ideal of a spotless humanity, and much less did they come to the knowledge of a personal Saviour Who should assume the spiritual headship of the race. The power of the Gospel, however, reaches far beyond mere ethics—it renews and changes the heart. It brings about obedience to the moral law by the tenor of its own life, and produces good works as the fruit of heartfelt gratitude for deliverance from the power of sin. We die in Christ unto sin, are buried with Him in baptism, and rise with Him to newness of life—so St. Paul states the issue, time and again, with all the energy of his great soul. Truly, such a Christological centre for the thinking of the world is a moral directory for the manners and sympathies of the people, which looks in vain for its parallel on the wide

domain of human experience. "When I am lifted up, I will draw all men after me," are the memorable words of Jesus ; and, in view of the ethical regeneration brought to light in the progress of His kingdom, how awfully solemn and prophetic do they sound !

Historically, the mediatorship of Jesus means vastly more, than reconciliation with God and personal salvation simply. It is a peace power in the life of the race also. Men cling to the cross first of all, because here they find forgiveness of sin and peace with God ; yet the efficacy of the sufferings and death of Christ reaches much farther than this. The cross is felt to be the symbol of a boundless divine love, which moves men to forgive as they hope to be forgiven. The hymn of the angelic choir, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men," is the sweet symphony of a celestial harmony which is being realized in the broadest historico-humanitarian sense. Not that men always feel this and come up to its generous demands. As the cross is often made a covering for sin, so was it frequently made the watchword of cruelty and persecution. Many zealous disciples took up the sword in defence of the faith and did more than cut off the ear of some servant of the high-priest. Still, as the world laid hold on Christ, it was gradually raised in the scale of social good will, security, and peace. Perhaps we may be allowed to consider the process slow, but so are all upward tendencies in the sublime course of all providential agency, both in the physical and moral universe. The movement has proven itself marvelously radical and complete in its various stages, and without its central historical force, it is evident, civilization would have been destitute of normative progress and aim. The social chaos of antiquity would have fallen into total wreck and despair, and the barbaric confusion of the dark ages would not have been made a glorious creative harbinger of world-redemptive ideas, institutions, and manners.

Clear and positive as the progress of past ages has proven to be under, Christocentric direction and aim, there are indica-

tions of still grander achievements in the future. Should international courts take the place of armed forces in the settlement of international differences, for instance, this would be an immense advance on the present status of international law. Such a measure has been suggested, and there are reasons to believe that we are rapidly approaching such a state of the popular mind as will make it possible, and even necessary, to carry it into effect. The diplomatic conferences of the great European Powers, which are now raised from time to time to preside over the issues of peace and war, are already far more in harmony with the humane ideas of a better age, than was the irresponsible caprice of former times; yet these are doubtless but the forerunners of a regime, still more fixed and beneficent. Old Testament prophecy points to such a result in plain and positive terms, and the Gospel guarantees it as but the legitimate product of its own Messianic genius. And in fact, the powerful and enormous military organizations of the great Powers of Europe, which seem to commit modern Christendom to the idea of perpetual belligerency, will likely become too grievous a burden for the nations to bear. This circumstance may compel the introduction of a more rational and humane policy, without conscious obedience, on the part of those who will be the actors in the grand drama, to the generous Christologic sentiment which rules the popular thinking of the times. Well, it matters not what may be the immediate occasion of the hoped-for change, if only the precious boon of deliverance from the horrors of war is obtained and the nations be at rest.

All this goes to show the primary fundamental significance of the Incarnation. This stands, not as a theological dogma in the creed of Christendom, or as a biblical tenet simply over and above the life of the world, to be believed and cherished as a mere preceptive agency; but it authenticates itself as a present plastic power in the onward flow of the world's life. Its relation to the destiny of the race is not dogmatic and mechanical primarily, but dynamic. Fundamental as the vica-

rious sacrifice of Christ is to the salvation of men, it rests on what is still deeper and broader in the redemptive mystery. God manifested in the flesh is its last ground and foundation. The Heidelberg Catechism speaks with special emphasis on this point. It tells plainly what kind of a mediator and deliverer we must seek for. A real and a righteous man, he must be, and also very God—this is the hypostatical union that must precede every other stage in the great mediatorial drama of our redemption. Hence, as a matter of course, the Incarnation is primary and holds a fundamental relation to the Atonement. And regeneration and sanctification are also rooted in this mystery, and the millennial hopes of the race can rest on no other historical foundation. In this way Christianity is made organic and concrete in the life of the world, and stands related to it as the power of God unto salvation in truly mundane plasticity and flow. It is true, the Incarnation must not be made to hide out of view the vicarious penalty paid for sin. Nor may the great propitiatory sacrifice be allowed to overshadow the greater personal mystery of the great High Priest, Who offers it. There is a possibility of doing violence to the truth by pushing it into extremes, but it would be a serious mistake to suppose that this can only be done in one direction. Eutychian error destroys the true nature and glory of the Incarnation by its idea of change, mixture, and absorption; Nestorian heresy commits the same wrong by holding the two natures in Christ apart, in a dualistic, mechanical sense. The grand difficulty in Christologic thinking and experience has been all along, to come to a proper apprehension of the organic union of the divine and the human. But, in spite of all theological and dialectic distinctions and difficulties, Christ is the life of the world as He represents Himself to be, because He is the Son of God and the Son of man in one person.

Christocentric theology is no novelty. The ancient œcumenical creeds are the rich symbolical outgrowth of this kind of evangelical thinking and experience. At the head of these stands the Apostles' Creed, which is justly regarded as the

ruling model of confessional symbolism. It moves throughout in the warm flow of the Christian life, and is an organic rather than a speculative or systematic presentation of Christian doctrine. It does not run pre-eminently in the logical vein of the rational mind, since it deals with organic facts and not with logical abstractions. Its generic centre and norm is the living personality of the incarnate Son of God. The history of the life of Christ does not only make up its central part, standing mechanically between what goes before and follows after, but every article that enters into its symbolical order occupies its place by the force of organic law. It may be called a Christocentric tree, having roots, trunk, and branches, as well as gorgeous foliage and luscious fruit, in blooming symmetrical glow—all by the power of one central life. While its theology readily authenticates itself to the higher intellections of the logical mind, it comes with double force to the intuitional visions of the true faith. It is an admirable rule of orthodoxy for the people, therefore, and answers to the wants of personal piety in a most real way. Hence it need not be a matter of surprise, that it is gaining in popular favor at the present day. We may easily see that there is still a wide difference between its confessional genius and the reigning religious thinking of our age; but it is equally tangible that there is also a profound agreement between them, which is at the bottom of the growing popular favor. Specific account is now made of the person of Christ, and, although this is not just done in the style and spirit of ancient œcumenical orthodoxy, it is still a phenomenon of profound and hopeful significance in the signs of the times. The popular mind will thus be brought into a mood, favorable to warmer sympathy and accord with the central power of the faith and bring us a new era of Christocentric strength and devotion. And let us rejoice that the Creed is rising in influence and popular favor, but above all that Christ is sought after as the life of the Gospel. If Christian thinking rests firmly on this basis, it possesses the possibility of righting itself theologically at all points. And the restoration of the

ancient symbol to hearty sympathy and use, will bring with it a genuine historical revival of the ancient orthodoxy it represents, subject, of course, to the modifying conditions of modern life. If such shall be the case and the irenical genius of the Creed is once more allowed to take the place of a multitude of horny confessional dialectics, the evangelical Catholic Church of the future will rise in all the glory of her Christocentric unity and power, and then will come her final triumph in the conversion of all the nations of the world.

Our own confessional standard, as is well known, is largely ruled by the genius of the Creed. In this it differs from most of its contemporary formularies. It is remarkably free from the harsh, angular dogmatism of its age, and has kept clear of the dialectic method of other Reformed symbols. It is mild, experimental, practical, speaking the glowing poetic language of the heart fresh from the bosom of the Christian life. Under its moulding influence the Reformed Church became noted for the generosity of her views, and for the simplicity, earnestness, and depth of her type of personal piety. In fact, these were the ruling characteristics of her confessional life from the start, in the bosom of which the catechism itself was conceived and brought forth. Had she been governed by a more rigid confessionalism, she might have been much stronger and more potently aggressive as an organization. But this was not her mission, as the voice of history testifies. It would seem that she was raised up, in the providential rulings of the divine will, for the special work of developing the inner Christian life in the soul and the cultivation of broad and liberal ideas; a calling foreshadowed in the grand evangelical standard of her faith. And her existence for more than three hundred years is crowned with the richest fruits, both in the glow of her own martyr faith and in the generous breadth of her theological influence. If, by the force of her peculiar theology and genius, she may yet lead to a broader harmony among the conflicting members of the Christian household, she may well forego the honor of

leading the van in some of the more formal demands of the ecclesiastical situation.

It would be a grand blunder, however, to ignore the importance and necessity of organization, as an effective part of the economy of redemption. Christianity is not a spiritualistic abstraction or Gnostic phantom, but a historical world reality of the most positive and practical kind. Hence it must have form and organized status, to show the saving power of its life. This is a common-sense view, suggested by the law of experience; but it has higher authority for its ultimate ground. Jesus gave the commission, as the fundamental law in the case, that all nations should be made His disciples, that they should be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and be taught all things whatsoever He commanded. This looks toward the universal dominion of Christ in the world, in a formal, sacramental way, and involves the necessity of organized effort on a large scale. The apostolic commission leads us to know that, in this way only, can divine grace have its proper course and effect. "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved." Modern evangelical pietism does not call in question the conjunction of divine grace with the preaching of the word, but it is eminently skeptical with reference to the parallel mystery of covenantal or sacramental grace. All this has its ground in the intellectual self-reliance of the times, but does not seem to tally well with the higher sense of a sound evangelic faith. It is hard to see indeed why grace should go along with preaching, and not with baptism; since both are made to stand on the same level in the economy of redemption, by the Author of our salvation. The connection of the two instrumentalities, in this economic way, cannot be merely formal and arbitrary—it must be natural and beneficial in the order of the Christian life, and essential to its historic aims. Hence the founding of the Church in the Pentecostal unction of the Spirit, and its continuance as the pillar and ground of the truth. And if grace is free from all mechanical limitation in any sense, it is nevertheless clearly

confined to its historical order in the world. Men must be saved in the bosom of a sacramental order of Christian fellowship, just as citizenship must be realized legally and organically in the bosom of the commonwealth. There can be no such thing as setting aside our social relationship anywhere, and any notion of redemption that makes the attempt by ignoring the covenantal significance of the Church must come to grief. Truly the foolishness of Christ is wiser than the wisdom of men; and if they would come to the Church like doves to their windows, the event would be hailed in heaven and in earth as the great day of salvation.

But whatever may be thought of the Church, as the organized bearer of grace and salvation to the world, in a specific sacramental sense; it will not be denied that she is the great educational agency of Christian ideas. No one can look into the history of modern Christian nations with an unprejudiced eye, and fail to see that the main source of their advanced position, in the elements of happiness and prosperity, lies in the educational influence of ecclesiastical discipline. If, when the Roman empire came to its decline and fall, the Church had not been at hand with her powerful organization and her cultus, to mould the barbaric hordes of the times into the highly civilized and cultivated nationalities of succeeding ages, it would be sad to contemplate what would now be the condition of Europe and the world. The old civilization, however classic and powerful in its day, lacked the germ of a higher life, and hence it was broken and scattered to the winds. At this crisis a new historic life-principle was brought into sway. This lifted into power the nationalities of the Latin race, and latterly those of the great Anglo-Saxon stock, by the supremacy of which the destiny of the world is now controlled. Germany, and Great Britain, and North America, where Anglo-Saxon life is in full blast, owe a profound debt of gratitude to the Church for giving the people a long continued training in Christian thinking and manners. It is true, Christianity is a vital, self-adjusting, historical power, which does not necessarily stand in a fixed formal

supremacy to all popular culture, in order to accomplish its educational ends. History does not demonstrate the right of the Church exclusively, to rule the culture of the mind, in a legal way. State systems have had their day and did a good work, but these may be superseded by a regime more in keeping with our modern ideas of an equitable division of power. The Church, free from State control on the one hand and denied political supremacy on the other, has all the more spiritual potency in moulding the manners of the people. For this reason she wields an influence in this country, which is perhaps not equalled by any of the ecclesiastical establishments of the old world. And the time will never come, while the present world-order lasts, when any Christian nation can safely dispense with her Christologic educational influence and training. If the German empire gained her late victory over Jesuitic intrigue, by inaugurating a policy which must weaken and demoralize the pedagogic power of the Church; her State-craft may yet be put severely to the test, in finding a remedy for the evil of her own doings. It is an ill omen that, under the new regime, the number of theological students in some of her world-renowned universities is rapidly dwindling down to almost nothing, and scores of parishes are already without pastors.

The strength of our American nationality is, in a great measure, due to its decided and clearly defined Christian sentiment. Religious persecution drove the early settlers away from their native countries, and the foundations of colonial life in this new world were laid in the agonies of a lively muscular faith. And the Republic has had her teeming multitudes of devoted Christian people, from its foundation to the present day, who walked in the spirit of their pious fathers and planted the institutions of Christianity in every quarter of the land. Hence the religious features of the national character have become distinctly marked, and the amenities of modern civilization gained most generous and comprehensive sway. Modes of thinking and of culture change, while the life is still the same; but should the virus of a skeptical materialism poison the popular heart and

destroy the educational ascendancy of the Christian faith, the glory of the Republic would be trailed in the mire. No such catastrophe is yet impending, although we dare hardly flatter ourselves that we shall escape the downward tendencies, which so broadly enter into the experience of modern Christendom. In fact, here the final conflict of Christian civilization with the powers of a materialistic infidelity may yet be brought on, in a most radical style. Hence the double necessity, for both Church and State, to rest firmly on the Christocentric basis of Christian life in the cultivation of popular intelligence and manners. Without this central norm and power life is but a sham, and civilization a mockery.

The materialistic tendencies of the times are as natural under the circumstances, as is the flow of water to its level. We are involved in an era which is particularly taken up with the development of the physical sciences, and with movements in material progress on a broader scope than the world ever saw. The abstract sciences are measurably stripped of their former high position in the educational curriculum of the nations, or are forced to bend to the rigid demands of a utilitarian regime. And the so-called humanities, which, since the revival of letters, have played so important a part in the sphere of liberal culture, are rudely thrust aside as a hindrance to the rapid materialism of the hour. The introduction of steam-power, of the magnetic telegraph, and of a multiform and most comprehensive order of labor by machinery, has radically changed the *modus operandi* of secular life. All this makes the age emphatically materialistic in its genius and culture, and theology receives a characteristic coloring and bearing. And we need not wonder if the spirit of the faith should, apparently, be overcome by the raging world-spirit of the day. Still, in the language of St. John, the power of the faith that is in us is no doubt stronger than the power that is in the world, and the latter must yield to the beneficent behests of the former. He who made the physical world and brought it through the various phases of its cosmogonic development, with a constant aim to its noble end,

though it took millions of years to accomplish the work, will take good care that no powers of Hades will frustrate His Christocentric scheme of the world's redemption. In fact it is tangible that the ruling material agencies of the times are already brought into the effective designs of our modern civilization, and that, in this way, they are made to contribute largely towards a normal flow of the amenities of the Christian life. Time and space are virtually annihilated. The race are brought into close social and political relationship. Uniform ideas and manners will more and more characterize the people. All this falls in admirably with the Messianic genius of our faith, and opens a popular highway for the success of the Gospel the scope of which has not been measured by the broadest movements of former ages.

It is sometimes said, reproachfully, that modern missionary work does not carry with it the moral prestige and power which so marvelously distinguished the measures of previous periods. During the "dark ages," for instance, the emissaries of the Cross went abroad, we are told, backed up simply by spiritual power, and having no other charms but those of the faith they proclaimed; and yet whole nations yielded to their influence, and the cardinal principles of our world-historical economy were firmly imbedded in the popular life. There is no necessity for stopping here to inquire into the absolute correctness of the claim that is thus set up, or to pry into the causes of the change to which our attention is directed. It is enough to know and to say that our Lord, in His wise and good Providence, is not tied down to a fixed mechanical order of procedure in the historic onward flow of the world's redemption. Under the guidance of His Spirit, the missions of the medieval period and of the Primitive era brought about magnificent results, by means of measures suited to the present status of human affairs. The moral supremacy of modern Christian nations is absolutely sublime, and has a large promise of future triumph over the besotted civilization of the heathen world. Perhaps the stupendous victories of the past may yet be largely thrown into the shade,

as the tendency of our modern era comes to its focal point in the sublime evangelic mastery and control of all the world. An enlightened public opinion is making its progressive demands with increasing emphasis, and no power on earth will be able long to resist the will of the masses. European Powers and modern Christendom will bring the broad territories of the East, with their teeming millions of deluded-idol worshipers, fully under their beneficial sway. History points clearly to an issue of this kind, as already partly accomplished, and rapidly moving towards its close. The lower phases of the cosmogony of the earth did not more clearly foreshadow those which followed, than does the present posture of Christendom the early universal supremacy of our civilization. Whatever diplomatic conferences or civil powers may do, the march of Christian ideas is going bravely on.

Besides, the Church has evidently entered upon a new phase of her history, looking towards an irenic culmination of her own life and mission. For centuries the centrifugal tendency was in full blast in the ecclesiastical world. When once the centralized ascendancy of the Romish hierarchy gave way, disruption and chaos seemed to know no bounds. Indeed it looked at times as if the sad catastrophe of universal ruin was close at hand. The movement was theological too. It carried with it an enormous store of negative force, threatening to destroy the very foundations of the faith. We need not remind the reader here of the wide-spread ravages of the rationalism and infidelity, which often made the current of modern history, apparently, a yawning sepulchre of all our Christian hopes. Yet, as the chaos of cosmogony was not confusion without law and aim, so the negative tendencies of our own grand historic era are made to do the bidding of the Great Master. If we look up into the empyrean of the starry heavens we see order, harmony, and beauty all around; but the music of the celestial spheres was reached only after ages of conflict. Have we not come to an epoch in the experience and life of the Church, analogous to this but far above it in moral sublimity, grandeur, and truth?

It is safe to say at least that we have come to the extreme limit of disruption and disintegration, and that henceforth all ecclesiastico-theological factors must find a true orbital position in the historical order, of which Christ Jesus is the vital solar centre.

“The kingdom of God cometh not with observation.” It is difficult, therefore, to speak with any degree of certainty about an issue which is not yet fairly solved. A state of things may possibly arise that would likely lead still to further divisions, at least in the Churches of Continental Europe. Should the state-systems of that section be broken up, the centrifugal humor of the times would no doubt come once more into prodigious play and all our fondest hopes of an approaching ecclesiastical unity would sink under the shadow of a dark cloud. But even there, at any rate in the kingdoms of the German Powers, the theological problem has been theoretically mastered, however much may yet remain to be done on the practical arena. And in this country and Great Britain, the ecclesiastical aspect of the question is already in a more tangible shape. Here the evil of schism has been practically felt, and a reactionary movement is now fairly on the way. Here the powerful and vigorous nationalities of the Anglo-Saxon race are verging towards a unity, which, if once fully realized, will guarantee in a great measure the ultimate harmony of other ecclesiastical powers. The year of Jubilee must and will come; for the dawn of the great day of the Lord is already upon us. And the idea that our powerful and still rising American nationality may be one of the leading agencies, by which the Christocentric life of the Gospel is brought to proper historical effect in the movements of the times, ought to inspire us with proper energy in the fulfillment of our mission. If indeed we may claim that, among us, the Christian life has come to its broadest and most radical social development, that is all the better reason why we should continue in the same line of progress and moral aim. Oh! that the great Head of the Church may here preside, by His Holy Spirit, over the destiny of His people, and deliver them from

all error, pride, and prejudice; enlighten them with wisdom from above; fill their hearts with the spirit of unity and peace, and so order all their doings that the kingdom of Satan may be destroyed, and the pure Gospel truly preached and truly followed: until all dispersed sheep shall be gathered into the one fold of the Great Shepherd, Jesus Christ our Lord. If in this manner the world cannot be converted into a paradise of celestial bliss, it may at least be delivered from the power of sin and have a foretaste of the salvation which awaits the people of God in the paradise above. Such is the character and mission of Christocentric redemption. "If I may but touch the hem of his garment, I shall be whole."

ART. III.—PAGANISM IN EDUCATION.

BY REV. C. Z. WEISER, D.D.

INTRODUCTION.

WE have once more, and for the fifth time, gone over the volume which bears the title indicated over our Article. Its author is the Abbé Gaume, Vicar-General of Nevers, who wrote in 1851. Robert Hill presented the Abbe's thoughts in an English dress during the following year, and prefaced them with a lucid and profitable Introduction. The celebrated Count de Montalembert likewise inserted a Letter, which cannot fail to prove of great value to the critical reader. Though a full quarter of a century has passed since their publication, the principles and positions which the learned author maintains seem to us quite opportune, in view of the School Question, just now agitating the country and age. As it is the only vigorous attempt known to us, to "lay the axe to the root of the tree," we venture to produce his theory, in substance, *as well as his words*, in many instances, as matter for the educa-

tors to digest, even though they may not find it quite palatable or be willing to assimilate it to themselves. "The object of the Abbé Gaume," in the words of the translator, "is to discover and point out the causes which are undermining society, and to prescribe a remedy for the evil."

With this brief statement we enter upon our task.

We propose to trace the history of education from the founding of the Christian Church to the present time, as fully as the limits of our space will allow. And since so little is known of the successive growths in this field, it is hoped that an attempt to shed some light upon the *curriculum* laid down and pursued throughout this long period will prove of sufficient interest to challenge attention.

Our survey contains three distinct epochs.

FIRST EPOCH.

From the Apostolic Age to the close of the Fifth Century.

The order and kind of education during this age was "of the Jews. It had been the exclusive aim of the Israelites to instruct their children in the Law of Moses, the oracles of the prophets, the chants of David, the wisdom of Solomon, the annals of the nation, and the morals of the offspring of Abraham.

The Apostles, having been Jews by origin, and heirs and executors of the ancient Church, naturally formed the education of the faithful on the type in use in God's primitive nation. And since the former model had been one exclusively Jewish, the latter became *exclusively Christian*. Although the languages which we now call "classic," or *dead*, were during this age the living tongues of Rome, of Athens, and of all the civilized people; although the children and people acquired and used them as vernaculars, it must not be forgotten, on the one hand, that the mother-tongues of Christian offspring came to them through the family rather than the school; from the lips of parents and nurses rather than from the drilling of the

master; from parlance and not from the grammar. And especially must it be borne in mind, on the other hand, that, whilst the medium and channel of instruction might be a common one to Christian and pagan children and disciples, the substance and pabulum was essentially and invariably different. Whilst pagans tabooed every shred of Christian literature, from derision and contempt, Christians nourished themselves and their progeny exclusively on a native aliment. The reply to the question, "What books were put in the hands of the faithful, young and old?" is not difficult or doubtful. Holy Scriptures, the lives of the martyrs, the annals of the Church; these were the primers, elements and studies of the family and society. The psalms and hymns were memorized and chanted; the law, the creed and prayers were engraven on the heart; dogmas, precepts and usages of religion were ingrained.*

The proofs of the assertion that profane nations were excluded from Christian households are numerous. Let any one look into the Apostolic Constitutions, which St. Athanasius calls "the doctrine of the Apostles, collected by St. Clement," and St. Epiphanius styles "the uncorrupted summary of the rules of conduct." Whatever view we may cherish towards the "Constitutions," as a reflecting mirror of the complexion and tradition of the period, their voice has force and weight. We may question their authenticity, but as a relevant witness we must revere it, with all antiquity. In these archives we may read: "Abstain from all books of the Gentiles. What have you to do with these doctrines, with these strange laws, with these false prophets? Some thoughtless men have lost their faith through them. What is there wanting in the law of

* *Christiani parentes enim pueros suos a teneris unguiculis SS. Martyrum acta et summorum pontificum Epistolas perlegere, Sacras Scripturas memoriæ mandare, psalmos, psalmos canem, omniaque, religionis mysteria, doctrinas, leges, in extituta diligentissime ediscere Jubeant, ut deinde, data occasione, adolescentes possint Christi fidem, non solum inter menta carnificum magno animo progiteri: verum etiam contra Ethnicorum calumnias et sophistarum cavillationes libero et deserto ore defendere.*—See Opp. SS. PP. in liter juven. adhib. Rom. 1841; Maniachie, O. et An. Christi.

God, that you have recourse to these fables? If you desire history you have the book of Kings; if you want philosophy or poetry, you have it in the Proverbs, and with more perfection and elevation than in any work of these sophists or these poets. The Word of God alone is wise. Do you seek lyrics? read the Psalms; ancient origins? read Genesis; laws and moral precepts? take the divine code of the Lord. Abstain, then, absolutely from all these profane and diabolical works."

Lest this general rubric might not be considered sufficiently definite and absolute, let us enter the family domain, in order to convince ourselves of the general spirit and assiduity with which the Holy Scriptures were read, as the first classic book of childhood.

Eusebius says (Hist. lib. IV. c. 3): "From the time that Origen left the cradle, his father, Leonidas, imprinted on his mind the divine letters. He was not satisfied to give some few moments snatched from the studies of the age to this study; he placed it in the first rank. Every day he made the child learn *some passages of Scripture*, and the young Origen took more pleasure in this than in studying the Greek authors." In the family of Gregory, education was conducted in a like manner. The histories of Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzen and Cælanius, show that they were brought up in this manner. Macrina, the sister and governess of the sage of Nyssa, is thus sketched by her illustrious brother: "Scarcely had she grown out of infancy, when she displayed a most happy faculty for learning. Her mother undertook to instruct her, and for this purpose studied herself. She was very careful not to teach her the fictions of the poets, too often offered to the young mind. It seemed to her ill-becoming, and even dangerous, to represent to the imagination of her daughter the pictures and impassioned movements of the tragic poets, but still more so to make her conversant with the weaknesses attributed to women in comedies. It would be, in her opinion, to infect and corrupt a well-disposed soul at the most tender age.

"She preferred to make choice of some of the most edifying traits and most striking maxims contained in our holy books, and her little pupil learnt them. The Book of Wisdom furnished her with a multitude of sentences and reflections calculated to form the heart and enlighten the mind, to guide her through life. This excellent mother had extracted certain invocations from the Psalms, which she adapted to her exercises, so that whether her daughter rose, dressed or took her repasts, she had always a verse adapted to the circumstances, which she chanted with great grace."

St. Jerome, writing to Gaudeneia and Leta, touching the education of their children, directed that the young Pacatula should commence from her seventh year to furnish her memory with the beautiful inspirations of the prophet-king, and up to her fourteenth year she should make the Books of Solomon the Gospel, the Evangelists and Prophets the treasure of her heart."

To Leta he writes: "It is by the Scripture itself that your child will learn to read, to write and to speak, that her tongue may know how to repeat the sweet canticles of the Prophet-king. Do not form for her an assemblage of words taken by hazard; but choose from the holy writings, and let the first words she pronounces be the names of the Apostles, the Patriarchs and the Prophets. The first book she will learn must be the Psalter; those divine canticles she will repeat on waking. In the Proverbs of Solomon, she will learn to live wisely; in Ecclesiasticus, to trample under foot the things of the world; in Job, the virtue of patience and courage. She will next pass to the Gospel, never to quit it; she will identify herself with the Acts and the Epistles of the Apostles; each day she will repeat to you some passages which will be as a bouquet of flowers culled from Scripture. * * * * Guard her from all such reading as would introduce the pagan language even into the bosom of Christianity. What can there be in common between the profane chants of paganism and the chaste chords from the lyre of the prophets? How can we

associate Horace with David? Virgil with the Gospel? It is useless to plead the excuse of intention; it is always a scandal to see a Christian soul in a temple of idols."

St. Chrysostom says: "Be careful not to consider the study of our holy books as superfluous. It is the Scriptures that will teach your children to honor their fathers and mothers; you will there gain as much as they. Do not say that this is only good for persons separated from the world. Certainly I do not intend to make solitaries of you—if your sons become so, they will have nothing to regret; but no, it is sufficient that they are Christian. They are destined to live in the world. It is in our Holy Book they will find their rule of conduct; but for *this they must search from their earliest years.*"

From such words we are enabled to infer what the nature of the instruction was which was imparted within the bosom of the primitive Christian families; what were the classics for both sexes; what the fathers, guardians and directors prescribed as fundamental household lore. And let it not be overlooked that during this epoch childhood was prolonged. It was not then necessary to make the young study grammar so early, nor for so many years, as is now the custom. Hence the family nurture was a *prolonged, essentially and exclusively Christian education.*

When the community was substituted in the room of the family, to form and direct the education of the young, St. Basil wrote: "The study of letters ought to be accommodated to the mind of the child; *the Holy Scriptures should serve as a vocabulary.* Instead of fables, the beautiful histories of the Bible should be related to them; they will learn by heart the maxims in the book of Proverbs." But a most striking proof of the fact that the Scriptures had been the *classics* in Eastern and Western families is afforded us in the remark of St. Jerome: "Where is," says he, "either the learned or the ignorant, who, taking my translation in hand, and perceiving the difference there is between what he there reads and what he

has, as it were, sucked with his mother's milk, will not cry out against me as false and sacrilegious, accusing me of daring to change, to add to, or withdraw from the ancient copies?" From this it appears that a wrong or strange word in citing the Gospel was sufficient to put a whole promiscuous assembly on the alert. St. Augustine dared not allow St. Jerome's version to be read, although perfectly orthodox, lest it should seem to the masses as though he was introducing something new, and thereby produce a scandal. But such needed precaution implies a familiarity with the Holy Scriptures to a degree, perhaps, beyond that of to-day; and such a familiarity presupposes an education, which again implies childhood, when the family life exerts its moulding power effectually.

The Holy Scriptures having thus been placed aside of the cradle of the child, the Book of the Martyrs was next laid in the room now occupied by stories, novels and romances. It seems almost like very fiction to be told that during the cradle-age of Christianity, the sufferings and heroism of the flood-and-fire baptized should be read and dwelt upon not alone in the Churches, but in promiscuous assemblies, as well as about the hearth and home. They used these histories as private and ordinary reading. Is it from this habit the spark was caught and set a burning in their own breasts?

The annals of the Church were added next, as we, in modern days, enroll the latest edition of some improved or new textbook. The biographies of defenders of Christianity were welcomed a place on the catalogue of the Christian classics, one by one.

Let us here close our review of the first five centuries of the Christian era, after having discovered that *for Christian children an exclusively Christian curriculum was prescribed.*

It is not meant by what has now been said that the frequentation of pagan schools had been wholly forbidden. After the proper preservatives and preventatives had been vouchsafed, such visitations did occur, but not before. Basil and Chrysostom studied under the rhetorician, Libanus, after they

had arrived at the age of adolescence. Gregory of Nazianzen, when no longer a child, was sent to Asarca, then to Alexandria, and finally to Athens. Jerome, in his nineteenth year, went to Rome, to study under Donatus, the grammarian. Pagan schools and pagan classics were visited by the *adolescents*.

It may be wondered why such a habit was tolerated at all, however. But a little reflection will still all surprise in reference to the license. Pagan society found itself in full and entire possession of literature and the sciences at the birth and during the infancy of Christianity. Heathen masters enjoyed the sole right of teaching from the public chairs, all through the universal realm. If the Christian teacher attempted to dispense instruction in the belles lettres or the human sciences, in eloquence, poetry or general literature, he was nevertheless obliged to make use of pagan authors. How, then, could Christians *wholly* interdict their works and studies" in that period, without shutting the door to all philosophy then known? The Christian religion would thus have afforded its enemies the most potent of all pretexts for calumny. Obscurantism, barbarism, inimicalness to enlightenment, would then have been charged against the new religion with great reason. The distressing condition of Christian youths was rendered all the more apparent by the specious Order of Julian, the Apostate. Let us hear the opening words of this prince's edict:

"Real instruction, in our opinion, does not consist in words, nor in harmonious or high-flown language, but in the healthy disposal of a sensible mind, which has a just appreciation of good and evil, of what is upright and what is not. Thus, whoever teacheth to his disciples what he believes to be false, is as little entitled to be called a learned as he is an honest man. That the tongue does not accord with the thought in small things, always shows a want of correctness to a certain point; but to speak in one way and to think in another on things of importance,—for a man to teach what he believes to be bad,

to praise authors he most condemns, and thus to deceive the young, is it not to traffic as those do, who, without honor or conscience, vaunt their bad merchandise to find purchasers?"

The object of such and similar reflections was to forbid Christian masters henceforth to teach, and pupils to study Homer, Hesiod, Demosthenes, Herodotus, Thucydides, Isocrates, Lysias, etc., and to enjoin men to take for classic authors St. Matthew and St. Luke, etc. It is well known what the Fathers thought of the royal prohibition, and what was done after Julian's death.

But it should be insisted upon, in view of the false inferences which are drawn, and the abuse which is made of this circumstance in the history of early Christianity. that *necessity* alone opened the schools of the pagans, the pages of pagan authors and the lips of pagan masters, for Christian pupils,—not curiosity, nor pleasure, nor the ornamentation of fine writing, nor the useful doctrines, nor the examples left by the Gentile sages.

Here we will permit Tertullian to bear testimony.

"It was neither curiosity nor pleasure, but solely necessity, which determined them to read pagan works and listen to pagan masters. St. Jerome speaks of this necessity when condemning those Christians, and more particularly ecclesiastics, who read pagan authors solely for pleasure; he excuses the youths who are obliged to make use of them. That which is a necessity for the young becomes a crime when adopted from choice."

Since the *Renaissance* we hear very different reasons alleged for the study of pagan classics. "It is to teach us to think, to feel, and to express ourselves well, that we are made to study Virgil and Cicero, Homer and Demosthenes," we are told in all quarters,—reasons which would have been considered as an outrage against religion by the early Fathers, and a kind of apostacy. St. Jerome writes: "What can there be in common between light and darkness? between Jesus Christ and Belial? What connection between David and Horace,

Paul and Cicero? Is it not a scandal for your brother to see you in the temple of idols? It is forbidden to us to drink at the same time of the chalice of Jesus Christ and that of the devils."

From his nervous queries, it is plain that he did not study the classics four long years from any admiration of pagan philosophy, or for the purpose of adopting any part of an idol system. No! the philosophers were regarded as "Animals of glory," and "Patriarchs of heretics," by the Christian teachers; nor did they hesitate speedily to compose works of their own, presently to call down public derision both upon them and their systems. We regard all the attempts which have been so numerous and masterly made to prove the *classics* the early and later source of style, eloquence and wisdom, only as another evidence of the fact that men will suffer themselves to be cheated by a lie.

Doubtless the ancient Fathers drew words, expressions and style from pagan authorities. And why? There was no other literature at hand from which to take models. They were native Gentiles, and converted in after life. It is natural that they should have made use of their mother tongues and of their school-rhetoric. But the eloquence, *which was and is still their glory*, was not drawn from pagan fountains, as little as their principles. *That*, according to St. Jerome, was taken from the holy books, more particularly from the Prophets, with whom a continual meditation identified them. The proof of this lies in the heaven-wide distinction between the eloquence of the Fathers and that of the pagan Orators. There is a spontaneity of expression, a solidity of thought, a vivacity of feeling, a magnificence of imagery, and abundance of proof, contained in the utterances of the former, which marks them as pointedly as the art of rhetoric, choice of words and elegance of phrase distinguish the latter." The *disjecta Tullii membra*, which are so readily recognized in Quintilian, for example, will be sought in vain in Ambrose, Maximus, Augustine, Cyprian, Leo, Chrysologus or Gregory. Thus it is also with

Demosthenes or Isocrates, no traces of whom will be found in Athanasius, Basil or Chrysostom, in Gregory Nazianzen or Cyril of Alexandria. No imitation of paganism can be traced in these. All is primitive, original, and inspired by the invincible force of faith, and an ardent love for the salvation of the world. Neither do you discern a relationship between Christian historians, epistleographers and philosophers, with those writers in paganism. Eusebius, Sulpicius Severus, Julius Africanus, Cyprian, Paulinus, Justinian and Origen do not resemble Xenophon, Suetonius, Cicero, Pliny or Seneca. From which fact it is to be noted that the Fathers did not study pagan writings for the purpose of imitation; though they could imitate very well whenever they wished. St. Augustine cites an instance from Cyprian, and adds: "For number, elegance and richness, this phrase is admirable; but its richness is not unfavorable to Christian gravity. Those who like this style of writing accuse those who do not employ it with inability. They do not know that it is on purpose, and from good taste, they abstain from it. Cyprian, then, has shown that he could have borrowed this language, since he has done so, and he has shown also that he could not, since he has used it so little." Jerome shows that Lactantius has admirably imitated Cicero, and Hilary the number and style of Quintilian. But the Fathers did not consider it a glory.

The reasons for permitting young Christian scholars to read and study pagan authors may be thus briefly given: (1.) It was necessary for them to know the history of their own country and of other nations, which was written by pagan hands. (2.) The arts and sciences were likewise monopolized by the pagans. (3.) The truths which paganism, as a system, had usurped and disfigured were thus to be restored. (4.) As it were, to "take from the Egyptians their vessels of gold and silver and give them to the Israelites, that they might serve to ornament the tabernacle." (5.) That the errors, prejudices, arguments and objections might be known and refuted, on their own ground, and with their own weapons, as it were.

Plausible as these reasons were, yet the Fathers were still not unanimous as to the propriety of sending Christian youths to the pagan schools, or opening the pages of heathen authors, because of the danger to which faith and morals were thus exposed. By far the greater number pronounced against this instruction, whilst the lesser party tolerated it for adolescents, with a certain reserve and precaution. Tertullian, Gregory of Nazianzen and Basil were among the conditional advocates. "When a child," says Tertullian, "brought up in the faith and inbred with its principles, attends the school (of the pagans), he ought to be *cautioned and fortified against error*. He will learn the *letter*, which is useful, and condemn the false and impious doctrine, against which he is already on his guard." So, too, Gregory of Nazianzen, whilst favoring "that knowledge which *most* Christians look upon as *vain and illusive, full of perils*, only serving to estrange souls from God, and with this condemn and abhor it," in later life modified his opinion, and towards the end of his life wrote thus to Adamantius: "The books which you ask of me I have put aside since the day when, *obeying the divine inspiration*, I turned my eyes towards Heaven. It was necessary that all childish play should be finished; it was necessary to cease to lisp, to aspire, at length, after true knowledge, and sacrifice to the *Word*, all these *frivolous discourses*, with all that had hitherto charmed my leisure; but since you are determined to give the preference to that which ought to hold the second rank, and nothing can turn you from this design, here are my books. I send those to you which have escaped the worm, or are not blackened with smoke on the hook to which I suspended them above my hearth, as the pilot who has retired from the sea suspends his helm." Gregory, in his Eulogy on Athanasius, praises him for having quite early abandoned the human sciences and devoted himself to the study of the holy books.

We are now anxious to quote Basil, whom many claim as an advocate of pagan schools, and who had himself been a scholar and student in them in early life. This is his confes-

sion : "I awoke, as from a profound sleep ; and from the time the Gospel came to enlighten my eyes, I saw the vanity of human science and wisdom. * * * Since I have conversed with Moses and Elias, and have received from their rude language the lessons I must transmit to my brothers, I have completely forgotten what I learnt at your school." "The repugnance," says St. Gregory, "of most Christians (to the tuition of the pagan schools) was acknowledged to be well-founded. It was henceforth understood that a complete triumph of the Gospel and of Christian morals over the idolatry and the corrupt morals of the Greeks and Romans could not be expected whilst the rising generation drew their ideas, fed their imaginations and formed their judgment from the works of antiquity. A new moral, new laws, a new world, could only come out of a new literature." This position was controverted by Count de Montalembert as false ; since education is not everything. "If education were *everything*, Rome, brought up under pagan rhetoricians and sophists, would not have become Christian ; and the Christian would, brought up by monks and priests till the fifteenth century, not have become pagan." But Ritter, (in his Hist. Philo., tom. iv. c. 19), answers well in these words ; "How was it possible to ally Christianity to the heritage of the ancient people ? The ancient traditions, the remembrance of great acts, and of ancestors who had acquired such renown and influence over their descendants, *led minds in one direction*, whilst Christianity and its promises *led them in another*."

Three great champions may be said to have appeared to close the pagan and open the Christian school—Chrysostom, Jerome and Augustine. Regarding the former as useless, vain and dangerous in philosophy, literature and morals, the latter asks : "With what evil, then, are we menaced if we ignore the *belles-lettres* ? It is not only amongst us, who laugh at all this vain knowledge, at this art that is strange to us, that the *lettres* are worthless. Philosophers who do not belong to us do not value them. * * * This, however, has not pre-

vented their acquiring a great celebrity. * * * How much, therefore, should we not be to blame, enlightened as we are by faith, if we attach too much importance to a talent disdained even by those who feed upon the wind, and if to acquire a thing so vain, we risk that alone which is necessary? The Apostles, and a great number of holy persons, who have not studied this literature, have not the less converted the world, whilst no philosopher has as yet converted a single tyrant." He concludes with the question: "Would it not be the last degree of cruelty to throw poor children, unable to defend themselves, into the arena amidst so many enemies?" St. Augustine says: "We do not want for ecclesiastical writers, independently of those whom the Holy Ghost has inspired, from whom a man of capabilities may draw without effort, by only reading them attentively, models of eloquence, so that he need do nothing else but exercise himself in order to write, dictate, or speak as his piety shall inspire him."

St. Jerome, the *savant*, in whom was to be found a summary of the ecclesiastical learning of the past ages, wrote to Damascus, in reference to the Parable of the Prodigal Son, these words: "One may understand by the nourishment of the swine, the false philosophy of the world, the vain eloquence of oratory. Their cadence and harmony, in flattering the ear, possess the mind and enchant the heart; but after one has read works of this kind with great attention, nothing is left but vacancy and confusion. Let us not delude ourselves by saying we do not put any faith in the fables with which these authors have filled their writings. This reason does not justify us, since we scandalize others, who think we approve of what they see us read."

We will close our cullings from various authors touching the use of the pagan classics during the first five centuries of the Christian era, with the words of Lalanne: "After this great and miraculous revelation brought about by men of whom we may say, *Infirma mundi elegit Deus, ut confundat fortia*, Christianity was represented by its propagators with all the

prestige, with all the *celat* of letters and science, such as the pagans admired. The conqueror put on the armor of his vanquished enemy, of which he stood in need during a moment of defence and attack. He made use of them, and taught his followers how to handle them. But soon, feeling strong in this armor, which, not being made for him, galled and inconvenienced him, he took it off, piece by piece; or, not attaching any value to it, he left it unnoticed. In presence of the colossus of barbarism, he entered the lists plainly clad, and with the cross for his holy arms, like the young shepherd who went forth with a sling to overthrow the giant; both placed their confidence in God." This same author speaks in another place of the three men whom we have named, as "heirs to the philosophy and literature of the epoch, * * * * giving the signal to posterity to desert the literary temples of Greece, the porticoes and academies of Athens and the museums of Corinth and Paphos, and with a courageous hand precipitate the world into a momentary darkness, that it might no longer be misled by the false light of paganism."

SECOND EPOCH.

The Middle Ages.

The same method pursued by the Church during the first period was followed during the age upon which we now enter, save that the pagan classics gradually disappear until they vanish entirely. The motive for honoring heathen lore is found to be more and more wanting, and their value depreciates accordingly. The children of the North, in a half-savage state, press around the Church, whom Christianity must civilize. And what is civilization but Christianity applied to society? How is such an application to be effected otherwise than by an efficacious and lasting system of education? And such a regenerating order of education is alone practicable upon childhood. The rising generation will consequently

become pagan or Christian as the educational mold is one or the other. The march of mind was, therefore, made to wear a Christian complexion in consequence of the Christian mold into which the mass was constantly thrown. This becomes manifest from the sentiments of the educators of the period. Listen to the words of St. Ouen, Bishop of Rouen: "What profit shall we derive from the reading of certain grammarians, who appear to cast down rather than to build up? In philosophy, of what use to us are Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle? For what purpose should we read the songs of criminal poets, such as Homer, Virgil and Menander? Of what use to a Christian family are those pagan historians, Sallust, Herodotus and Livius? What oratory of Lysias, Gracchus, Demosthenes and Tullius can be compared to the pure and beautiful doctrines of Christ? Of what utility to us is the ability of Flaccus, Salinus, Varro, Democrates, Plautus, Cicero and others, whom it is unnecessary to name?"

To the holy books, the acts of the Martyrs and annals of the Church were added, from time to time, the writings of the Fathers, the legends of the Saints, the histories of the knights, crusaders, pilgrims and the founders of Orders. Whatever we may think of the educational catalogue adopted, one thing will not be disputed—that the system was far from being a pagan system. The windows and walls of houses and churches illustrated the animus of the age, and has to this day not ceased to be the reproach of those days.

The education commenced around the domestic hearth, was continued through the public schools, which covered the face of Europe, in France, Spain, England, Ireland and Italy. The Episcopal mansions, the country presbyteries, the monasteries and the cathedrals became such centres. All that related to religion—its history, doctrines and glory—formed the subjects of instruction. Can we wonder that the education of the Middle ages became just what it was? Boniface, in writing of Livinius, says: "This child * * * seeking to be instructed by the priest (Benignus) in the *melody of the Psalms*,

in the *sweet reading of the holy Gospels*, and other divine exercises, his youth flowed on according to his desire, so that, as if he were in an immense garden of heavenly flowers, he advanced, day by day, mounting all the steps of virtue. His intelligence was wonderfully developed, and by the co-operation of grace, he found no difficulty in the study of so many divine things, nor in the *practice of the examples of the just*." Lanamus memorized the whole Psalter, and so did Leobard, as well as Nizier, of Lyons.

But let it not be supposed that the tasks were assigned from the sacred and ecclesiastical books alone. The treatises on the arts and sciences were taught and explained. But a great central principle was never lost sight of, viz.: that religion is in the world what the sun is in the firmament—the centre around which all gravitates. The arts and sciences were studied as a means, not as an end,—a means to spiritual and temporal perfection, for the benefit of religion,—not as a stepping-stone to prosperity and human glory. Thus, in the learned schools of England, established by Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, we read of *ecclesiastical* geometry, astronomy and mathematics. And so, too, painting, sculpture, architecture and poetry, were cultivated for the glory of their Author. The foreign languages were taught for the discovery of the contents of other religious systems, or in order to preach the Gospel abroad.

We enter the Universities now, those brilliant light-houses which a Christian civilization has so plentifully founded and so magnificently endowed all over Europe. And within their walls, as around the domestic hearth, and in the elementary and intermediate schools, we find books and men that are entirely Christian. If it be maintained that Aristotle had a free sailing, it must be recollected that this philosopher was studied, not for his ideas or style of oratory, but solely for his dialectic method. There was a religious motive which inspired both teacher and pupil. Dialectics was to furnish arms to truth, by which error was to be repulsed, unmasked and conquered.

But under what limitations, even this branch was tolerated, we may gather from the words of the Bishop of Paris, uttered in 1277: "We have learned that some students in philosophy, passing the bounds of their faculty, have dared to sustain manifest errors, or rather chimerical extravagances. They find these propositions in books of pagans, and they appear so demonstrative that they do not know how to reply to them. In endeavoring to palliate them, they fall into another difficulty; for they say they are true according to Aristotle, but not according to the Catholic faith—as if two contradictory truths existed!" The current opinion of the teachers and princes of the Church was that pagan literature did not well comport with the spirit and genius of the Christian religion. Hence it was felt, likewise, that a different literature should be generated and studied, which should chime therewith in spirit and form. A Christian Latinity consequently arose. Of the nature of this new product of the Church we have the following description: "True Latinity," says St. Prosper, "is, if I mistake not, that which, retaining the propriety of the terms of the ancient Latin, expresses the thing briefly and simply, and not that which plays upon the beauty of form." Although the Fathers laid the foundation to a Christian Latin, Gregory the Great established it as a system. This is "a language so lucid, rich and simple, elegant and full of unction, differing from the pagan Latin as much as night from day, or Christianity from paganism." It was his aim *that Christian pupils should learn Latin solely from Christian authors*. And this thought was based upon the sound principle that, "in spite of any effort on our part, we retain, in after-life, the style, the thoughts, the diction of the authors we have studied in our childhood, as the vessel long retains the odor of the first liquor it has received. *In semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem testa diu.*" Sts. Jerome and Augustine betray in their style the pagan authors with whom they walked in their younger years, although they both condemned the promiscuous use of the classics. On the other hand, ecclesiastical writers of

the 15th century, though equally celebrated for their eloquence and gravity, display nothing of any resemblance to the heathen style. The latter learnt Latin from Christian sources. And to the same fact we may attribute that ardent love for the Holy Scriptures, that Christian spirit which animated and pervaded philosophy, literature, the sciences and the arts. They tell us that a visit to the great museum of Christian art, Venice, will discover to us nothing relating to mythology or paganism; nothing obscene, shameful or profane, among the countless monuments of the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries.

Nor can we any longer accept the current theory that the *Renaissance* discovered the Greeks and Romans as so many lost treasures. These so-called treasures had never been *lost*. They had ever been known, and were valued in a secondary sense by the Fathers and princes of the Church in all the ages since the Christian era. But the order was—Christianity, first in rank; the base and body in the edifice; the molding factor; the essential element; and paganism, second in order, accessory and subordinate. Thus, in the 18th century, the Abbot of Ferrieres rescued the manuscripts of Cicero, of Gellius, Cæsar's Commentaries, Suetonius, Sallust, and others. "Let it be well understood," he writes, "that it shall be at my cost." Gerbert, of the 10th century, as well as bishops of France, Italy, Germany and Belgium, showed a similar desire. Evidently it was not from any motive of ignorance that the pagan classics were thus set aside in the popular education of this period, the boasting of the illuminated to the contrary notwithstanding.

During the two epochs over which we have hastily gone, we have found; (1.) that the system of education, literature and art were exclusively Christian; (2.) that the classics were the Holy Scriptures, Acts of the Martyrs, the Annals of the Church, and the writings of the Fathers; whilst pagan authors were studied as accessories, and by the adolescents; (3.) that the order of society remained Christian, in consequence and by virtue of the Christian system of education, pursued in the family, the school and in the university.

THIRD EPOCH.

This period reaches from the 17th century to the present time. The 16th century was the age *de la renaissance*, the age *par excellence*, for the worship of the antique in literature; the epoch of pagan artists, Hellenists and Humanists, who teemed in all parts of Europe. It is the age known as the *Renaissance*. And how did it come about? Let us give the history of its rise in a few words:

Constantinople had fallen under Mahomet II., in 1453. The fugitive Greeks, like the melancholy ruins of a scattered nation, arrived in the West. They carried with themselves in their flights the works of pagan philosophers, of the poets, the orators and the artists. The praises of the Greeks and Romans re-echoed in all quarters. Pagan Rome and pagan Greece seemed alone able to offer themes worthy of contemplation. They monopolized genius, knowledge, eloquence, poetry and art. They offered to place the Herculean columns for the human intellect. The colleges of the age became the retailers of the foreign lore. Crowds of youths crowded into them. Rome and Athens were the only cities that claimed mentioning. The ages of Augustus and Pericles were regarded as the only ages of enlightenment. Only that which wore the stamp of paganism was beautiful in language, poetry, eloquence, sculpture or architecture.

This *Renaissance* altered the form and mold of Europe. Into this mold were poured the young generations. Farewell Christian classics, the Holy Scriptures, the acts of the Martyrs, the Fathers of the Church, the annals of Christian history! And, on the other side, Hail to the Olympian gods, the fables of Phædrus and Æsop, Ovid, Virgil, Horace, Homer, Xenophon, Demosthenes, Cicero, Aristophanes! "It will be a source of wonder," says the Protestant De Gasparin, "to future ages to learn that a society calling itself Christian should have devoted seven of the most precious years of its

children to the exclusive study of pagans." The professors of our Church colleges might well ponder over this strange phenomenon. It is this somersault in the educational race, this complete rupture with the traditional past, inaugurated at the dawn of the Renaissance and kept alive down to our day; this terrible departure in the march of the human mind;—in a word, this radical change in man-building, to which we owe the religious indifference, skepticism, infidelity and atheism of modern times. If the Christian fountains are sealed to the rising generation, whilst the pagan ones are opened, need we wonder whence the bitter waters and the poisonous floods come? It is one of the saddest phenomena under the sun, that even our candidates for the office of the holy ministry should sit for seven years at heathen wells, and but one, two or three years at the fountains of living waters. But so radical is the change from the primitive Christian curriculum, and so deeply has it indented itself into the heart of the age, that we actually believe the bitter to be sweet.

And here both Catholic and Protestant have reason to go down upon their knees and cry, *Peccavi!* Rome, Geneva, Heidelberg, and every citadel of Christian literature, stands on like ground in this respect. They may, to be sure, raise their defensive arguments, and conduct them with marked ingenuity, but the *deviation* cannot be concealed thereby.

The history of the arts runs parallel with the course of literature. The Christian type has succumbed to a style perfectly pagan. "Away with the artistic models of the early faith!" has been the cry since the *Renaissance*. Who must not sigh over the departure of the magnificent monuments of architecture, of painting and sculpture which once abounded? The temples of Greece and Italy,—the triumphal arches, columns, statues, frescoes, villas, baths, nudities,—these are all in style. Miss Blanche Nevin confronts us with Mother *Eve*. But had she given us a "Venus," how much louder would the crowd cheer! If an old, mutilated vase or statue is by chance discovered, the enthusiasm borders nigh on a delirium. But

were the original cross exhibited on which the "Prince of Glory" died, it would hardly excite more attention than would a broom-stick, one hundred years old.

And need we search elsewhere for the cause of the decline of faith, morals and Christian life, so long as the fountains of the age are as and what they are? The crazed founder in Florence wondered long why he could not cast the figure of an archbishop, until he saw that he dare not expect such a result as long as he kept pouring his material into the mould of a horse. We, too, might learn as much.

Lest we might lay too much stress on the mere *change of form*, let us look at some of the sayings of the Fathers. Origen, as we have already seen, regards the pagan works as so many "cups, the edges of which were gilt, whilst their contents were a deadly poison." And who should know it better than the Origen who, deceived by the philosophy of Plato, was himself led astray thereby, and brought great scandal upon Christianity? St. Irenæus styled Plato the "framer of all heresies." Lactantius, a diligent student of the *belles lettres* for years, maintained that "the faith was nowhere so weak as with those persons much given to pagan literature." St. Augustine says: "It is no slight danger to leave the Word of God for that of the world." John Chrysostom thus delivers himself: "I would not have you give to children the fables of mythology for their first lessons." In another place he says: "The first age you say is that of ignorance; yes, and do you not know that what makes this ignorance more profound and more dangerous, is the custom you have of giving it those histories of antique heroes, which teach the child to admire them, though they give themselves up to their passions? * * *

We shall gather the fruits of such an education, which peoples the world with passionate men, without restraints, without morals, accustomed as they are to mix in the mud of vice. St. Basil wants the young people to take Christian principles for their *point of departure*, in order that they may judge all the better of the maxims of pagans. He adds, that the reading of

profane authors is very dangerous, because they preach sensualism, and teach us to admire men who are virtuous in words only." St. Jerome's testimony is of great value here, since he studied most, knew best, and could most justly judge the pagan works and their influence on the student. He says: "Dwell not in the temple of idols. * * * Do not read either the pagan philosophers, or the orators or the poets." He writes to Pope Damasus: "Let us not be too confident that we shall not believe the things we read. It is a crime to drink at the same time of the chalice of Jesus Christ and that of the demons." But his confession is most interesting on this point: "I myself made the dangerous experiment, and these are the bitter fruits I have gathered from it. For several years I quitted the paternal roof; I deprived myself of the society of my parents, of my sister and of my friends; and, what is more difficult still, I renounced the use of delicate meats; and all this with a view of gaining heaven. Having the intention of going to Jerusalem to combat the cause of our Lord, I could not separate myself from the library I had formed with great difficulty, at Rome. Thus, unfortunate that I am, I deprived myself of all; I fasted to read Cicero. After frequent night-watchings, after abundant tears shed for my past faults, I took Plautus in hand. If at times, recovering my senses, I endeavored to read the Prophets, their uncultivated style horrified me, and because my weary eyes did not see the light, I believed it was the fault of the sun rather than of them. Whilst I was thus the toy of the old serpent, I was suddenly ravished in mind, and dragged before the tribunal of the Sovereign Judge. * * * Interrogated as to my position, I replied that I was a Christian. 'Thou liest,' replied the Judge; 'thou art a Ciceronian and not a Christian; for where thy treasure is, there also is thy heart.' At these words I was silent, and the Judge ordered me to be beaten; and the blows that I received were less cruel than the feelings of remorse with which my conscience was torn. I called to mind these words of the Prophet—" *Who can praise thee in hell?*" How-

ever, I began to weep, and said, with sobs, 'Lord, have pity on me!' At length those who surrounded the throne threw themselves at the feet of the Judge, and asked forgiveness for my youth and delay to do penance for my faults, saying that I would submit to the last punishment if ever I would return to the pagan authors. In this extremity I made great promises. I swore, in invoking the name of God, that if I persisted in keeping my pagan books, I would submit to be considered an apostate. This oath was scarcely pronounced when I was released and I came to myself. To the great astonishment of those who surrounded me, when I opened my eyes they were drowned in tears, which alone was sufficient to convince them of the pain I had suffered. This was not a sleep, a mere dream such as we sometimes experience. I call to witness that tribunal before which I was extended; I call to witness the dreadful sentence that froze me with terror. I never after exposed myself to a similar question—one that led to my shoulders being bruised with blows, the pain of which I long felt. After this I studied the Holy Scriptures with as much zeal as I had formerly exercised in studying profane books." Jerome is said to have kept his promise, and never after read any profane author, even fearing to quote any part of one; hence one saying to him on a certain occasion, that without the pagan authors it would be impossible to speak or write correctly, he replied, "What you admire I abominate, because I have tasted the folly of Jesus Christ; and the folly of Jesus Christ, know well, is wiser than all human wisdom." But let us hear St. Augustine—one so well-versed in heathen lore. The reason his parents urged him to study the "classics" was the same we hear to-day. "They told me that in them was to be found fine language; that from them was to be drawn that eloquence so necessary to persuade and successfully to expose new ideas. * * * What! should we not have known the words, *gremium*, *imbrem*, *aureum*, *fuscum*, if Terrence had not spoken of a young debauchee? No! It is not in learning this turpitude we learn these words, but by these

words we learn to commit with more assurance this turpitude." And now listen to his lamentation over the new departure from the old curriculum of the primitive ages:

"Woe to the torrent of custom! Who will check thy ravages? When wilt thou be dried up? How long wilt thou toss these sons of Eve in this immense, this formidable sea, which the best equipped can scarcely traverse? Is it not this beautiful science of fiction that shows us a thundering and adulterous Jupiter? It is a fiction! cry all the masters. Fiction as much as you will; but this fiction makes crimes to cease to be crimes, and teaches men that in committing such infamies they rather imitate immortal gods than wicked men. And yet, O infernal flood! it is the hope of reward that leads the children of men to embark on thy waves, to learn these things. I do not accuse words, which are as precious and innocent vases, but the mine of error and of vice that drunken masters there present to us; and if we do not drink they chastise us, without our being permitted to call upon a sober judge. * * * * And because I learnt these things with pleasure, they called me a child of great hope." This is what he says of Virgil, the author whom we lay before our youth as the most chaste of Latin poets: "I have learned in study many useful words, which I might have acquired by reading things less vain; but more, I have learnt the adventures of I do not know what Æneas, and forgot my own errors. I learned to weep for Dido, who killed himself for having loved too much; but for myself, who found death in reading these culpable follies, I had not a tear to shed. What deplorable stupidity! If they attempted to deprive me of this reading, I wept that I had nothing to weep for." And to such madness is given the name of *belles lettres*! And our professors, regents and masters, who still make the study of what they call "fine Latin" the first consideration, who do not fear to propose Horace, Catullus and Terrence, as models to their pupils, and treat as barbarous all that does not bear a pagan *imprimatur*, may earn something from the words of the great Augustine:

“They obliged me to consider it a matter of the first importance, and induced me by rewards and punishments, to learn these words of Juno, wherein she expresses herself so full of pain and anger at not being able to prevent Æneas from approaching the Italian shore. They obliged me to write in prose what the poet had said in verse; and the one most applauded was the one who depicted best the rage and anguish of this imaginary goddess. Behold, Lord my God, what importance men attach to syllables and letters, whilst they forget Thy precepts! They are more ready to blame an error in pronunciation than an infringement of Thy law. Is it astonishing that these things should have estranged me from Thee, O my God! Since they never cease to propose for my imitation men whom they did not fail to ridicule, if, in relating their actions, irreprehensible as they might be, they were unfortunate enough to commit a barbarism or a solecism, whilst they covered with praise those who related their infamies in correct language.”

Lest we might be charged with making too much of the evil effects of such a pagan drill during the younger and receptive period of our lives, we will let the same Father speak his own experience: “When I was further advanced in age, I proposed reading the Scriptures, that I might know what they were. But I was not able to penetrate the sense; my pride refused to submit to their lessons. The style, the ideas, all appeared unworthy to be compared to the majesty of Cicero. The pride of my mind could not bear such language; my eye could not penetrate their depth. The wisdom they contained was childish, and I refused to become a child; and intoxicated with self, I imagined I was something great. * * * *

To instruct children from pagan books is not only to teach them useless things; it is to take them from God, and sacrifice them to the demons. What are all these things but wind and smoke? Are there no other means by which to cultivate the mind, to give the tongue eloquence? Thy praises, Lord, so eloquently sung in the Scriptures, would have ele-

vated, would have fixed my feeble heart and prevented its becoming a prey to unclean birds. Ah! there is more than one way of sacrificing man to demons. * * * * Is it thus, then, that the child should be trained? Are those the models that should be presented to him? In acting thus, you offer neither birds nor animals, nor human blood even. You offer what is much more abominable; you immolate the young on the altar of Satan. * * * * Thou seest, Lord, and art silent, O Thou, who art full of longanimity, of mercy and of truth! But wilt Thou always be silent? Wilt Thou not draw out of the abyss souls that are made for Thee, and thirst after Thy love?" It will no longer surprise us, after such confession and lamentation, that one of the chief causes of regret to this great man was the fact that he had taught rhetoric according to the pagan method.

The authors of the Middle Ages, as we have already seen, made the proscription of the pagan classics a general law. Gregory the Great wrote the following letter to Didier, Bishop of Vienne, in Dauphine, who had neglected the pontiff's prohibition to teach pagan literature:

"It has reached us, and we cannot call it to mind without blushing, that your fraternity teaches pagan authors in some cases. Such a thing has caused us much pain, and has excited in our heart such a deep disgust, that the pleasure we experienced in receiving news from you is changed into lamentation and sorrow; for the praises of Jupiter should never be in the same mouth with those of Jesus Christ. Consider the crime, the monstrosity, to find in bishops *what is not becoming even to a lay person*. Notwithstanding that our very dear son Candius has come to us since this news has been announced, and having carefully interrogated him, he has denied the fact, and even sought to excuse you, we still continue to be unquiet. We are the more anxious to know of a certainty whether these things be true, seeing that they are the more horrible being found in a priest. If, then, it be proved to us that they are false, and that you do not lose your time about mere trifles,

such as the profane literature, we will render thanks to God who has not permitted your heart to be tarnished by the blasphemous praises of men unworthy of the name."

Lest we should cause our readers to believe that Gregory condemns the teachings of pagan authors in any absolute sense, let us here remark that he who elsewhere *approves* of such a course, cannot mean an absolute prohibition. What he condemns is *the teaching of pagan literature to children*. This is evident from another saying of his, viz.: "It is inexcusable even in lay persons, sincerely religious, who understand both the holiness of the Christian and the disastrous influence of pagan studies *on inexperienced souls*,"

We must now quote the words of a writer who lived towards the middle of the 16th century—Possevin: "Education is not a small thing; it is everything. It is man, it is society, it is religion. * * * * What is it in the present day that precipitates man into the gulf of sensualism, of injustice, of blasphemy, of impiety, of atheism? It is doubtless because in the colleges, which are the nurseries of the states, they are made to study everything except the Christian authors. If they speak of religion, it is mingled with paganism, that enemy of the soul. Of what use, we will ask, would it be to pour into a vast bin a glass of pure, delicious, well-refined wine, and at the same time a torrent of vinegar and spoiled wine? In other terms, what signifies a little catechism administered weekly with daily doses of pagan impurity and impiety?" * * * * "Will you save the Republic? Apply the axe to the root; banish from your schools the pagan authors, who, under the false pretext of teaching your children good Latin, teach them the language of hell. Scarcely do they leave the ranks of childhood than they commence their studies of law, or medicine, or they enter the commercial world, and soon forget the little Latin they have acquired, but they do not forget the impurities they have learned by heart from the authors. These things remain engraven on their memories, that during their whole lives they prefer to hear, to read, or to say, vain and

dishonest things, rather than such as are useful and good; they reject the salutary teaching of the word of God, the sermons and religious exhortations that are addressed to them."

The author then asks the question, which is likely to rise to the lips of the reader indeed, to wit: *What must be substituted for the Pagan authorities?* His answer is, that we must return to the ancient use of the Christian authors that were used in the schools and colleges of the middle ages—a custom that was commanded by God Himself, by the Fathers, by the Councils, and by a thousand other reasons. These Text-Books are the Holy Scriptures, the Acts of the Martyrs, the Lives of the Saints, and History of the Church, as we have it embodied in the Fathers and the Councils. And we submit the query—Would not the Theologue of to-day be all the better for having pursued such a course? And, after having come by such a way, of age, he might then indeed, not only without danger, but with profit, study the profane authors, and judge correctly of their teachings, by comparing them with the Christian authors with which he had been nourished first and foremost.

We read of a Canisius, who endeavored to render this salutary lesson practical, by having the Letters of St. Jerome printed for the use of his classes. His copy was adopted in a great many Gymnasiums and Colleges, in Germany and the rest of Europe, with very happy results. The College of Lafayette, at Easton, has covered itself with no little glory in establishing a course of Christian Latin and Greek in its *Curriculum*. For three centuries Paganism has been the principal ingredient in Education. It has imparted its color to Literature, Sciences, Arts, and Common Life. Contempt, or indifference for Religion—an inevitable consequence of such an order—has developed itself on all sides. We lament bitterly over the result. It displays itself in the College, in the Normal School, and in the Primary Chamber. The Chaplain is but a necessary appendage, if that. Quitting the College and University, we enter into society, to notice further the Pagan-drilled youth. Is not gold the god of the age? Pleasure is

the Paradise sought after. Is not the world filled with writers, orators, professional characters and artizans, who follow the examples set for them in their classic molds? One man exclaims: "Upon the question of Paganism or Christianity in Education depends the safety of the world!" And another says: "Another thirty years of Paganism in Education, and it will become the Religion of Europe!" But it is replied: "The remedy would be worse than the evil; for, to banish the great models of pagan antiquity, would be to thrust the world back into the literary barbarism from which humanity has been rescued." We will not undertake the apology of the ancient ages. Still, it is well to honor fatherly and motherly Antiquity somewhat. Our fathers were men like ourselves. They had their defects; but are their children exempts? They were credulous; but is our unbelief, skepticism, atheism, a virtue? Their laws were cruel, and their manners rude; but are profligacy and impiety grand ornaments to society? Their chivalry and devotion we style fanaticism; but what shall we call our egotism?

They build Churches and religious Houses; we build Theatres and Prisons. They sinned, and asked God's pardon in open day; we blaspheme in times of trouble; they fasted, and prayed, and gave alms; we commit suicide. We have discovered steam and electricity; they discovered the compass, and invented printing and gunpowder. We have filled the world with Books; they produced *the Imitation*. We vaunt our glories in war, in the arts and sciences; but were our fathers savages, who raised to the clouds the spires of our Cathedrals, and peopled them with statues; who wrote the history of Time and Eternity in letters of gold, on their windows and walls?

We are silly enough to believe, that the substitution of Christian for Pagan Classics, does *not* lead back to Barbarism, neither in literature nor in morals. And had we the space we might name immortal Kings of Science, Literature, and Art, who had been nurtured on an exclusively Christian pabulum.

Is the Latin of the Gospel barbarous? Is the Latin of the Fathers barbarous? Those who have never looked into Christian Latin lore cannot, and those who have, will not so affirm. As for ourselves, we do not at all comprehend why any and every ecclesiastic should find it necessary to know the Latin of Livius, Cicero, Virgil, and Horace, and yet be wholly ignorant of St. Thomas, Augustine, and Thomas a Kempis. A certain learned theologian made the following pertinent avowal: "The study of Cicero was useless, or almost useless, to me in treating upon Christian subjects. At first I found myself much embarrassed to write upon religious matters. I then turned my attention to the study of the works of Leo, in the assiduous reading of which I found the true language of the Church, with its elegance, force, and clearness." Would our Seminaries be thought barbarous with respect to the Classics, were they to be versed in the idiom of the Church Fathers? We trow not. Neither the Bar nor the Pulpit, as little as the Counting-house, the Rostrum, the Lyre or Easel, would be any the worse for the change of Classics. Theology, philosophy, literature, and the arts, produced men, under the influence of the Christian Classics, with whom no age can point to any worthy of a comparison. The objection assumes, moreover, that the College and University, with their present array of the Classics, really do produce grand classical scholars. Greek and Latin are the main branches of our collegial studies, and they are badly taught." "*All* are ignorant of Greek, and *not one* knows Latin well," is the verdict of a distinguished functionary of the University. The best among us can scarcely read a page of Cicero or Tacitus, without the use of a dictionary, and not one is able to discourse in Latin. We do not know Latin or Greek, after having devoted from six to nine years to it! Why is it? *It is because we are trying to resuscitate a dead tongue of a dead people—an impossibility.*

But Christianity is *not* a dead realm, as is the Empire of Paganism. Consequently, the Christian student would with comparative ease render himself familiar with the language and

idiom of his own Kingdom. He would find himself confronted at every step with ideas, facts and things, common to the society and spirit with which he found himself surrounded and animated.

Again, it is perhaps maintained that the *Baccalaureate* demands the study of the Pagan Classics. It is a fearful condemnation of the Christian public conscience, if the case stands thus. But, conceding so much, is it by an irrevocable decree? Is no amendment in order? Shall the evil endure, that the *Baccalaureate* may survive? And we have a suspicion, too, that the Degree of Bachelor would hardly be withheld from a fine scholar in the Christian Classics, seeing that it rains down copiously upon the heads of many in whom abide no Classics at all. But, in brief, it is not meant that the Pagan authors should be wholly shelved. Only this is held; that the Christian authors should be placed in the first rank, and the Pagans occupy a back seat. To know a little less of Phædrus, Æsop, Ovid, Virgil, Cicero, and Demosthenes, and a little more of the Holy Scriptures, the Psalms, the Fathers. Or, if not less of the former—something that could not well be!—then, by all means, vastly more of the latter.

“Innovation!” “Innovation!” “Innovation!” Not so, we reply. With the Jews, the Bible was everything. This, together with the Tradition, which is its commentary, composed the National Science. They loved it as their country; respected it as the Holy Ark; and defended it to blood and death.

The same may be said of the Mohammedans. The Law of the Prophet, accompanied with its Traditions, is the only Book. The child, the youth, and men of every stage and age, are taught to read it, and therein seek for reasons of their conduct. Among these several people the rule was dictated by common sense. The law that underlies their conduct, teaches that the subject must be reared in the spirit of the society that produced him. Hence their offspring are tenacious of their Creed. In the midst of changes, the Jew is still a Jew, and the disciple of the False Prophet remains unmoved. And this fact the

Christian Church well understood in the beginning, and long, long resisted all attempts to swing her from her moorings.

Now, for the Christian nations the Gospel is everything, if it is anything. Thence they draw their intellectual, moral, domestic, civil, literary, artistic and scientific life. To bring up in this Christian element the members of the Republic, should be the first and only aim of Christian civilization. Christian nurture and education is nothing less than the apprenticeship of life. So thought the Church in the early and later ages. Only after they had been well nourished in the Christian aliment, were her youths allowed to go into the pagan sphere, and learn its men, monuments, manners and laws. Then only could they venture into Egypt without becoming slaves. How wise was the law of the ages of faith! With every people, whatever be their religion, *that* was everything. And the Book which embodied the system, was ever put into the hands of the child and veteran, first, last, always. Only in modern times—which may be called the age of chaos—has this law been violated. For several centuries it has stood for nothing. Why need we be astonished, then, that the public conscience has ceased to be Christian? “The Bible in, or out of, the Public Schools,” seems to us to be but an insane cry, so long as this great law of the Christian ages stands for nothing in our public education. But one thing can save the Nations, and that one thing is *an Education decidedly Christian*. Such an education is only possible with Christian Classics. The efforts put forth to preserve Christian society in the pabulum of Paganism, are vain and visionary. Let us return, then, or we shall be lost. Thus shall we render education Christian; and education is society—it is man on both sides of the grave. And to dare to assume and proclaim, that the men, means, and books are not at hand to establish, man, and supply all our Christian educational institutions, after the kingdom of Christ is fast nearing its second millenium—*this* is tantamount to the confession—*Christianity is a failure*.

ART. IV.—THE COMPLEMENT OF GENESIS.

BY THE REV. E. V. GERHART, D. D.

THE warfare which many of the representatives of natural science are carrying on against Christian cosmology turns mainly upon the account of the creation, as given in the first chapter of Genesis. Natural science assumes that the Mosaic record contains the principal teaching of divine revelation on the subject. It goes even further. Ignoring the fuller teaching found in other portions of Holy Scripture, it assumes that the pictorial representation of Genesis claims to be the complete and exhaustive doctrine of the Christian Church. Hence natural science has directed its attacks principally against this primeval record, taking it for granted that if the doctrine of this record as interpreted by some classes of theologians is exploded or shown to be untrustworthy, then the main pillar of Christian cosmology crumbles, and the entire edifice of Christian truth is demolished.

Were so narrow a view of the scriptural doctrine respecting the origin of the cosmos confined to the reasoning of natural science only, the error would be comparatively harmless. But the same narrow view underlies, in many instances, the vindication of Christian cosmology. In resisting the assaults of the enemy, theologians have very commonly conceded the unwarranted assumption of the Scientist. The pictorial representation of Genesis becomes the great plain of Esdraelon where the Christian Israel is accepting battle with the mighty Jabin and his formidable array of scythe-chariots.

The cosmology of the first chapter of Genesis need not tremble for fear of the Goliaths of naturalism, nor blush for shame in the presence of the numerous discoveries made in the domain of the natural world. Unbelieving science is indeed proud and

self-confident. It is very intelligent as compared with the infantile simplicity of Genesis. Yet notwithstanding the pretentious air and the boastful, threatening voice of science, the modest but sublime imagery of Genesis can maintain its superiority and dignity against every species of cosmogony projected by the unaided reason of mankind. Compared with the mythical dream of the ancient Greeks, or with the atheistic imagery of the Hindoo Vedas, or with the theory of a perpetual dualism of light and darkness, of good and evil forces, taught by the Zend Avesta; indeed compared with any hypothesis, suggested by the non-christian mind of any past or of the present age, respecting the actual beginning of the existing order of the natural and moral world;—the pictorial representation of the pre-historic birth-throes of cosmic law and organized life as discerned by the spiritual genius of the first Seer, stands pre-eminent for depth, compass and wealth of conception, no less than for the grandeur of its imagery and the simplicity of its diction.*

Superior as is the conception of the forthcoming world, set forth in Genesis, it is nevertheless only a partial representation of revealed truth. The cosmology of Christian revelation undoubtedly includes the idea pictured by the original Seer; but it includes likewise a great deal more. Neither Genesis nor the Old Testament teaches explicitly the whole of the truth. Christ and His apostles teach a doctrine respecting the cosmos no less than a doctrine respecting the way of salvation. As the Christian fulfils the Mosaic economy, and as the salvation revealed in Christ complements the salvation foreshadowed by the ceremonial law; so does the cosmology of the New Testament complement that of the Old. Whilst there is no conflict between the worship of Jehovah according to the ritual established by Moses, and the worship of our Father in Heaven through the Holy Spirit revealed in Jesus Christ, there is nevertheless a

* For a concise view of non-christian cosmogonies we refer the reader to a rich and comprehensive article on the Six Days of Creation by Prof. Theodore Appel, D. D., published in the previous number of this Quarterly.

wide difference, a difference involving the genius and spiritual efficacy, as well as the outward form of worship. The worship of the Old Testament without the worship of the New is incomplete; yet the former was the preliminary basis of the latter, and thus for the time a necessity. The law was our school-master unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith.

A similar relation is discernible between the doctrine of creation taught by the Old, and the doctrine taught by the New Testament. Whilst there is no contradiction in any respect between Christian and pre-christian cosmology, they embody nevertheless two distinct ideas. The idea reigning in Genesis is indeed true; but true only in a relative sense. A different idea rules in the first chapter of the Gospel according to St. John, and in the first chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians; to mention no other passages. A comparison of the revelation made in Jesus Christ with the pictorial representation of the original seer, will at once render apparent a broad contrast no less than an internal harmony.

The conception of the creational process pictured by the record in Genesis, exhibits a partial view only of the world process. The sublime opening: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth," may indeed, when interpreted from the standpoint of revelation given in the person of Christ, include much more than the panorama which this opening introduces. The word heaven, or (if the plural of the Hebrew be translated literally) *heavens*, may embrace the innumerable classes of personal beings belonging to the transcendent spiritual world, called by St. Paul thrones and dominions, principalities and powers. Interpreted, however, from the standpoint of the original seer, and in the light of the context, the import of the word *heaven* must be restricted in its application to the visible supernal economy, the planetary and sidereal system as distinguished from the earth. Beginning with the image of universal chaos, the account moves from darkness into light, from confusion and deformity into order and beauty, from an inferior to a superior stage of formations, from the less perfect

to the more perfect kinds of organized life, until at length, when the face of the earth blooms with vegetation, and the lights shine in the heavens, dividing time into days and nights and seasons, the progressive work advancing from below upward becomes relatively complete in the beast of the field. Then ensues a pause, when, unlike the fish of the sea and the fowl of the air and the beast of the field man is formed, not by a word of divine wisdom or power, but by a direct inbreathing from the bosom of God. In the creation of man two factors are united. The same process active in the formation and birth of the lower orders of things, continues in the creation of man. "And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground." But another kind of divine activity not seen in the lower orders, is also manifest. Not only is there a movement from below upward looking towards man as the apex and crown of the world, but there is a movement also from above, from the domain of the supernatural and the divine, by which man is constituted in the image of God. "The Lord God breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul."

The panorama of Genesis exhibits the formative process culminating in the natural and human only. But the cosmology of the New Testament is not thus circumscribed. It goes beyond the natural and the human. Transcending the limited vision of the original seer, Christ unveils a created universe other than the tangible and visible; a universe invisible to the bodily eye, but no less substantial, to say the least, than the visible, and no less grand and mighty and wonderful. The two worlds are not disconnected and independent. The visible and the invisible, the tangible and the transcendent, are rather the hemispheres of one boundless creation, deeper than the understanding can fathom and higher than the imagination can reach. Reasoning under the guidance of Christian cosmology, the two spheres being so closely connected, are to be regarded as mutually conditioning and affecting each other; all the kingdoms of the visible world and their phenomena being governed, not by

physical laws and forces exclusively, but just as certainly by metaphysical laws and by spiritual forces and spiritual agencies. Christianity tolerates neither a deistic separation of God from the processes of the natural world, nor a dualistic division of the laws and phenomena of nature from the presence and activity of God. No defense of the Bible against materialism, and no argument against the skeptical scientist can therefore be properly Christian and do full justice to biblical cosmology, which emphasizing only visible phenomena and natural processes, ignore that vast hemisphere of the created universe, with the life and influence of which all accessible phenomena are connected by an indissoluble bond.

The cosmology of the New Testament complements the cosmology of the original seer under another view still more significant and important. Partial in respect of extent, the pictorial representation in Genesis may also be said to be deficient in respect of causation. Deficient only, we mean, but not in any sense untrue or faulty. Genesis ascribes the origin of heaven and earth immediately to God (Elohim). And the manner in which the light became, and the work of creating the worlds during six days was accomplished, is expressed by the sublime formula: *And God said*. As the psalmist translates this formula: He spake and it was; He commanded and it stood fast. Heaven and earth was brought into existence, mediated only by the *word* of God. The creating work is referred to the energy of the divine will, active in the divine speaking. But what the word or speaking of God postulates and involves does not appear from the record in Genesis, when studied under the guidance exclusively of Old Testament revelation.

The depth of meaning hidden in the formula: *And God said*, is brought to light by the revelation of God as Creator in Christ. According to the New Testament, the *Word* of God's Almighty will is the *personal Word*. All things were made by Him, (the Word, that was in the beginning with God), and without Him was not anything made that was made. St. Paul teaches the mutual relation between the Father and Jesus

Christ in the origination and the continuation of the cosmos, when he says: "To us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we by Him; and one Lord, Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by Him." Agreeably to this teaching, to which every other statement on the subject given in the New Testament corresponds, God made the worlds, that is, the cosmos coming into existence through the succession of the ages, by His Son. Christ is the mediator, as of the redeeming and saving, so also of the creating and upholding activity of Almighty God. It is this mediation of Jesus, the Son of God, related on the one side to the Father as the image of the invisible God, and on the other related to the cosmos as archetype of the creature, which distinguishes the Christian doctrine of creation from pagan cosmogonies, and from every theory of the natural world suggested by the study of merely visible and tangible phenomena.

There are other important elements in Christian cosmology, distinguishing it from the myths of paganism, and from all the theories of modern science adverse to Christianity. No further delineation, however, is necessary for our present purpose.

In assailing the representation drawn in Genesis the scientist does indeed assail revealed truth; but he assails revealed truth respecting creation under one subordinate aspect only; and that aspect not as it may be taught by the abstract formulas of science, but as confronting faith in a simple yet rich pictorial garb. If he succeeds in exciting doubt respecting the curves of some of the lines in the picture, so far from rendering Christian cosmology unworthy of credit, he fails even to touch its essential features, not to speak of its fundamental principle. Indeed, the scientist absorbed in observing and investigating natural phenomena only, valuable and necessary as we concede his work to be, may be so blind to one entire hemisphere of the cosmos as to be incapable of appreciating the hidden wealth and grandeur of Christian cosmology. There is a vast territory of creation unveiled by the word of God, to which he deliberately shuts his eyes; assuming, when he criticizes the hem of

the outer garment in which the Personal Word appears on the threshold of revelation, that he actually silences the creative voice of the Word, and even nullifies the reality of His presence.

Natural science has not touched the kernel, either of the Old or of the New Testament. The doctrine proper respecting the cosmos the non-christian scientist does not imagine it to be worth his while to consider. This fact, that he overlooks and wilfully ignores the distinctive characteristics of biblical cosmology, it is important to emphasize. Failing to emphasize these distinctive characteristics, and joining issue with non-christian science, when it assails the first chapter of Genesis, on the assumption that that pictorial representation contains the whole doctrine of the Bible, the Christian theologian puts himself at a disadvantage in two ways.

On the one hand, he relinquishes the strong vantage ground which the doctrine proper of biblical cosmology affords in maintaining the truth of divine revelation against the assaults of non-christian science. The truth to be maintained is not so much a conception of the details of the process by which through successive stages the existing visible order of things was constituted, as the Faith that the universe in its totality, visible and invisible, natural and spiritual, is not an eternal existence, and comes forth neither by chance nor from nothing, but that of this universe God is the author and the former, the medium and organ of divine activity in originating and fashioning the cosmos being that same Word of God who in the fulness of time was made flesh. In asserting this Christian doctrine, in opposition to every hypothesis of the natural understanding, lies the strength, the impregnable strength of biblical cosmology, when assailed by the materialist or naturalist. If we remain within the walls and upon the ramparts of the citadel, the citadel will be our protection and our triumph; but if we sally forth and accept battle on the treacherous soil outside, the citadel will not be demolished, but the defenders may fall.

On the other hand, if the defender of biblical cosmology contends with the scientist on the assumption that in criticising Genesis, the scientist is assailing the whole Christian doctrine of creation, he makes a false concession which in the judgment of the world and even of many Christians, clothes his antagonist with factitious strength. Indeed the chief strength of the antagonizing scientist is not in the interesting results of his researches in the domain of nature, nor in his generalizations inferred from a more extended knowledge and better classification of natural phenomena, but in the silent assumption that his hypotheses suggested by a narrow and superficial observation of cosmical phenomena are in fact directed against the *whole* truth of divine revelation.

But for this apparent strength imparted by such undue concession, the hostile attitude of naturalism would be comparatively insignificant. The science of nature, by whatever spirit it may be animated, will no more endanger or prejudice the science of grace, when true to its principle and vocation, than the economy of nature has been able to prevent or bar out the economy of grace. In point of fact these two economies, nature and grace, coexist and together address our perception and faith. Likewise must there be, for thought, intrinsic harmony between the corresponding sciences, so far forth at least as the science of nature and the science of grace are both valid.

ART. V.—TENDENCY IN THOUGHT TO INTUITION.

THE poet Milton has told us of the human soul, that

“Reason is her being,
Discursive or intuitive.”

Discursive reason may be defined as what we ordinarily call the power of thinking,—that is, the ability to go through processes of thought and arrive at conclusions. Intuitive reason, on the other hand, is to be understood as the power of directly beholding truth, and, as it were, visually comprehending it. The primary or original intuitions of reason are generally described as those first truths or simplest apprehensions of relations which we naturally take in at first thought, and which appear to us so plain that we see not how any clearer insight into them could be obtained by any effort to resolve them into still simpler elements; or how we could add to their validity by any argument. That two things which are severally equal to the same third thing are equal to each other, has but to be clearly thought, we are told, in order to be known. There are involved in this simple thought, to be sure, two admitted facts and a deduction from them. There are then, three parts, one of which is reckoned the intuitive perception. If it be granted that one certain thing (A) is equal to another certain thing (C), and again that a certain thing (B) is equal to the same other thing (C), it is intuitively perceived that the two things (A and B) must be equal to each other.

But the question arises whether the intuitiveness of a truth is absolutely dependent upon its simplicity—whether a discursive process may not end in a perception having in effect all the clearness and singleness of an axiom. We have seen that two given facts occasion a third one to arise spontaneously in consciousness. This third cognition is said to arise *immediately* on the presentation of the other two. Still the imme-

diateness is not such as to preclude all succession. The two given facts have to be thought each and severally before they blend into a resultant third. If the axiom be presented to a child of ten years' in the above ordinary form, namely: Two things which are each equal to the same third thing are equal to each other, even the slight complexity of the thought will most likely be confusing; and it will be needful to give some concrete form to the three things—by exhibiting in succession, for instance, two books, or two weights, each of similar size with a third one, in order to elicit the inference of the equality of the two. Farther on in mental experience, the mere mention of the usual worded form will be instantly responded to in thought.

Advancing reason will add on other links of argument to the first simple one; and the succession of these in thought may become by familiar use so rapid that the result may seem nearly as quickly reached as in the case of the simple axiom: indeed the consciousness may in some cases flash over a long chain with almost electric swiftness. One is reminded of the rapidity with which a mental process can be carried on from step to step, by observing the performances of a "lightning calculator," who seems to sum up a column of figures by a momentary inspection. This is also a good illustration of the fact that great rapidity in mental action may, if properly managed, comport with strict accuracy. The omission or wrong reading of a single figure in the column would render the computation valueless; but the correctness of the result shows that nothing has been omitted.

Such feats cannot be performed, however, without much previous practice. The child's or unpractised person's putting together of numbers must needs be slow and toilsome. Similar is the truth with regard to the comprehension of any other complex whole. First there is the laborious learning of details, and then—if in fact this first work is really done—a clear perception of the whole. After looking successively into all the parts, for instance, of an intricate machine, beginning at the

point where the power is applied, and tracing in the order of cause and effect through to where the work is done, the mind inclines to review in the same order the impressions it has received, and indeed to repeat this process until it can, as it were, take in the entire series at a single glance; and then it expresses its satisfaction by saying it can "see through" the whole movement. What was at first a confusing puzzle has at length become transparent. The same principle applies to all our mental efforts in the development of science or truth. The endeavor is so to arrange and connect the facts or reasons that in the end all shall have a clearly seen unity of significance. The many must somehow be made one, in order fully to satisfy the desire of reason. Hence the frequent resort to diagrams, to figures of speech (which are a sort of mental diagrams), to all sorts of stratagems for making a whole process of thinking apparent in a single view. Even when a course of reasoning takes a strictly scientific and demonstrative form, we are fully satisfied with it only when we can "see through" it, and not merely trace it by slow and careful steps from the beginning to the conclusion. How often does it occur that a listener to an argument can be led to acknowledge the validity of every step in succession, but yet will recoil the next moment from the conclusion he has just assented to, because he has not comprehended the general lay and direction of the argument in its unity and entirety. The old gentleman who was inclined to disbelieve that the world turns on its axis, but was at length constrained by argument to admit that "the *world* does turn round," had to add, "but *this earth* does not turn round; for if it did my son's mill-pond would not be worth a cent"; because he had not so grasped the general construction of the subject as to see that the relations of *up* and *down*, on which he conceived the permanence of the pond to depend, were merely relative. The logic of science was too strong for him, while yet the real conceptions of science were unknown to him.

Perhaps no one oftener than the practical teacher has occasion to observe the difference between a constrained conviction

arising from the mere perception of logical sequence, and that more generous comprehension which comes from a connected view of all the essential relations of the subject presented. In the one case he observes that, though the pupil's mouth may make confession, his countenance exhibits a puzzled and dissatisfied look; while in the other case he sees in the student's lighted eye an assent more assuring than any form of words.

It is true that we frequently have to content ourselves with an indirect knowledge, or with truth obtained through a long and labyrinth-like process, which cannot for its very tortuousness be seen through. But the fact that truth must in many cases thus be seen "through a glass darkly" does not diminish the desirableness of seeing her "face to face," whenever this is practicable. Truth under a veil is, to be sure, a charming object; but her radiant, open countenance gleams with loveliness to the eye of Reason. That what can be seen is more generally desired than what is merely thought or conceived, may be inferred from the avidity with which the mass of mankind pursue after the former, while so few show any zeal in the pursuit of the latter. A few paltry grains of "gold that glitters" with the majority charm more than a heaven full of treasures that are hidden from the present view. Nay, even he who has chosen the better part, and whose faith has laid hold of treasures richer than those of earth, dwells much on an anticipation of faith's being changed to sight—on an expected time when no longer will the spiritual present itself so much after the similitude of a silvery lining to a cloud.

Indeed, it is obvious that it is largely the object of mental training to habituate the mind to reduce the manifold to unity, to collect the various and the multitudinous into a homogeneous totality capable of being grasped in a single view, to focalize the separate rays of truth into a bright and clear image. All systematizing, all methodic arrangement, all endeavors to discover relations of causality or sequence, in short, all attempts at earnest thinking tend more or less definitely to this object. Of course it would be useless to undertake to prove that all

which can in any sense be called knowledge may readily be converted into the form of intuitions. In so far as percepts of a higher order are the results of combinations* of those of a lower or simpler order, much time and mental effort may sometimes be required in order to render a synthesis of the simpler percepts so familiar and so capable of spontaneous repetition as to give to the general effect a properly intuitive character. It hardly need be added that no suggestions in this line can be regarded as formal *rules* for making results of reasoning self-evident. The clearness of thought will always depend very much on the live interest of the thinker; and no sort of mental methodizing can be successfully substituted for this live interest. A person can far the more easily see a point which he desires to see. Only the most earnest thought ends with the exultant *heureka*.

At the same time, method must not be ignored; and the earnest thinker will take no offence at the statement that nothing is gained towards any valuable mental achievement by an omission of any part of the mediating process because it involves labor. To ignore logical relations and *jump* at conclusions is no way to get into favor with Truth. It is her nature to repel such rude familiarities. There is doubtless no better way of securing the most desirable results in thinking than by cheerfully obeying the laws of thought. If earnest contemplation shall chance to end in more exalted visions than it naturally promises—as we may see further on sometimes occurs—such results are to be thankfully “set down to gain,” but are never to be looked forward to and claimed as the proper rewards of unmethodic thinking. In fact, such happy surprises may be often really due to a more methodic and thorough-going effort than the subject, in his love of research, has been aware

* It is not necessary to regard *all* intuitions of the higher order as being in the first instance products of conscious synthesis. As in nature we discover chemical compounds, often highly complex, and only more rarely simple elements, so mental apprehensions are quite as likely to require analytic as synthetic treatment; yet we may regard them as generally capable of giving new results by appropriate combinations.

of making. On the true mode of procedure a suggestion may be obtained from the method of constructing an optical instrument, the purpose of which bears some analogy to the one under consideration. The lenses for such an instrument must with the greatest care be ground to the precise mathematical shape. Then, in the arrangement of the several lenses, strict accuracy must be observed in regard to their proper distances from each other, as indicated by their several powers of refraction. Again, the combination of different kinds of glass or other transparent material must be such as to neutralize the chromatic or coloring tendency of a single kind, at least if the very best result is to be expected. And finally, the inner surface of the tube must be blackened so as to shut off all light except simply that from the object to be viewed. The result of all this pains-taking will illustrate very happily the ancient maxim, *Ars est celare artem*; for, when the eye is applied to the instrument, all the work of the artist will disappear in its perfect transparency—while a new world of wonders, consisting, it may be, in the thousand shining eyes of an insect, or in the variegated surface of some distant orb, will cover the field of vision.

By a process involving not less of care and critical observance must the clear apprehension of truth not within the grasp of common sense unaided by methodic investigation be attained. Every principle, argument, or fact, to be used as an auxiliary, must be well understood and thoroughly tested in advance of its being so used. Of what avail would it be for one to undertake to determine the volume of a sphere when he has not yet familiarized himself with the series of solid forms which furnish the stepping-stones to the proposed determination? The cubical unit of volume being unconformable with the sphere to be measured, the two forms can be compared only by means of a set of intermediates so adapted by special construction that the contents of any two in succession can be viewed under a common concept. Suppose now that the whole series of intermediate figures and relations in their proper order have become

so familiarized that they can be passed in rapid review; the result will be in effect an intuitive view of a method of computing the required volume.

Again, let the theory of dew be the subject of inquiry. Here facts must furnish the arguments. But the facts of nature are not always so accommodating to our special purpose as the invented fictions of spatial forms just now considered. There is a certain misleading tendency in many observations when taken singly. The fact that dew is generally found only on the upper surface of leaves and ordinary objects may seem to suggest that the dew falls in a fine mist from an atmosphere overcharged with moisture. But the further fact that *some* upper surfaces, under the best exposure, do not receive dew, taken along with still others, that dew is sometimes formed on the vertical sides of vessels containing cold water, and that it is even deposited on the under surface of certain objects under proper conditions, all goes to show that the single case of dew on the upper surface of leaves gives in its evidence not without some apparent false coloring. Still, when all the facts and principles involved are properly arranged in the mind, they are found so to blend with each other and to focalize their various rays of evidence that a clear and simple theory is the result—perhaps none the less clear and simple because a variety of different points has to be considered in the course of the mental process which resolves the apparent contradictions. Indeed a single dew-drop, glistening with the rainbow hues into which it has analyzed a ray of sunlight, may be said to present quite as much mysterious complexity as the whole subject of dew-formation does, now that it has once been explained by science.

The importance of giving strict attention to the special topic in hand, and not allowing the mind to be disturbed by extraneous considerations, is a point scarcely requiring illustration. The person whose “eyes are in the ends of the earth,” or whose thoughts are similarly distracted on all occasions, stands by common consent in no great probability of winning a place among the noted philosophers.

In short, the procedure requisite for giving tangibility and distinctness to the results of extended reasonings is much the same as that required for the strict and thorough discipline of the mind itself. Genuine mental culture shows itself in a growing tendency to gather one meaning from many facts, one conclusion from many reasons, one sum from many particulars. This is illustrated by the numerical notation now in use throughout the civilized world. Up to a certain number single units can be conveniently thought separately, but by the decimal notation when ten units are collected they are summarized into one unit of the second order. Ten of the second order are written and thought as one of the third order, and so on. But even this method of summarizing is not always compendious enough for the growing wants of scientific conception. A lecturer, discussing the physical properties of the luminiferous ether, had occasion to speak of a pressure of seventeen million million pounds to the square inch. "Of course," said he, "such numbers convey no impression except that of vast magnitude; and you will obtain a clearer idea of the power when I tell you that this pressure is about the weight of a cubic mile of granite rock."* Such an illustration could hardly have occurred to the speaker by chance. It must have been selected and a computation have been made, with the special purpose of gathering up within visible dimensions an otherwise incomprehensible quantity. Nor is the purpose so very different in kind when the whole force of an elaborate argument is summed up in a simple proposition.

Were we to adopt the views of some modern psychologists, we might assume that those simple propositions which are called axioms are really condensed presentations of numerous experiences. "They are," says J. S. Mill, "experimental truths; generalizations from observation." Mr. Mill argues stoutly against the theory of Mr. Whewell, "that the truth of axioms cannot have been learned from experience, because their falsity

* *The New Chemistry*, by J. P. Cooke, Jr., p. 23.

is inconceivable.”* In proof of his position he refers to the fact that some of the simplest laws of nature were on their first announcement looked upon as paradoxes. The first law of motion, namely, “that a body once in motion would continue forever to move in the same direction with undiminished velocity, unless acted upon by some new force, was a proposition which mankind found for a long time the greatest difficulty in crediting.” But, though so contrary to the general belief at first, it seems to have become at length so familiarized as to be looked upon in a very different light. Even Whewell is quoted as saying that “Though the discovery of the first law of motion was made, historically speaking, by means of experiment, we have now attained a point of view in which we see that it might have been certainly known to be true independently of experience.” It would seem, then, as Mill claims, that association has much to do with the apparent intuitiveness which attaches to primary laws and truths; that, at least in some instances, ideas which on their first presentation draw from the minds of philosophers at best a questioning assent come by frequent repetition and trial to assert themselves as if the consistency of mind itself were dependent on them.

A careful consideration of the whole subject might possibly lead to a doubt whether there is, strictly speaking, a class of axiomatic or intuitive truths separable by an absolute line from truths requiring demonstration or proof. Certainly in the department of science which has most occasion to use this distinction the line is differently drawn by different masters. That “All right angles are equal to each other” is an axiom to some geometers, and a provable theorem to others. But is it necessary to believe that one who classes it as a theorem sees it less intuitively than the one who sets it down among axioms? If not, the line of demarkation just spoken of may be practically removed; and we may look for a possibility of mediated intuition almost everywhere in the realms of knowledge, though we

* Mill's *Logic*, p. 160.

be not permitted to hope for absolutely *immediate* intuition anywhere.

This view seems to be favored by the fact that many times intensely studious minds have as by instinct grasped truths of a high order. There would seem thus to be something like a gradation of intuitive perception, dependent on the grade of mental culture and activity. If, as Hemholtz appears to think,* it was owing to a succession of every-day experiences that mankind first arrived at space-intuitions in agreement with the axioms of Euclid, it may not be difficult to imagine that a higher order of every-day experiences would lead to a correspondingly higher order of ready perceptions. That one having much occasion to use the powers of binomials should at length hit upon a law of formation by which the computation could be greatly facilitated—should, in other words, invent the Binomial Theorem, one of the great lever-powers of quantitative science, is perhaps no more out of the line of natural results than that a person much engaged in weighing a bulky material in large quantities should in time discover that all the corners of a broad platform could be supported by similar levers acting like the simple steelyard and by their combined action giving the aggregate weight, and should embody this discovery in a platform scale, destined to become the standard weighing machine for the world. The principle of the latter invention is so simple that it can be understood at a glance by any tyro in mechanics. Yet the evolution in consciousness of so plain a fact as that the combined indications of several steelyards supporting by their several short arms the same object give the true weight of the object, seems to have required not only a long “succession of every-day experiences,” but also a specialized form of those experiences involving an urgent need of its practical employment. Necessity, in accordance with the proverb, was the mother of *this* invention. A strong sense of need has a tendency to sharpen perception, as is illustrated in the instinct of animals. But the mind has its theoretical needs as

well as its practical. Nor is a sense of this higher need less quickening to the intellectual instincts—if we may so speak—than is that of physical want to the lower perceptive spontaneities. The earnest student of science finds every now and then his progress coming to a stand-still unless he can discover some new principle, or at least some new significance of principles already known to him. Under the stimulus of the situation thought makes an extra effort, resulting, if successful, in rousing to activity a faculty called by some writers a power of “original suggestion.” Original suggestion need not be supposed in every case to present an absolutely new idea, but may perform the office of raising into prominence and distinctness what was obscure or latent in thought. But this is no small change. The smoking pile that bursts into a flame sheds a light which it did not shed before. What if the product of suggestion shall prove to be capable of analysis—of being resolved into simpler notions? It need not be the less intuitive for this reason. The flame of a lamp is not the less visible because it involves some complexity of chemical and physical action, nor does it illuminate less, surrounding objects.

Indeed there seems to be no good reason why the higher orders of thought should not possess as much self-assurance as the lower—why axiom, original suggestion, and demonstrative intuition should not all rise to a grade proportionate with the themes contemplated; provided only that the mind has risen to these themes through a course of legitimate progress. If even a Chimpanzee may have the sagacity to use a stone to crack his nuts with, should not a philosopher be expected to find some adequate means for cracking his harder nuts?

The growth of association is well exhibited in the process of learning to read. The slow and difficult recognition of single letters and of their powers in the simplest syllables develops by practice into a power to take in whole words, sentences and, as some readers claim, whole pages, almost at a glance. The facility with which some musical performers read and execute at sight all the parts of the most complicated compositions

would be incredible, were it not for the direct evidence of the senses. It is to be noted here again that the great rapidity with which large numbers of particulars are put together does not prevent cognizance of each particular. The most rapid reader will be very likely to detect a typographical error of a letter, though he may be quite unconscious of any such tedious labor as that of spelling out the pages he is perusing. It is a real union of all the parts and not a sort of average of them that is formed. But the work of reading is not finished with ever so complete a construction of *worded* thought. The accomplished reader, though in one sense taking such scrupulous cognizance of the words, looks in fact right through them upon a scene of real life and characters, or upon a living exhibition of real forces. The in themselves opaque and meaningless forms of written language have thus become as transparent as the lenses of an opera-glass, and are used for the analogous purpose of bringing into livelier view objects much more interesting than themselves. The task of learning to read is not properly done until, as a rule, the mind is able to go through all the associational and constructional processes without conscious effort, and to discern *intuitively* the real things treated of in the discourse. Mental intuition thus does for the printed page what the illustrative picture or diagram does—only that the mind's picture is a living, moving one, and its diagrams, where activity is required by the conception, are instinct with stirring energy. The character in history or fiction, the fact or principle in science, or the idea in philosophy, stands out before the view of the intelligent reader as if not the least obstruction lay in the pathway of perception.

In this case, then, the mental action does not stop with a mere integration of the elements directly presented, but goes on to a presentation which words can only hint at. So an argument in science does not always so much bring one *to a certain conclusion* as it elevates him to a position whence a new view is obtained. Intense meditation upon a set of relations may end in a flash of perception, in a generalizing glance, which mere

argument-piling could never realize of itself. Of such flashes of perception are theories born. At first, to be sure, the claim of the latter to being called by the name of theories is not admitted; it not yet being settled whether we have in view a real star of truth or only a blazing comet. A good illustration of this is to be seen in the so-called law of Avogadro, or of Ampere, which was first announced in the early part of the present century, but "remained barren for nearly half a century." Now, however, it forms the starting point and foundation-principle of the "New Chemistry"; occupying in that science a place, it is said, analogous to that occupied by gravitation in Astronomy. The generalization involved in it was so far in advance of the then state of science that apparently no important use could be made of it, and so it had to bide its time. Only a very few minds possessed, or at least exercised, the penetrating insight needed for catching the grand intuition.

Another instance of far-reaching generalization is furnished in the history of the nebular hypothesis or theory; the true credit of which is said to belong primarily to Sir William Herschel; though Laplace so early took it up and elaborated it mathematically as to have gained with some the honor of having originated it. Herschel first applied himself to observing and classifying the more or less chaotic or vapor-like masses of matter scattered through the heavens, finding among them, "patches of extensive, diffused nebulosity; 'milky nebulosity,' with condensation; round nebulae, with a nucleus; and so on till he reaches stellar nebulae, nearly approaching the appearance of stars." After he had thus observed and catalogued a vast number of nebulae, "by degrees it dawned upon his mind that the differences he observed in them were systematic, and at length occurred the magnificent intuition that the nebulae are stars in process of formation." *

Such examples go to the point that intuition is by no means limited to the lower planes of science—that it waits on thorough-

* See *Littell*, No. 1685; "*Modern Philosophers on the probable Age of the World*"; from *Quarterly Review*.

going investigation of every grade, ever lighting and alluring thought to higher and nobler generality. They also illustrate how intuitions of the higher order sometimes precede perfect induction. A good illustration of the largely *a priori* character of mental procedure in the discovery of law is to be seen in a statement of James Ward, (*Mind*, No. 4, p. 453), in regard to "Fechner's Law" giving the relation between increase of stimulus and increase of corresponding sensation. He remarks that in Fechner's case "the interpretation (*i. e.*, of the law) led to the facts, and not the facts to the interpretation"—the law itself having been reached "by mere guessing and left for a time without verification."

Such a case of guessing is, however, carefully to be distinguished from a thoughtless "jumping at a conclusion" adverted to on a previous page. A *guess* which is of any value to science generally comes of a mental vision exalted through the excitement of anxious search (as in the case just mentioned). The pearl has been *dived for*, and not merely *found*. It is said that Laplace, though expending great labor on the proof that the sun with its attendant planets could have been produced by the condensation of a vast nebula, still was careful to speak of the conception only as an "hypothesis"* being himself distrustful of it. And, great as is the present popularity of the theory, well might its first elaborator be distrustful of it as being perfect and quite sufficient for all the demands of future science. Now, it is coming to be understood almost as the rule, that all theories are subject to modification. The grand intuitions caught from the heights of science are visions of truth looming up in the distance. Nearer approach, or, what answers the same purpose, more penetrating perception, may change the vision quite sensibly.† Nor, as it once

* *Ibid.*

† Here *analysis* plays the part adverted to in a previous note. A hypothesis has to be justified through a justification of its several implications. As these implications are often very numerous (requiring as numerous a set of verifying facts), it does not seem strange that first views of broad generalizations should be somewhat mazy and confused.

was, are there but two or three great prophets of science to whom all others are to look expectantly, but hosts of *seers* are vying with each other to catch the first glimpse of the new, or the first sign of changed aspect in the old.

There are a few practical aspects of our subject which it may be proper to glance at briefly. One point of considerable importance is that the tendency to intuitional views extends to the mass of mankind, who are much better pleased with such presentations of subjects as give them an intuitive character than they are with such as deal only with logical relations unilluminated by synoptical picturing ; the consequence being that the writer or speaker who delivers himself, so to speak, pictorially, who studies scenic effect, and gives even to argument a metaphoric tangibility, has greatly the advantage over one of an opposite turn, in getting a general hearing. The art of vivid presentation is therefore of no small consequence, not only to the professional rhetorician, but to all thinkers who desire a wide audience. It hardly needs to be added that thinking men in every department are seeing this point and acting accordingly. Scientists and philosophers, besides their esoteric work in the laboratory, the observatory, over the microscope, or in the study, are working up their several topics into shapes generally presentable, and by their popular lectures and treatises are making mankind their audience and converting the world into a university. Indeed the world of culture at the present time judges of greatness rather by its ability to *present* subjects than by its power to *think* them. Very few philosophers of the Diogenes type are now to be found who are willing to hunt for talent by only the glimmer of a lantern which they themselves carry. It is expected rather that wherever the oil of truth is, there a flame will appear, caught from some one of the many flying sparks. Science of every grade is thus stimulated by urgent motives to put its conceptions, so far as practicable, in evident forms.

But, as in other cases, so here there may be too much of a good thing. There is, to be sure, at present no apparent danger

of too much *genuine* popular science; yet the fact that graphic imaging of ideas holds so high a place in the art of communicating gives at least a seeming advantage to quacks and mountebanks, who satisfied with mere phantasms of truth do not cultivate either in themselves or others a desire for research into its grounds. There is danger, thus, of a sacrifice of thoroughness to brilliancy. Modest knowledge is liable to be out-rivaled by glittering sciolism. Still we may hope that any such evil will prove comparatively temporary; that, as whole communities in the onward march of knowledge become more completely cultured, pretentious ignorance will find few spheres for display where it will not have to meet the annihilating gaze of argus eyes. The present demand for a portrayal of thought almost reverting to the primitive picture-style of writing, may not, then, we may trust, lead to any permanent damage to thought itself; while it may on the contrary prove in the end to be promotive of consistency in thinking processes, by stimulating a constant spirit of inquiry as to whether ideas which one proposes to combine into a whole are really so congruous and compatible that they can be distinctly and intelligibly co-represented. There is certainly great room for improvement on this point; so much of the work of accredited erudition bearing resemblance to what was once put on exhibition as the vertebral column of a huge serpent, but which proved under the inspection of a naturalist to be composed of the vertebræ of three snakes combined.

But, again, there is perhaps a sense in which an excessive demand for obviousness and tangibility of meaning may work real injustice to a class of thought and of thinkers. The very finest presentations of thought can be properly appreciated only through a corresponding culture of the mental perceptive faculties. One has no right to require that another show him what he is unwilling to take the pains to see; or, as a homely adage has it, the same person "can not talk and find ears." There may be an unfairness in characterizing an exposition of a subject as dry, uninteresting, and unintelligible, when perhaps all

the fault is in the critic's own neglect to work up to an intuitional power of sufficiently high grade, at least in regard to the special topic to be contemplated. Every teacher knows, however, that young minds are frequently inclined to indulge in such criticisms on scientific treatises, and perhaps the oftener on those very parts on which the greatest pains have been bestowed to insure distinctness. The present writer has just now in mind the case of a student who on entering the recitation-room (in advance of his class) remarked that the lesson for that day was "rather dry." The reply was to the effect that some choice articles of food *would be dry* if the salivary glands did not act their part—that there was a work for the *subject* to do, if he would rightly apprehend the *object*.

But since this point is of some importance, let me further illustrate it by a reference to a recent Article * which points out an essential condition of the finest physical vision. We shall see that the undergraduate student is not the only one who fails in part to realize the best possible results from the facilities furnished him. "Indeed, at the present time," remarks the writer, "the finest English and American lenses are greatly in advance of the skill and competence of the majority of microscopists and specialists who employ the microscope. Our text-books are almost silent on the subject of the employment of lenses exceeding in magnifying power a thousand diameters. Yet we do not hesitate to say that at least one English house furnishes an instrument, with almost perfect corrections, which magnifies ten times this amount; but an instrument like this, just as it involves incomparably higher skill in its device and manufacture, so it demands patience, perseverance, and suitable culture, in a far more than ordinary degree, to employ it as a real aid to vision."

He goes on to indicate that, while much valuable work has been, and still remains to be, done by the use of "low powers,"

* See *Littell's Living Age*, No. 1700: "*The Microscope and its Revelations*;" from the *London Quarterly Review*.

there is in the field of science a plenty of use for the very highest possible microscopic function—that, in fact, most important fields of research can be worked only by the employment of the very best combinations of lenses which the optician can produce. But I am tempted to quote a few words more on the reluctance manifested to entering upon a thorough-going preparation for the best work. “The men who, as true scientific workers, can employ the ‘one-fiftieth’ of an inch lens, or even higher powers, with the same ease as they can a ‘one-eighth’ of an inch, or a ‘one-twelfth’ of an inch, are extremely few in England, fewer still in America, and scarcely to be found at all on the Continent. All this arises from a repugnance to enter upon the laborious apprenticeship which their successful employment involves, and without this even the benefit of their employment can not be seen.”

If, indeed, it be true that the best aids to those ravishing visions which Nature offers to her votaries, are thus unappreciated, there need be, perhaps, no wonder if the intended helps to more subtle perception, though ever so well wrought out, should sometimes fail of a proper recognition, should in fact be voted uninteresting and impracticable. It can thus be imagined that some of the very best and intrinsically most successful efforts to secure for all earnest seekers a lively view of certain finer features of Truth may experience, at least temporarily, a partial failure. But here, again, time often works a remedy. The man who does better work than his own age can appreciate may generally anticipate a reverse of its verdict by the not very distant future. In these latter days of rapid developments it is, indeed, among possible occurrences that a proposed mode of conception at first rejected or even ridiculed as fraught only with falsehood, may, almost within the smaller fraction of a scientific life-time, accomplish much towards winning the general consent of reason.

It will not fail to have been observed that the eye's need of high culture in order to a proper appreciation of high microscopic powers, applied just now especially to illustrating a requi

site for a corresponding appreciative insight into accomplished results of thought, has at the same time furnished strong analogic evidence for the main theory of this essay, namely, *that the mind's power of original intuition increases with its culture.*

But if, in accordance with the drift of what has been said, the intuitional function is somewhat dependent on experience in mental combination and association, a practical question may arise as to the extent to which apparently intuitive perception may be relied on as furnishing indubitable truth. Is the mental eye subject to deception, as the physical one is? Has the *ignis fatuus* a place in the intellectual vocabulary? It certainly would seem inadmissible to answer in advance all such questions with an unqualified negative. It is certain, too, that during centuries of the past doctrines were taught, supposed to represent some of the simplest laws of nature, which, however, experiment and observation proved to be false, or founded on "inappropriate" or unmeaning conceptions. Such announcements as that two balls, if dropped, will fall with velocities proportional to their respective weights; and that bodies falling to the earth, flame ascending, bubbles rising in water, and all spontaneously or *naturally* moving bodies are moving *towards their own place*, sound sufficiently oracular to be worthy of a place among the original deliverances of reason; and when to this *prima facie* evidence is added the authority of one of the greatest names of antiquity, what wonder that they should have passed for a long time unquestioned? What has been repeated as truth through many generations, has by that simple fact become invested with a kind of axiomatic authority. There is, doubtless, a sense in which a thing seems true in proportion to the relative vividness of its impression on the mind. What more favorable chance for a thorough impression than when an ardent, youthful mind takes in the words of an ancient sage reinforced by the weighty sanction of an honored preceptor, especially in an age when both these authorities are accustomed to receive unquestioning homage? The teacher of to-day, though less an autocrat than the teacher of the past, does well to express his opinions with proper reservations, if he does not

mean to put his pupils to the trouble of unlearning in the future, at some expense, much of what he teaches them.

It would seem to be on the ground of comparative vividness of impression that ghost-stories and superstitious legends used when prevalent to hold such a sway over the minds of children. When the imagination, as in the case of insanity, reaches a degree of intensity such as to give to its presentations a force fully equal or even superior to that of ordinary sensations, the illusive imagery becomes real to the subject of it; and on a similar principle, according to a theory set forth in a recent essay,* the "dream-fancy," being itself in a high state of exaltation, and thus easily overcoming any slight corrective or resisting influence which the almost dormant senses may be able to exert, maintains for the time the full reality of its phantoms.

Again, the frequent recurrence in the same mind of a presentation tends to give it assurance. The man who used to tell a certain lion-story, and, noticing signs of incredulity in the listeners, added that the story was true, for he had "told it a thousand times," though speaking facetiously in his own case, hit truly a vein of human nature. It may be doubted whether the axioms of geometry do not, in the mind of the average student, gain much of their force from frequent repetition.

But now, if it be admitted that there is a possibility of illusion in those intuitive views and judgments which would seem to furnish the last test of truth that man in himself can appeal to, the question is important whether any security can be had against such illusion. The only prescription for the case which the writer can offer is to cultivate "truth in the inward parts," to put truth uppermost in thought and purpose, and to indulge no motives or practices evidently calculated to mislead judgment or distort perception. One who would enjoy radiant visions of truth must live worthily of the enjoyment he craves; sublime ideas are for him who lives sublimely. "The path of the just is as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day."

GEO. N. ABBOTT.

*See *Littell's Living Age*, No. 1695; "*The Laws of Dream-Fancy*," from *Cornhill Magazine*.

ART. VI.—CONRAD WEISER.*

A NEGLECTED CHAPTER OF COLONIAL HISTORY.

BY FRANK. R. DIFFENDERFFER.

ON the 13th day of November, 1793, General George Washington, Gen. Joseph Hiester, and a number of other distinguished men, stood around a grassy mound in an obscure burying-ground near Womelsdorf, Pennsylvania. The Father of his country gave expression to the sentiment that filled those who were thinking of him whose bones were mouldering into kindred dust within that place of rest, when he said: "This departed man rendered many services to his country, in a difficult period, and posterity will not forget him." Of the same man, Richard Peters, Secretary of the Province of Pennsylvania, wrote in 1761: "Since 1744 he has acted a prominent part between the Indians and the Government, by whom his loss will be severely felt." The late Thomas H. Burrows, father of the Free School system of Pennsylvania, also speaks of him as follows: "On many occasions he was of the greatest service to the Province, by his influence with the Indians." On almost every page of the "Colonial Records" and "Pennsylvania Archives" may be found the history of his good services wrought in behalf of the Colony in her times of trouble.

Notwithstanding the prediction of General Washington, posterity has too long been neglectful of the name and services of this stout-hearted hero of our colonial era, which, like those of many other worthies, has slumbered quietly for more than a century, while the trump of fame was only too often filled with praise of carpet-knights and charlatans. The historian and annalist

* The Life of (John) Conrad Weiser, the German Pioneer, Patriot and Patron of two races. By C. Z. Weiser, D. D. 1 vol., 12mo., pp. 449.

have of necessity at times been compelled to draw his name from its unmerited obscurity, but to the large majority of readers it carries with it nothing to distinguish it from those of his fellows of a century ago.

But if the name of CONRAD WEISER to-day falls with unmeaning sound upon the ears of many, there was a time when not a pioneer from the Hudson to the Ohio, from the Great Lakes to the Carolinas, but blessed it when he heard it, for to him more than to the bayonets of the mother country or the untrained militia of the central provinces, was it owing that the frontier settlers oft-times preserved their rude homes from the flames, their crops from destruction and their lives from the tomahawks of the savages. From the year 1732 until his death in 1760, a period of twenty-eight years, his life was almost one unceasing pilgrimage between the Provincial authorities and the numerous Indian tribes in the north, south and west. Through trackless forests, over mountains covered with snow, amid the parching heats of summer and the biting frosts of winter, sometimes on horseback, but oftener on foot, did this tireless Colonial Agent pursue his way on his missions of peace and reconciliation.

The all too brief notices scattered through the pages of local historians and the early annalists of Pennsylvania, have hitherto been all we had to draw on for information concerning this remarkable man—a man in some respects without a peer in the history of this country. A descendant of this worthy old hero, C. Z. Weiser, D. D., has at last stepped forward, and with loving and reverential hands drawn aside the curtain that so long hid the complete story of his life, and now gives to the public for the first time a full and authentic narrative of the long and checkered career of this exemplary citizen and worthy public servant.

Conrad Weiser, like many thousands of the persecuted Germans who sought peace, homes and prosperity on the shores of the New World, was born in the Palatinate of the Rhine. The history of his ancestry is so clearly and fully told in his auto-

biography, that we can do no better than transfer such of it to these pages as will serve to elucidate this as well as the more important other portions of his career. Fortunately for himself and his biographer, he was in the habit of making circumstantially minute notes of his manifold wanderings, which were at his leisure embodied in voluminous reports to the Colonial authorities. Most, if not all of these are still in existence, and have been incorporated in Dr. Weiser's book. A large mass of correspondence, nearly all of it concerning Indian affairs, is also given; it includes letters to Secretaries James Logan and Richard Peters, to Governors Hamilton, Morris and Denny, as well as others to less known parties; and last and most important, we have the story of his life as written by himself, without parade or ostentation, but in a plain and easy manner, which commends itself as much for its candor and undoubted truthfulness, as for its modesty, and which affords the historian ample means of forming a correct estimate of this man's life-work, and of placing it before the public in its true colors.

In tracing the family records in the Church register of Gross-Aspach, where his father was born and reared, none remain beyond the year 1693. In that year two hundred dwellings in that neighborhood were burnt to ashes by the French, and among them was the parsonage with the Church records. Beyond that period therefore his genealogy cannot be authentically traced: neither is it necessary; we have to do with Conrad Weiser himself, and care not to go beyond his father's hearthstone. Under the influences that encompassed him there, was moulded that energetic and self-reliant nature which in after life enabled him to triumph over so many opposing circumstances. He says:—"In the year 1696, on the 2d of November, I, Conrad Weiser, was born in Europe, in the land of Wuerttemberg, in the county (Amt) of Herrenburg, the village is called Astrael, and was christened at Kupingen, near by, as my father has informed me. My father's name was John Conrad Weiser, my mother's name was Anna Magdalena; her family name was Uebele. My grand-father was Jacob Weiser, my

great-grand-father also Jacob Weiser. He was magistrate (Schultheiss) in the village of Gross-Aspach, in the county (Amt) of Backnang, also in the land of Wuerttemberg. In this latter village my ancestors from time immemorial were born, and are buried there as well on my father's as my mother's side."

In the year 1709 his mother died. She was a pious, God-fearing mother in Israel, whose motto, as her sorrowing son tells us was, "Jesus Christ, I live for you, I die for you; Thine am I in life and death." The influence of such a mother could not but leave a deep impress upon the susceptible youth of thirteen years, and we cannot go wrong in ascribing the religious fervor which at various periods of his life so strongly manifested itself, to the early home teachings which the unobtrusive piety of his maternal parent instilled into her numerous family.

The death of his wife, and various other circumstances determined the elder Weiser (whose fortunes we will for a while follow), to join that mighty exodus from Germany, which in numbers and significance somewhat resembles the vast tribal migrations that characterized the Middle Ages in Europe. Good Queen Anne in England, and William Penn in Pennsylvania, held out inducements to such as cared to seek their fortunes in the wilds of America, that were irresistible to the dwellers in the Rhine provinces, whom short crops, religious persecutions and other causes had made anxious for a change. Along with thousands of others, he embarked with a portion of his family for England in 1709. Almost destitute upon their arrival in that country, they soon became entirely so, and were supported by the contributions of charitable citizens, and partly also by grants from Parliament. Sickness and suffering in their most aggravated forms decimated their ranks. Their sad condition attracted the commiseration of a deputation of five Mohawk Indian chiefs then on a visit to England. These, more merciful than their white brothers, tendered to those houseless and homeless wanderers, free lands in the virgin forests of America,

where they might again under the favoring smiles of a kind Providence rest in peace and plenty.

Those still living, who had not returned to the Fatherland, numbering about four thousand souls, were embarked on ten ships, and bore away towards the land of the setting sun. They sailed about Christmas time, and after a six months' voyage landed at New York. The horrors of that passage across the Atlantic in mid-winter no pen can adequately tell. Crowded into the incommodious ships of that day, with nearly every want insufficiently supplied, we need not wonder that seventeen hundred found ocean burial. The survivors were encamped in tents on what is now Governor's Island, in New York harbor. The elder Weiser was one of these unfortunates; unable to provide for the eight children who accompanied him, some of the younger ones were apportioned among the farmers of Long Island and New Jersey, who undertook their maintenance.

The Queen had directed lands to be set apart in the vicinity of Newburg for the Palatines, and patents for them made out. Before these latter arrived, or the pilgrims had reached their destination, the titles to these lands had been secured by Governor Robert Hunter of New York, and Robert Livingstone, and when therefore they did remove, it was not to lands of their own, but to those of these men who by this transaction have brought shame and dishonor upon their names. The wave-tossed emigrants found that instead of being the owners of broad and fruitful acres, as had been promised them, they would have to pay ground-rents to the designing owners, and in addition, the sum of \$33 per head for passage money. Task-masters were set over them, and the autobiography says:—"Here in Livingstone Manor, or, as it was called by the Governor *Læbenstein's* Manor, we were to burn tar and cultivate hemp to defray the expenses incurred in bringing us from Holland to England, and from England to America." The free lands and free passage were simply myths that vanished into thin air, but the fault was that of the Colonial officials, and not of the generous and noble-hearted Queen.

The elder Weiser was a leader among these colonists. His abilities secured him much influence, and when after a time they rebelled against the impositions of their self-appointed taskmasters, he became the head and front of the movement. An effort to tear themselves from the thralldom that lay heavily upon them was resolved upon. John Conrad Weiser was the head of a deputation that was sent to re-open negotiations with the friendly Mohawks for a renewal of the offer they had made in England. The effort was successful; for the sum of \$300 the beautiful Schoharie Valley was placed at their disposal. Abandoning their homes and all the other improvements and comforts which four years of steady, honest toil had gathered around them, they shook the dust of Livingstone Manor from their feet, and in 1714 took their weary way still deeper into the wilderness. The younger Weiser describes this fresh exodus as follows:—"In the spring of 1714 my father removed from Schenectady, where he had procured winter quarters for his family, with a man of the first rank of the Maqua nation, with about one hundred and fifty families, in great poverty. One borrowed a horse here, another there; also a cow and some harness. With these things they joined together, until being supplied, though poorly. They broke ground enough to plant corn for their own use the next year. But this year our hunger was hardly endurable. Many of our feasts were of wild potatoes (*œhmanada*), and ground beans (*otagraquara*), which grew in abundance. We cut mallow and picked juniper berries. If we were in need of meal, we were obliged to travel from thirty-five to forty miles, and beg it on trust. One bushel was gotten here and another there, sometimes after an absence from one's starving family for two or three days. With sorrowful hearts and tearful eyes the morsel was looked for—and often did not come at all."

Under the favoring influences of comparative peace and quiet, of laborious toil and unceasing thrift, their new homes again began to present those pleasant features which in all times and all places have been marked characteristics of the Germanic races. But closely following this successful planting of a hardy

civilization in the wilderness, again came the merciless covetousness of Governor Hunter and his minions, and the harassed colonists again found themselves within their inexorable grasp. The purchase from the Indians was pronounced illegal; they could show no patent from the Queen; the Governor, it was alleged, had long before sold this fruitful valley to others; the alternative was presented to them of purchasing what was already theirs, or of a second time abandoning their pleasant homes and well tilled acres.

They would not yield without a struggle. Three delegates, among whom we again find the elder Weiser, were appointed to go to the mother country, and lay their grievances at the foot of the throne. In spite of their poverty a sum of money deemed adequate to meet the charges of this mission was contributed by the colonists. Evil fortune came upon them before they set sail: Pirates seized them in Delaware Bay, and robbed them of all their private funds: rather than yield up that belonging to the colony, Weiser was thrice severely beaten; the little sum was saved, and they at length found their way to Boston, where they embarked, arriving in London friendless and poor. Worst of all, they learned with feelings which may better be imagined than described, that their kind patroness, Queen Anne, was dead! The machinations of Governor Hunter still followed them; he denounced them as pestilent rebels, and at his instigation they were indicted and thrown into prison. They wrote home for help, but their letters were intercepted. These sorrowful tidings at length reached their friends in Schoharie Valley, who at great sacrifices sent them £70 to relieve their necessities. At last the truth became partially known; they were released, and their evil genius, Governor Hunter, recalled. His successor, Governor Burnet, was instructed to grant vacant lands to all the Germans who had been sent to New York by the deceased Queen. Delegate Weiser returned to his home after a four years' absence.

As early as 1723 a colony of about sixty families, lured by the favorable statements that were wafted northward from the

colony of Penn, left the settlements near Schoharie, and located at Tulpehocken, in Berks county, Pennsylvania. The elder Weiser was among these. He seems to have been always a participator in every movement that agitated the emigrants. The manuscript of his son describes this new search for a permanent abiding place: "The people got news of the land on the Swatara and Tulpehocken, in Pennsylvania. Many of them united and cut a road from Schoharie to the Susquehanna river, carried their goods there, and made canoes, and floated down the river to the mouth of the Swatara creek, and drove their cattle over land. From there they came to Tulpehocken, and this was the origin of Tulpehocken settlement. Others followed this party and settled there, at first also without the permission of the Proprietary of Pennsylvania or his Commissioners; also against the consent of the Indians, from whom the land had not yet been purchased. There was no one among the people to govern them; each one did as he pleased, and their obstinacy has stood in their way ever since."

Notwithstanding this not altogether flattering portrait, these men were of a class who possessed inherent qualities of many commendable kinds. Even though they may have become embittered against their oppressors, they were yet honest men and good citizens; and if they did not always take up lands in the regular way, it was doubtless more attributable to their poverty than anything else. Here it was, we believe, that the first German Reformed congregation in the United States was organized, and the first church built. They brought with them across the sea, the piety and reverence for religion which had for centuries characterized the sons and daughters of the Palatinate. Whittier has in his loftiest strain embalmed some of their more striking mental and moral characteristics:—

"And that bold-hearted yeomanry, honest and true,
Who, haters of fraud, gave to labor its due.
Whose fathers of old sang in concert with time,
On the banks of Swatara the songs of the Rhine;
The German-born pilgrims, who first dared to brave
The scorn of the proud in the cause of the slave."

With this last migration to Tulpehocken, the sore trials of these persecuted Germans ceased. Other troubles they had, but they were different in their origin and character. To this haven of rest came the elder Weiser in 1746, and here amid several generations of his offspring he breathed his last at the age of eighty-six, and his unquiet spirit at last found rest. Is there a darker chapter in all our Colonial history, north or south, than this which has just been told? If there be, we know not where to look for it. Through the fire of these prolonged trials, sufferings and persecutions, they came forth stronger and better men, and when their descendants to-day point with mingled feelings of pride and pleasure at the influence and power of the German element in this country, they do not always pause and think how sorely their ancestors were tried in their day and generation, and yet how grandly they emerged from the furnace of their afflictions.

We return now after having so long followed the fortunes of the elder Weiser, to those of his son, whose life meanwhile had been one of much activity and usefulness, and who during the earlier part of these troublesome times was undergoing that preparatory training which in after life secured to him the distinction his career so well merits. In November, 1713, a chief of the Six Nations named Quagnant, paid Conrad's father a visit, and by whom he was well known. The frank and engaging qualities of the boy found favor in the eyes of the woodland chieftain, and at his departure as a return for the hospitality he had received, he requested the father's consent to carry the lad with him. The parent yielded to his importunities, and as the attractions of home were no longer what they once were, because the father had given his children a stepmother, the boy of fourteen years was also willing to leave the family fireside for the more stirring and adventurous life led by the sons of the forest.

The wild and untrammelled life led by the Indians of America has its poetical side, and in too readily accepting this view of it, we are apt to lose sight of its less ideal but more true and prac-

tical phases. The boy Conrad ought to be good authority on this question, and we accordingly give him a hearing; these are his experiences: "I accompanied him (Quagnant), and reached the Maqua country in the latter end of November, and lived with the Indians; here I suffered much from the excessive cold, for I was but badly clothed, and towards spring also from hunger, for the Indians had nothing to eat. On account of the scarcity of provisions amongst them, corn was then sold for five and six shillings a bushel. The Indians were oftentimes so intoxicated, that for fear of being murdered, I secured myself among the bushes." There is but little in this quotation to suggest the "Deerslayer," or the "Last of the Mohicans." Our own experience has been fruitful of the same kind of evidence. The ideals set up by America's great novelist, do not to-day, and never did exist, save as creations of his exuberant imagination.

Young Weiser's stay among the savages was prolonged to a period of eight months, and he became during this time an adopted son of the Confederate Nations, a fact which in after years was productive of vast benefits. During this time he had acquired a knowledge of the greater part of the Maqua tongue. But this was not his only acquisition. In that hardy school was laid the foundation of his future life-work and usefulness. The hunger, cold and exposure he endured, the long journeys, chases and experiences in woodcraft that fell to his lot, were all so many accomplishments whereby he was enabled in after life to make long and weary marches through the dim woods and over mountain and moor, and which were possible only to true sons of the wilderness. He acquired, besides, that practical acquaintance with the inner life and modes of thought and springs of action which are characteristic of the Indian nature, and of which his own correct judgment was able to avail itself to the utmost, and through which he became the wisest, most acceptable and most efficient negotiator this country has ever had in its dealings with the aborigines.

Upon his return to the paternal home, his services as inter-

preter were at once called into requisition. Disputes between the German and English settlers and the natives, were only too frequent. "About one English mile from my father's dwelling (at Schoharie), resided a few families of the Maqua tribe; and oftentimes a number of that Nation passed to and fro on their hunting expeditions. It frequently happened that disputes arose between the high-mettled Germans and members of this tawny Nation. On such occasions I was immediately sent for to interpret for both parties. I had a good deal of business, and no pay. None of my people understood their language excepting myself, and by much practice I became perfect, considering my age and circumstances." This is the language of the autobiography, and in this way was the work of preparation unconsciously going on from day to day.

In 1714, owing to the same domestic troubles which sent him a willing exile into the wigwam of the Mohawk chief, he left his father's house never to return, and during the succeeding fifteen years resided at an Indian town near Schoharie. In 1720, while his father was absent on his European mission, he married. There is a vague tradition among his descendants that he espoused a dusky maiden of the forest, but the circumstances surrounding the case do not warrant this hypothesis. Neither by himself nor by any one else privy to the facts has such a revelation been made. Nothing of the kind was intimated in the proceedings of any of the numerous councils held with the Indians, where his tribal adoption and intimate relation to them was frequently adverted to, and where the still closer implied relationship would most certainly have at some time been brought to light, had it existed. In the absence of any authentic evidence to the contrary, we may safely assume his bride was a fair-haired Palatine maiden, and the tawny beauty of the forest only a myth.

In 1729, when thirty-three years of age, Conrad Weiser arrived at Tulpehocken. He took up land, as it was called, near the town of Womelsdorf, and began the life and occupation of a farmer, little thinking, no doubt, that his remaining

years would be mainly spent elsewhere than on the broad and fertile acres where he had erected what he believed would be his future home.

The Six Nations at this period had a native Indian as their agent and interpreter, through whom all negotiations with the Provincial Council were held. His name was Shekallamy, and he resided at Shamokin. Most probably Weiser had an acquaintance with this man, who seems to have been both honest and capable, prior to this time; at all events the former was induced to accompany him to Philadelphia, in 1731, in the capacity of volunteer interpreter; and there his merits and ability became so manifest that Governor Gordon was easily persuaded to grant the petition of the confederate tribes who were there, when, in the following year, they expressed themselves as "very desirous that there may be more frequent opportunities of conferring and discoursing with their brothers, and that these may be managed by means of Shekallamy and Conrad Weiser." A donation of £12 was also given him by the Council "for accompanying and being very careful of the Indians on their way from Tulpehocken, and for having been extensively useful in framing an initiatory treaty with them."

From this period dates his official appointment as Colonial Interpreter. The mildly aristocratic James Logan, the trusted secretary of William Penn for many years, and President of the Provincial Council, writes on October 12, 1736, "Conrad Weiser and Shekallamy were by the treaty of 1732 appointed fit and proper persons to go between the Six Nations and this Government, and to be employed in all transactions with one another; 'whose bodies,' the Indians say, were to be equally divided between them and us, we to have one half and they the other. They say 'they have always found Conrad faithful and honest. He is a good and true man, and has spoken their words and our words—not his own'; the Indians have presented him with a dressed skin to make him shoes, and two deer skins to keep him warm."

His services were, however, not entirely engrossed by Pennsylvania. The Governors of New York, Virginia and Maryland again and again employed him to undertake missions in behalf of their several provinces to distant tribes. During a long period no Indian Council of importance was held in these colonies in which he did not participate. At many of these old treaties were renewed or new ones made; land, too, was generally negotiated for, and to quite a number of these contracts the names of Dr. Franklin and Conrad Weiser are attached as Commissioners on the part of the provinces. The Indians at such times requested him to sign not only his proper name, but also with that given him by themselves—*Tarachawagon*.

The several tribes of the Six Nations occupying the country towards lakes Erie and Ontario, and ranging southward through Pennsylvania into Virginia, came into hostile collision with the Choctaws and Cherokees of the South. Virginia was the bloody ground where hostilities were principally carried on. Governor Gooch besought Pennsylvania to mediate between the antagonists. Weiser was requested to undertake the difficult task. In the mid-winter of 1737 he started on his five hundred miles' journey to Onondago, in New York. This was his first great undertaking, and in it he abundantly vindicated his claim as a skillful and successful negotiator. In 1743, Governor Thomas, of Pennsylvania, sent him to Shamokin on official business; hardly had he returned than the Governor of Virginia requested his services at the same place, and in June he was again under way to Onondago by request of the same authority, to deliver the good-will of the Council of Virginia, and to distribute a peace-offering of £100. In the following year he was again sent to Shamokin. In this year the Great Council was held at Lancaster, Pa., lasting more than a month. After a satisfactory treaty had been made, the delegate from Virginia addressed the Indians, and after stating that as their mutual friend, Conrad Weiser, was now old and likely soon to be gathered with his fathers, it seemed meet that steps should be

taken to provide a successor, and proposed that they should send some of their young men to be educated in the schools of Virginia, after which they might again return to their people. Canassatego delivered a characteristic reply: "We must let you know we love our children too well to send them so great a way. And the Indians are not inclined to give their children learning. We allow it to be good, and we thank you for your invitation. But our customs differing from yours, you will be so good as to excuse us. We hope *Tarachawagon* (Conrad Weiser) will be preserved by the Great Spirit to a good old age. When he is gone under ground, it will be time enough to look out for another. While he lives there is no room to complain." In this same year he was also sent to Onondago on a visit of condolence, an eminent chieftain having died. The road to this famous treaty place must by this time have become familiar.

The year 1745 finds him as busy as ever. In January he was sent to Shamokin to build a house for his friend Shekallamy. In May he is again on the way to Onondago to use his influence in counteracting the machinations of the French in Canada, and in October he is again in New York. In 1747, John Penn, the Proprietary, died, and Weiser was sent with the sad news to Shamokin. Later in the same year he is again sent thither, where he finds his friend Shekallamy so ill of a fever as to be hardly able to stretch forth his hand in welcome; several members of his family were already dead and all the rest ill. His report shows the qualities of his heart: "I must in conclusion recommend as an object of charity, Shekallamy. He is extremely poor. In his sickness the horses have eaten all the corn. His clothes he gave to the Indian doctors to cure him and his family. He has nobody to hunt for him, and I cannot see how the poor old man can live. He has been a true servant to the Government, and may still be if he lives to get well again. As the winter is coming on, I think it would not be amiss to send him a few blankets and match coats, and a little powder and lead. If the Government would be pleased

to do it, I would send my sons with it to Shamokin before the cold weather comes." The principles of the elder Penn towards the natives still guided the policy of the Colony, and good Conrad Weiser's prayer for aid in behalf of his sorely-stricken friend was heeded; £16 were donated, and these the sons promptly delivered to the grateful Indian.

In 1748 the united Provinces decided to send presents to the Indians on the Ohio, whose attitude was threatening and alarming. Weiser would fain have excused himself from attempting the mission, but was at last persuaded to do so, and successfully accomplished it. The year 1750 finds him in the interior of the Province among the Indians, negotiating and settling difficulties, and in the same year he is again at Onondago, by request of Governor Lee, of Virginia, on the same peaceful errand. In 1751 it was again contemplated to send him to Ohio, but his own opinion was that his presence at Albany was of greater importance, and to that place he accordingly went. Impending war in 1753 actuated Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, to request his good offices in behalf of that colony at Albany. By August he had returned, and in September we find him exerting himself in the cause of peace at Carlisle. In 1754 the war with France began. We find Weiser at Shamokin in April, and in June he accompanied Dr. Franklin to Albany. To give in detail an account of his many missions would be to write a book. Old age draws on apace and the end is reached at last. From the minutes of a conference held at Easton in August, 1761, we copy this: "Seneca George stood up and spoke as follows—'We of the Seven Nations and our cousins are at a great loss and sit in darkness, as well as you, by the death of Conrad Weiser, as since his death we cannot so well understand one another. By this belt we cover his body with bark.' Governor Hamilton made reply as follows: 'Brethren, we are very sensible, with you, that both of us have sustained a very heavy loss by the death of our old and good friend, Conrad Weiser, who was an able, experienced and faithful Interpreter, and one of the

Council of the Seven Nations ; and that since his death we, as well as you, have sat in darkness, and are at a great loss for want of well understanding what we say to one another. We mourn with you for his death, and heartily join in covering his body with bark.' ” Such were his services as Interpreter and Indian Agent covering a period, from first to last, of more than forty years.

In addition to the duties imposed on him by this responsible position, he had as early as 1741 been commissioned a Justice of the Peace ; and when the war broke out between England and France, Governor Morris sent him a colonel's commission. If the former office was no sinecure, the latter was far from being one of compliment only. His experience and energy gave assurance he would prove no holiday colonel. He was placed in command of a regiment of volunteers, and had command over the second battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment, consisting of nine companies. By his directions a number of forts and block-houses were erected on the frontiers of Lancaster and Berks counties.

Even the horrors of Indian warfare could not crush out the true humanity in him. When the Indian allies proposed that the Colonies should offer bounties for scalps, Weiser frowned down the proposition : “ It is my humble opinion that no encouragement should be given to the Indians for scalps, for fear we must then pay for our own scalps and those of our fellow-subjects, as will certainly be the case. Allow as much for prisoners as you please—rather more was intended.”

Of the cursed and debasing liquor traffic he was ever a steady and determined opponent. In a letter to Secretary Peters, dated at Paxton, (Harrisburg), in 1747, he breaks out against it in these words : “ And if rightly considered, death, without judge or jury, to any man that carries rum to sell to any Indian town, is the only remedy to prevent that trade, and a just reward to the trade, for nothing else will do. It is an abomination before God and man, to say nothing of the particular consequences ; it is altogether hurtful to the public, for

what little supplies we can give them to carry on the war are not half sufficient. They must buy the greatest part with their hunting, and if they meet with rum, they will buy that before anything, and not only drink away their skins, but their clothing and everything they may get of us. In short, the inconveniences occasioned by that trade are numerous at this very time."

To his nice sense of right and ideas of equal and exact justice, the central Provinces were largely indebted for their comparative freedom from the dread barbarities of Indian warfare. Although employed by and laboring in the interests of the whites, he never forgot the red men also had rights to be respected, and his official correspondence is filled with suggestions and advice how their irritated feelings might best be soothed, and how a few presents, judiciously bestowed, might ward off impending strife. His own words best express his sentiments, and they are these: "The Indians must have satisfaction made for private injuries. If we deal with them according to our public treaties, and show we are what we pretend to be, that is to say, their friends, people of honor and honesty, the Council and Assembly will find a remedy. I own it will be a difficult matter to come to the truth in private quarrels between the white and the brown people, for the former will out-swear the very devil, and the latter's oath is not good in our laws. If all comes to all, rather than the poor Indians should be wronged, the public ought to make satisfaction if no remedy can be found to prevent it." That is anything else than the language of a partisan. His fidelity to the colonists was never questioned, while the Indians well knew their race never had a truer friend.

In 1742 we find him, at the earnest request of the celebrated Count Zinzendorf, accompanying that nobleman to Bethlehem and Shamokin, interpreting the words of Truth and Love as they fell from the lips of that true-hearted man, and telling the benighted heathen, "This is the man whom God has sent, both to the Indians and the white people, to make known His

will to them." His nature seems to have been sincerely devout. This missionary enterprise seems to have thoroughly aroused his religious susceptibilities, and he pours forth his feelings in a letter, creditable alike to his heart and his head: "I was sorry," he exclaims, "not to have seen you at Shamokin, owing to your indisposition. But the pleasure I felt during my abode there left a deep impression upon me. The faith of the Indians in our Lord Jesus Christ, their simplicity and unaffected deportment, their experience of the grace procured for us by the sufferings of Jesus, preached to them by the brethren, has impressed my mind with a firm belief that God is with you. The old men sat partly upon benches and partly upon the ground, for want of room, with great gravity and devotion, their eyes steadfastly fixed upon their teacher, as if they would eat his words. John was the interpreter and acquitted himself in the best manner. I esteem him as a man anointed with grace and spirit. Though I am not well acquainted with the Matikander language, yet their peculiar manner of delivery renders their ideas intelligible to me as any European in this country. In short, I deem it one of the greatest favors bestowed upon me in this life that I have been at Shamokin. The text of Scripture, 'Jesus Christ the same yesterday and to-day and forever,' appeared to me as an eternal truth, when I beheld the venerable patriarchs of the American Church sitting around me, as living witnesses of the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of His atoning sacrifice. Their prayers are had in remembrance in the sight of God; and may God fight against their enemies. May the Almighty God give to you and your assistants an open door to the hearts of all the heathen!"

How much part he took in this Moravian missionary enterprise there are no means to determine. In 1743 he was engaged for a considerable period at Tulpehocken in instructing three Moravians, Zander, Bueltner and Pylacus, in the Mohawk language, in order to qualify them to preach the Word among the various Iroquois tribes.

The well-known pious and learned Lutheran clergyman, Henry Melchoir Muhlenberg, who married Anna Maria, Conrad Weiser's eldest daughter, has placed on record a plan which his father-in-law believed would prove the most effectual method of reclaiming the Indians from darkness to light; the experience of a century has suggested nothing superior to it. We give it in Pastor Muhlenberg's words:

"I. Several Missionaries should take up their abode in the midst of the Indians, and strive to make themselves thorough masters of their language, conform as far as possible to their costumes, manners and customs, yet reprove their natural vices by a holy, meek and virtuous deportment.

"II. Translate Revealed Truth into their own language, and present the whole as intelligibly as possible.

"III. The Missionaries should study the Indian tunes and melodies, and convey to them the law and the Gospel in such tunes and melodies, in order to make an abiding impression, and thereby, under the blessing and increase of God, patiently wait for the fruits of their labors."

The religious temperament of Conrad Weiser was such as led him into some very remarkable exhibitions of religious frenzy at various periods of his career. He came from Lutheran ancestry, and was, therefore, as his biographer tells us, a Lutheran *von Haus aus*. He describes himself as being "so much attached to my Bible that I looked upon it as my comfort, and it became my book of delight." This was written in his fifteenth year. He was fond of Scriptural quotations, and his manuscript record abounds in these manifestations of religious fervor. There seems to have been no erratic demonstration of religious enthusiasm until he had reached the mature age of thirty-nine years. The well-known Conrad Beisel, the founder of the German Seventh-Day Baptists, came among the German Churches, and succeeded in instituting what at the present day would be called "a revival." John Peter Miller, an eminent scholar, and famous in after times as the head man of the monkish establishment at Ephrata,

was the Reformed preacher at Tulpehocken at the period of this spiritual awakening. He as well as his congregation, and the Lutheran portion of the settlers, were all carried along with the new movement. The hitherto even tenor of their lives now gave way to the most fanatical radicalism. It seems almost incredible that these undoubtedly pious men should have been so carried away by their newly acquired experience. They not only gave up all to which they had previously held, but went even further: on a certain day they assembled at the house of one of their number, and having made a collection of the Heidelberg Catechism, Luther's Catechism, the Psalter and others of their previously most cherished books of devotion, set them on fire and burnt them to ashes. Considered in relation to all its surroundings, this *auto da fe* stands solitary and alone among the inexplicable vagaries that have at times marked the struggles of a newly awakened outburst of religion. Conrad Weiser adopted no half-way measures in his undertakings. As if fearful of his danger to relapse, he pursued a course of life that reminds us of the ascetic bishops, fathers and elders of the early Church. He gave up a portion of his possessions, allowed his beard to grow until he became almost unrecognizable and did such severe bodily penance as to become extremely emaciated. All was of no avail; he fell away from the course he had so enthusiastically adopted, and was hardly able himself to tell where his religious views centered. A contemporary has alluded to him after this experience in this wise: "*Der ist, wie die gemeine Sage ist, ein 'Justice': Und es ist noch nicht bekannt worden, dasz er, seit der Zeit, durch Buse weidergekehret und sich wiederum zu seiner vorhin gehabten Lutherischen Religion verfueget.*" Although it was after this departure from the faith of his fathers that the mission with Count Zinzendorf was undertaken, and notwithstanding his frequent ebullitions of religious enthusiasm, he seems never after to have been the same man in a spiritual sense he previously had been. So much may be gleaned from the record left by his eminent son-

in-law, the patriot pastor Muhlenberg. While there may be much in his spiritual waverings and sincere searches after the Truth, to regret, still, when we come to regard the man in his completeness, we cannot bring ourselves to condemn. There was a sincerity and an honesty in all his life-work that disarms a harsh judgment. That he was at all times guided by pure motives in his outreachings after Light, we cannot but believe, and thus believing, we must fain speak in all charity, even while we disapprove.

Strangely enough, although the baptismal register names him *John* Conrad Weiser, he never during his life made use of the first of his given names; he everywhere calls himself Conrad Weiser, and was known as such in all official documents. It is most probable that he himself was not aware of his full name, which only recent inquiry has brought to light.

In the list of those almost forgotten worthies, whose names are to be found only in the musty records of our Colonial era, there is none which has come down to us, bringing with it a purer and more unsullied record, or one shining less with borrowed light than that of Conrad Weiser. No fiction is required to set off or embellish the plain and sober facts of a true and healthful life. While his own journals and letters everywhere show him to have put a very modest estimate on the share he took in the Colonial affairs, the united testimony of his contemporaries and of official documents put his merits and services in no doubtful light.

It is not too much to say that after William Penn himself, no other man or set of men did as much as Conrad Weiser to preserve peace and friendly relations with the Indians of this and the adjoining Provinces. But for him and his good offices in many a trying hour, the red hand of war had often torn down the white banner of peace.

One by one the witnesses in the cause of the Germanic element in this country, to a full and unquestioned recognition of its place in History, come on the stand, and at the bar of public opinion produce the evidence they possess. In giving us this

life of Conrad Weiser, the author has added another link, and a strong one, to the chain of testimony the German-Americans are slowly but surely forging.

“A truer son or braver,”

never owed allegiance to Pennsylvania, and it seems but an act of simple justice, that a more worthy memento than the plain stone that now marks the spot, should rise above the grave of Conrad Weiser.

ART. VII.—THE PERMANENCE OF OLD TESTAMENT REVELATION.

To Schleiermacher, unquestionably, great credit is due for laboring to bring out in theological science the substantial nature of divine revelation, especially Christianity, over against the supra-naturalism of the seventeenth century. The real error of the scholastic period of Protestant theology lay not so much perhaps in unduly elevating the Scriptures so as to make them identical with divine revelation itself, as in their elevating mere *doctrines* of Christianity into this character. This latter error crept into the Protestant church in its early development. It soon turned the principle of justification by faith itself into a mere doctrine, and it has wrought with much power for evil in the whole history of Protestant Denominationalism. The Christological principle, as brought out by Schleiermacher, according to which the person of Christ is regarded as the substance of Christianity and of all divine revelation, has undoubtedly accomplished much in counteracting this error. It has made the controversy and battle of Christianity with unbelief to centre, not around the Scriptures, but the person of Christ. Since the attacks of Strauss and Bauer, the richest apologetical literature has been of a Christological character. This is evident not only in the life of Christ as brought out directly by leading German

and English theologians, but also by the new interest given to the subject of the incarnation, of the Church and the sacraments, and also the moulding power of the Christological principle in dogmatic theology. Although the error of substituting belief in doctrines in the place of faith in Christ still prevails to an alarming extent, yet it is receiving a corrective influence in the view that Christianity essentially is not doctrine but life. Orthodoxy is not so much as formerly considered the sum and substance of Christian faith, and the want of it alone, as measured by theological formulas and doctrinal confessions, a sufficient condemnation of a man's faith and life.

But now the question arises, whether this healthful reaction against orthodox confessionalism, in the interest we may say of the genuine material principle of the Reformation, does not call for a new apprehension of the formal principle, in regard to the nature of the Holy Scriptures as related to the person and work of Christ. These two, Christ and His Word, are so related in the order of divine revelation and the work of redemption that the one requires the other. They are not indeed identical. This has been realized in the attacks made against Christianity. When the assault has been made against the Holy Scriptures as the inspired Word of God, by such men as Strauss and Bauer, it became evident that, in order to be successful, the attack must reach Christ Himself as a character in history; and when some theory of the life of Christ has been devised in order to divest Him of His divine character, it still remains to set aside the sacred Scriptures. And so the defence of Christianity, or its right apprehension we may say, must regard both Christ and His Word. They are not indeed identical, but they are in a certain sense coördinate. The significance of the sacred Scriptures, as the Word of God, is by no means exhausted when they are regarded as a historical testimony of a revelation beyond themselves, or even as setting forth a directory for right doctrines to be intellectually apprehended, and precepts for the right ordering of the life in a moral point of view. In that view the substantial revelation may still be regarded as holding in Christ apart from the Scriptures. This error is just as dan-

gerous as it would be to regard the Bible as containing a sufficient revelation apart from any continuous presence and power of Christ. The two are so related that they are one in a very profound sense. Christ is both the truth and the witness of the truth. The personal Word and the written Word are one revelation of God, of permanent meaning and virtue.

And this holds true in the whole Word of God in the Old Testament and the New, and in the Old Testament *no less* than the New. There has been a tendency at times, especially in more recent times, to make a distinction between these two portions of Scripture to the disparagement of the Old Testament. This tendency has arisen partly as a reaction from the view which made no account of the historical element in the Bible and a somewhat mechanical and external view of inspiration, and partly under the pressure of scientific attacks on the Old Testament. The reader will recall the excitement raised years ago in the case of Bishop Colenso. It has been thought that there is greater difficulty in maintaining the inspiration of the whole Old Testament than that of the New. The Biblical apologist has been hard pressed by the objections of science. The question then has been raised whether the New Testament at least cannot stand on its own foundation without the Old, and perhaps in the course of time the question will be agitated, whether the Christian religion cannot stand with the acceptance of Christ without being committed to the full inspiration of any written Word. Let Christ be acknowledged as its founder, but let the written Word be accepted as any other writing, and received so far as it can maintain itself without claiming for it direct inspiration. This, of course, would be a fatal surrender of the supernatural character of Christianity, and it will be opposed as strenuously as would an attack on the divine character of Christ Himself.

But the opposition to the inspiration of the Old Testament only is more specious and more dangerous. It is claimed that this would not necessarily affect the validity of the claims of Christianity, as the New Testament contains, it is said, all the permanent elements of revelation. The Old Testament Dispen-

sation, it is argued, was only a preparation for the New, and since the New has come the Old is no longer essential or necessary. Some passages of the New Testament itself are adduced in support of this view, which speak of Christianity as the fulfillment of the prophecies and types of the Old Testament, as for instance the epistle to the Hebrews. This position has been taken with a great deal of earnestness and ability by Rev. Augustus Blauvelt in some articles published in *Scribner's Monthly*, and which have brought down on him no little opposition, if not persecution. We believe Mr. Blauvelt is earnest and sincere, and that he sees more clearly the dangers that beset the faith of the Church in reference to the Bible than some who have denounced him. So far as the view of the Bible by many of its apologists is concerned, and also the nature of their defence of it, there is much force in what Mr. Blauvelt urges. The apology now so popular, that the defence of the Old Testament Scriptures can successfully be made on the plane of natural reason and science, has in it, we believe, very little permanent value. If the Bible must authenticate itself to the demands of science, that is to establish and maintain itself on the basis of reason, its highest claims are surrendered, and in the end it would have to yield. Not that we undervalue the effort to find an agreement between science and revelation. That is right in its place, but the claim of the Bible as the inspired Word of God does not depend on the ability to prove this agreement to the natural reason of man. Its claim is above and independent of science, and its power to authenticate itself and stand rests upon an entirely different foundation. We hear it sometimes said that if the Bible contradicts a clearly established truth of science, its inspiration must be yielded, as though truth in the order of nature and reason were something more real and substantial than truth in the order of supernatural revelation. God cannot, indeed, contradict Himself, and faith cannot rest in contradictions, but reason and science cannot be allowed to be the umpire in deciding this question, else we land at once in pure rationalism. But this is a digression, and however inter-

esting the point with which it is concerned, we cannot pursue it further now.

Our object in this paper is to speak of the permanence of Old Testament revelation, and through this to show that its inspiration is just as necessary as that of the New Testament. If we can throw out any hints, looking towards a placing of the question on higher ground than that occupied by many who advocate the inspiration of the Old Testament, so as to carry with them conviction, it is all we can expect in the limits of this article. Perhaps our object will be reached if we can merely state and explain what we mean by the permanence of O. T. Revelation.

The Old Testament is *more* than a *record* simply of a dispensation of divine revelation that has passed away. It does unquestionably contain such a record. It is in one view a history, and as commonly believed an inspired history. It narrates the creation of the world, the flood, the calling of Abraham, and through him, of the Jewish people in whose line the Messiah was to come, the establishment of the Mosaic Economy, as it is called, the deliverance of the Children of Israel from Egypt and their settlement in Canaan, in short, all the important events in the history of revelation from the creation to the coming of Christ. This record includes a history of the spiritual life and piety of those to whom the revelation was made, reaching to the manifold workings of this life in their religious experience, the divine agency manifest at every stage, the words uttered by God, directly and through His servants the prophets and teachers, and the order of religious worship appointed observed in the Tabernacle and the Temple. But if it were merely such a record of history now past and gone, it would have no direct and essential office and power for the Christian life now. Its value might be permanent in the way of edification in the sphere of our religious life, just as the study of secular history is valuable for the education and growth of our natural intellectual life. But in that view it would not be essential to our religious life. It would be related to us not directly as a revelation from God to us, but rather indirectly,

just as history in general is related to the world's life at present. A knowledge of such history is valuable for the purpose of culture, we know, but it is not essential to the actual life of men in this generation. There are thousands of men who live and perform their part in the history of the present, who are ignorant of the history of the world's active, busy, drama that has been enacted in the ages that have passed away. It would stand related to us much in the same way as the record of the history of the Primitive Church, or of the Mediæval Age, except that its correctness is ensured by inspiration.

So also the Old Testament is *more* than a *preparation* simply for the revelation contained in the New. It is unquestionably such preparation. From the promise made to our first parents that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head, down through all the ages and generations of its history everything pointed to that great central event in revelation, the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ. Without the Christ idea on every page it would be as the play of Hamlet with Hamlet left out. In this view the whole Old Testament may be said to be Messianic. Not only in particular portions, as in certain types and symbols, and in certain psalms and prophecies, but in its whole constitution and order it points to the coming of the Messiah. And if this idea moulds its inner constitution and life, it must be evident that all its parts have meaning only as interpreted in the light of this idea. Portions which in themselves might seem to have no special reference to Christ yet when taken in their relation to the whole carry in them this meaning. They are all intoned by one idea.

But all this may be granted (and to understand it is of the highest importance in the interpretation of that portion of the holy Scripture), and yet the Old Testament may be regarded as *only* a preparation for Christianity. Though valuable, therefore, as something preparatory to the New Testament, its value may be viewed somewhat like that of the scaffolding to the building, which serves no further purpose whence the building is completed, and which may then be cast away.

The revelation in the Old Testament is more than merely

such a record or history of a revelation in the past, and it is more than a preparation merely for the New Testament revelation. As the Word of God it contains a substantial revelation which is of permanent significance. In this respect it stands fully on a par with the revelation in the New Testament. The New contains, indeed, more in one sense than the Old. There is here a fulfillment, in the sense of bringing fully into the sphere of our life what is contained in Word in the Old, especially in the central fact of all revelation, the Incarnation of our Lord. But the difference here is rather that between different portions of one revelation which is of equally permanent significance in all its parts.

It is only necessary to read carefully the testimony borne in the New Testament itself concerning the Old in order to see this. Take, for instance, our Lord's testimony concerning *the law* of God contained in the Old Testament. He does not profess to give the law for the first time now, but to announce its inner spiritual meaning. He came not to destroy, but to fulfill the law. That law, given once for all on Mt. Sinai, is a substantial revelation of the divine will as constituting and establishing the order of the moral universe, just as the laws in the natural creation constitute its fundamental character and order; and as the natural creation is upheld and supported continually by the spiritual world, without which it has no reality, we may say that the law of God given on Mt. Sinai is the revelation of the order and constitution of the whole universe of God in its deepest sense and meaning. It is a revelation indeed, in Word, but that word is a divine Word, and therefore it partakes of the nature of God Himself. It is a word of infinite meaning and power. Over against the presence of sin—moral disorder—in the universe, it asserts the eternal principles of right, of justice, and truth.

Now that law is one of the elements of the Old Testament revelation. Our Lord did not profess to give another. He Himself accepted and came under this law as an abiding revelation, which is to stand when heaven and earth shall pass away. In one sense He is also the author of the law. Hence He speaks

in expounding it with authority not derived from man, "I say unto you." But in becoming man He came under the law, and the great work of His life consisted in enthroning this law in the sphere of our humanity. Thus He battled against sin and established the law in living form and power in the sphere of created will, in the principle of love.

The law, therefore, instead of coming to an end or passing away by its fulfillment in Christ, is rather permanently established and habilitated, so to speak, in the order of our human life. We hear a good deal said of the temporary office of the law in Old Testament revelation, and by a gross misinterpretation of what was written in regard to it in portions of the New Testament, as in Romans and Galatians, some really receive the notion that the law given from Mt. Sinai was only of temporary force and authority. But the apostle is there speaking, not of the abiding authority and force of the law, but of its power to bring salvation. Man was not in a condition in his fallen state to keep the law. The ability to do that must come from the revelation of grace in Jesus Christ in man's regeneration. The promise of this regeneration to be wrought out in Jesus Christ first of all in His own person, was made before the giving of the law on Mt. Sinai, and therefore the Jews blindly erred when they forsook the promise and attempted to be their own saviours by their miserable Pharisaic observance of an external semblance of the law. The law could not give them the power to obey it. It only proclaimed their sin and death.

But it would be a fatal error to infer from this that salvation can be found in any other way than in keeping the law. The ability to render such obedience, indeed, must come from Christ, and in this sense salvation is not of the law. But the substance of the life of salvation is after all *in the law*. That is salvation, to be placed in inward harmony with the law of God in the spirit of divine love. The end of Christ's coming into the world, His mission and work, is just this: to conquer the power of sin, to enthrone the law of God in the human will, first in His own person, and then to introduce it by regeneration into the life of believers, as the very substance of their

moral being. Here the law and the Gospel are in their deepest substance one. When man comes to be in harmony with the divine law in the spirit of love he is saved, that is his salvation, that is heaven.

We can now see that as the Christ idea is central in the Old Testament, pointing to Him in whom the law was to be fulfilled, and through whom its obedience was to be rendered possible for men, so the law, when the subject is rightly understood, pertains to the inner substance of Old Testament revelation, which is then not of temporary but permanent significance and force. As such the law was honored with the chief place in the tabernacle. It was sacredly deposited in the ark of the covenant,—yea, it was itself, we may say, the covenant, the ultimate meeting-place between God and man. In the harmony of man's spiritual life with the law of God, God and man come together. Hence it was covered by the Mercy Seat, as the promise that in Christ he would be regenerated and receive grace to render loving obedience to all its precepts. And over the Mercy Seat were the cherubim, between which hovered the glorious Shekinah, the light of the divine presence, showing that the light of God's presence, of His countenance, can only be revealed where His holy law is kept, symbolically in the Ark of the Covenant, and actually in the person of our Lord first, and then in the hearts and lives of His people.

Now we ask, is that revelation of the law on Mt. Sinai, with all its significant surroundings, and its preservation in the Ark of the Covenant, with equally significant surroundings, passed away? Does it not stand there as a permanent revelation in the divine Word, with as much meaning and force for us to-day as it had for the Israelites thousands of years ago? But, it may be answered, all this, as a symbolical representation, has been superseded in its fulfilment in Christ. He is the Mercy Seat, He is the Shekinah, and in Him the law has been fulfilled. And what then? Are these then passed away because they are fulfilled? Nay, rather they continue to abide forever, just for this reason. "Do we then make void the law through faith? God forbid: yea, we establish the law."

The inner meaning and substance of this revelation abide, it will be answered again, but these we have now, in Christ, and therefore the form of the revelation in the Old Testament here referred to has passed away. But the relation here is not as between form and substance, as though we had only the form or symbol in the Old Testament, and the substance in the New. The relation is rather that between the written Word and the personal Word, or that between two different stages of one revelation. The Old Testament has substance as well as form, and the New Testament has form also as well as substance. Certainly the law given from Mt. Sinai and kept in the sacred Ark was not mere form. It was the very substance of divine revelation in the Word of God, which is then one with that same Word in the person of our Lord. The one is not superseded by the other. The relation is the same as that universally between the written Word and the personal Word. To say that the written Word is superseded in Christ, or that it has lost aught of its power, would in the end render the written word of the New Testament also a mere empty form and of no effect, because Christ is in His person also all that it is in word.

But now if the revelation of the law itself in the Old Testament is of permanent meaning and force, as the Word of God, then all that stands organically joined with this is of like character. The preparation for the giving of the law, the thunder and lightning and sound of a trumpet, the Ark and the Mercy Seat, the cherubim and the Shekinah,—all these are still the uttered Word of divine revelation as really as the law within the Ark, each having its own particular meaning, and that meaning is for us now as really as it was for the Jews,—nay, rather more for us, seeing that its inner spiritual sense is now apprehended as it was not by them.

We have thus taken the giving of the law as an example of the abiding significance of Old Testament revelation. From this point we might follow, or refer to, the ramifications of this central element of Old Testament revelation throughout its different books, as it meets us, for instance, in the Psalms, where the delight of David in meditating on this law is spoken of. It

would be found that the law is as a light beaming from almost every page in one way or another.

We might take other examples, *the flood*, as the judgment of God on a guilty world and the saving of Noah, the *deliverance* of the Children of Israel out of Egypt, etc. Each one would be found to be, not something of transient, but of permanent import, and organically related to the whole. Again, we might take up other elements of Old Testament revelation, as the imprecatory psalms, where it is supposed especially we have a spirit and a language that have been superseded by the spirit and words of the New Testament. It could be shown that this element in Old Testament revelation is of permanent force. But the narrow limits allowed for this article will not permit us to tarry longer in referring to examples. Nor indeed have we space to go on now and show in what way more particularly the Old Testament revelation has permanent significance and meaning for us now just as really as for the Jews. The general truth itself is indeed acknowledged in the use made of Old Testament scripture in the Church, but the full force of it is far from being accepted and realized.

That the glorification of Christ takes place *in His Word*, as well as in His person, that the one is co-ordinate with the other, that this glorification of Christ shines forth for faith in the Word of God as the special realm of the divine presence, corresponding to His presence in Christ, and that in this view there is an unfathomable inner spiritual sense of holy Scripture to be brought to life through the Holy Spirit, the mere surface of which has scarcely been penetrated, so that those who have penetrated most deeply are indeed as yet but like children picking up pebbles on the shore of a boundless infinite ocean of truth and glory, and that this is true of the Word of God in the Old no less than in the New Testament Scriptures,—this we are compelled now for want of space to speak of in another article, should we return to the subject which we have here scarcely introduced.

T. G. A.

Recent Publications.

CHRIST, THE TEACHER OF MEN. By A. W. Pitzer. Author of "Ecce Deus-Homo." Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1877.

We welcome this little volume written by a friend whose acquaintance we made a little over a year ago by the sea-shore. The author, Dr. Pitzer, is a minister in the Presbyterian Church (South), and is pastor of a congregation in Washington, D. C. He is a careful student and a vigorous thinker. His former work on *Ecce Deus-Homo* was favorably received, and the present contribution to theological science seems to be equally fresh and instructive. The fact that both works have Christ for their subject shows that their author realizes what is the central subject for Christian apologetics in this age. The present work treats of Christ in His character as the Teacher of men. Starting out very properly with a chapter on the Spirit of the Learner, he shows that there must be a preparedness on the part of men in order to apprehend the divine teaching of our Lord. The Saviour Himself insists on this—that men must be of the truth in order to hear His words. He regards Christ as the truth and the revealer of truth, and very properly distinguishes between the *facts* of revelation and the *doctrines* of the same, and also the duties enjoined. Christ is the subject of the whole Bible, the Old as well as the New Testament, and as He is the subject of which they treat, so He is at the same time the Author of the revelation they contain. He is responsible for the whole record of the Old Testament as well as the New, and therefore these two must stand or fall together. So also, He is the Author of the Law as well as the Gospel, and therefore these two cannot be separated or arrayed, the one against the other.

Yet while we have been refreshed in reading this work, and experienced its intellectual strength and spiritual power, there are a few points which do not satisfy us. The author is in possession, we believe, of the right principle in his theological thinking, which is Christ Himself. The true authentication of His teaching must come from His living person. Yet there are points here and there where it seems to us this principle is not entirely adhered to. For instance, in the chapter on the Credentials of Christ, the best portion of which is the section, Christ Himself His own Credential, he says very forcibly: "If the question were raised, 'Is there a sun, and what is its character?' the best answer would be obtained from a consideration of the sun itself; so Jesus Christ, the Sun of Righteousness, shining with full-orbed splendor in the spiritual firmament furnishes in Himself the best answer to the question, 'What think ye of Christ, and whose Son is He?' As no proof beside the light is necessary to show that the sun shines; so we find that Jesus proves Himself by His own self-evidence. 'I am the light of men.'"

This is well said. Of course it is implied that Christ thus authenticates Himself, not to the natural mind, but to spiritual apprehension, to those who open their minds and hearts to the light that shines forth from His

person. That means, as we take it, that Christ cannot be authenticated by evidence outside of Himself, in the way of mere natural proof or evidence brought to bear on the natural understanding.

But now, in treating elsewhere (page 179) of the credential furnished by the Father, especially in raising Him from the dead, the author uses this language: "The question whether or not Jesus was raised from the dead is one of *simple fact*. If Jesus did rise from the dead, then it is a fact, an event, a phenomenon in the physical world, in the sphere of the visible, the tangible, the material; and as such it can be authenticated in no other way than by the evidence presented to the senses; precisely as any physical phenomenon, any fact, any event is authenticated. Did men see Him with their eyes, hear Him with their ears, handle Him with their hands, and did they upon this testimony of their senses know Him as the same Jesus? Upon this point, the testimony of the eye and ear witnesses to the fact alleged is abundant, clear, competent, and credible."

We make the criticism here that the fact of the resurrection is a supernatural fact, and not "a phenomenon in the physical world, in the sphere of the visible, the tangible, the material." Of course we do not suppose that the author means that it is *merely* a phenomenon in the physical world; he would allow that it is a fact above the order of nature, and in the supernatural world. He means, perhaps, that while it is all this, yet it reaches into the visible and natural also, and on this side could be attested by the senses. But in any case his language, it seems to us, is too strong, and is liable to be misunderstood. The resurrection was not a mere return to life of one that had been dead, such for instance as the raising of Lazarus; but it was a passing out of the world of time and space into the heavenly state, a transfiguration, a glorification. The resurgent body was a spiritual body, not ordinarily, but only at times, visible. Therefore the fact of the resurrection was not a merely natural fact, but a mystery which can be apprehended only by faith. You might prove the fact that the Saviour, after having been put to death, became alive, but that is not the mystery of the resurrection. And its proof to the natural mind through the senses would be of no value in begetting faith in Him. Hence our Lord did not attempt such proof to the Jews. He did not appear to them, but only to believers. Unbelievers could not see Him, or if they could have seen Him, it would have been to them only as the appearance of a ghost, a mere wonder, and would have produced no conviction.

Therefore we have always regarded this method of attempting to prove or authenticate the truth of Christianity, by treating the resurrection as a natural fact, addressed to the natural apprehension, as weak, yea, as a surrender of the supernatural character of the holy mystery. The apologists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in England, laid great stress on this argument, as, for instance, in Sherlock's "*Trial of the Witnesses of the Resurrection of Jesus* (1729)." Sherlock's *Trial of the Witnesses* was conducted after the manner of the English courts of judicature, and sought, in conformity with English taste, to adduce strict legal evidence for the fact of the resurrection, of which Dr. Dorner says: "It was apparent that such merely historical proofs of single historical facts as would compel belief are not possible, or at least are not capable of becoming the foundation of *such* a faith as Christianity demands."

The same thing may be said of the miracles of our Lord. They do

not authenticate Christ, but He authenticates them. They attested Him only where there was already some faith in Him. He never performed them before unbelievers in order to prove to them in this way His mission. When they asked a sign, He said no sign would be given them except the sign of the prophet Jonah.

Perhaps we have not properly apprehended the author's meaning in this passage, but it seems to us that it presents a falling off from the general line of argument in his book. Throughout the volume the evidence is drawn from Christianity, or rather Christ in His own true supernatural character, but here it seems to us to descend to a lower plane. We trust this friendly criticism, should it meet the eye of the esteemed author, will only serve to indicate the interest we have taken in his work, and the high appreciation we have of its worth.

THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF SIN. By John Tulloch, D.D., Principal of St. Mary's College in the University of St. Andrew's; one of Her Majesty's Chaplains for Scotland. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co.

The opening lecture is on *The Question of Sin in Relation to Modern Schools of Thought*. Principal Tulloch here takes up the two sources of man's nature, the one from the side of nature, the other the world of spirit. He shows that the tendency of thought is to ignore the one or the other of these. One class of thinkers seek for man's origin in nature alone. This is especially the case with the school of Darwin. Everything in creation, including man, according to these writers, comes in the way of evolution from the powers lodged in the original material of the world. Others, in the line of idealism, tend to ignore the material side of man, and find in him only spiritual being. The true view is to hold to man's double nature. According to Kant's saying, there are two worlds to be considered, "the starry heavens above, and the moral law within." Man's spiritual nature comes from above, but it is joined in inseparable union with nature in the constitution of his person. All true anthropology must regard these two sides of man's nature.

The lecture then goes on to speak of the method of treating of Sin as an anthropological fact. J. Müller, in his great work on the subject, treated sin as a fact in human consciousness. Principal Tulloch prefers the historical method, or rather he joins the historical method with that of Müller, and then in the analysis brings each point under the light of divine revelation. Thus the doctrine of sin becomes a department of theology, under the special head of anthropology. He then indicates the course he intends to pursue in the further consideration of the subject. "I shall endeavor, therefore, in these Lectures to treat first the growth of the idea of evil, in its most general aspect, as it meets us in those forms of religious culture which preceded or were entirely outside of that divine education of the Hebrew race under which the special consciousness of sin was developed. . . . I shall then pass to consider the idea of evil, as apprehended by the Hebrew mind, &c."

The second Lecture, accordingly, takes up the subject of sin just as it appears in pre-historic and savage religions, then in the religion of ancient Egypt, and in the Vedic and Hellenic mythologies. The treatment here is very interesting, and is accompanied by valuable notes in an appendix.

The third lecture takes up the subject as it appears in the Old Testament, where the different terms are explained by which sin is designated. In the development of the Old Testament economy the idea is more clearly revealed. "It everywhere comes forth as an act of the human will done against the divine will." With the "revival of divine consciousness in the Hebrew people the consciousness of sin revived, deepened, and became more real. It was felt as an offence not merely against divine law or precept, but against a divine Person, a living One who had claims on the life of His servants, and the violation of whose commandments was disobedience to His will."

The fourth Lecture discusses the doctrine of sin as contained in the Gospels; the fifth, the doctrine of St. Paul's Epistles, and the sixth, original sin. The view on original sin, or imputation, follows pretty closely in the channel of the Westminster Confession, yet with due credit to the theory of the organic union of the race. We would dissent from his idea of the imputation of guilt as the source of sin in the descendants of Adam. Yet we can commend the whole discussion as worthy of careful thought and study. It is an earnest and able contribution to theological science.

THE BOOK OF PSALMS: A New Translation. With Introduction and Notes, Explanatory and Critical. By J. J. Stewart Perowne, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Canon of Llandaff. Vols. I and II. From the Third London Edition. Andover: Published by Warren F. Draper, Main Street. 1876.

The author proposed three things in this excellent work: 1. To give a new translation of the Psalms; 2. By means of introductions to the several Psalms, and by explanatory notes, to convey to the English reader a true idea of the scope and meaning of each; and 3. In a series of notes, to discuss the criticism of the text, the various readings, the grammatical difficulties, and other matters of interest rather to the scholar than to the general reader.

The author had before him the very best authorities in his criticism of the text. So also the latest commentaries, Moll's Commentary in Lange's *Bibelwerk*, the 2d edition of Delitzsch's Psalter, the 3d edition of Ewald's work on the Psalms, the 2d edition of Hitzig's Commentary, and others. He presents a valuable Introduction, containing chapters on: 1. David and the Lyric Poetry of the Hebrews; 2. The use of the Psalter in the Church and by individuals; 3. The Theology of the Psalms; 4. The formation of the Psalter; 5. The Inscriptions of the Psalms.

The work is published in the very best style, making two large volumes of over 500 pages each.

THE MERCERSBURG REVIEW.

JULY, 1877.

ART. I.—BIBLE ANTHROPOLOGY.

“The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom: a good understanding have all they that do his commandments: his praise endureth forever.”—Ps. cxi. 10.

It is well to join with this, at the outset, two other passages of impressively parallel sense. First, that solemn winding up of the mysterious book of Ecclesiastes; “Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter: Fear God and keep his commandments; for this is the whole duty of man. For God shall bring every work into judgment with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil” (xii. 13–14). And then, the larger and still grander burst of inspiration, which brings to a close what is called the “parable” of the patriarch Job, in the 27th and 28th chapters of the book that goes under his name: “Whence then cometh wisdom? and where is the place of understanding? Seeing it is hid from the eyes of all living, and kept close from the fowls of the air. Destruction and death say, We have heard the fame thereof with our ears. God understandeth the way thereof, and he knoweth the place thereof. For he looketh to the ends of the earth, and seeth under the whole heaven; to make the weight for the winds; and he weigheth the waters by measure. When he made a decree for the rain, and a way for the lightning of the thunder: then did

he see it, and declare it; he prepared it, yea, and searched it out. And unto man he said, Behold, THE FEAR OF THE LORD, THAT IS WISDOM; AND TO DEPART FROM EVIL IS UNDERSTANDING."

We are struck at once, in these passages, with the way in which the fear of the Lord and the doing of his commandments, on the one hand, and then the terms wisdom and understanding on the other hand, are made to stand over against each other, as joining together, with a certain show of difference, in the expression of a common sense.* The Bible abounds with such duplications or doublings, both of single words and of separate clauses, that are made to unite in this way in one general meaning, with more or less semblance of redundant pleonasm; and it is easy to fall into the imagination, that the thing is in fact what it thus seems to be, a vague use of language, after the manner of ordinary popular speech; where we have no right to press the sense of particulars too closely, but are bound rather to rest in the general idea as being all that a true regard for the sacred text requires. Indeed this is made to be at times a formal canon to be observed in the interpretation of the Scriptures; and critics, commentators, and theologians, in every direction, fall in with it practically in their teaching, as if it were too plain to admit of any question whatever. But surely we may well ask, What becomes of the idea of inspiration, the idea of God's Word or Speech in the Bible, if it be allowed to sink itself to the uncertain character of men's ordinary thinking and speaking in such loose style as this? Let us pray to be delivered from the snare that is thus spread for our feet. Exactly in the degree, in which we enter into the

* It is an example, in fact, of that correspondence or *parallelism*, which plays so important a part in much of our modern biblical hermeneutics, following in the footsteps of such men as Herder, Lowth, and John David Michælis; men, with whom the muse of literature and poetry is so industriously invoked, on all sides, to eke out the inspiration of prophecy, which "holy men of God spake in old time, not by the will of man, but as they were moved by the Holy Ghost."

sense of what the Scriptures themselves affirm to be their own character as the Word of God, we shall find it impossible to acquiesce in the notion that they can ever possibly be of any such "private interpretation," any such vague latitudinarian meaning, as would be implied necessarily by the rash exegetical theory here brought into view. We are not to think of irrelevancies, redundancies, impertinences, unmeaning accidentalities, or mere rhetorical superfluities of any sort, in God's Holy Word. It is all of it, Old Testament and New alike, after the "pattern shown in the mount." If to any of us it seem anywhere to be otherwise, we may be very sure the fault is in ourselves; and it comes always through sundering the letter of the Word from its own living spirit, so as in this way to see only the letter from the outside, unilluminated altogether by its proper glory from within.

The more the voice of the Bible itself is consulted with serious study, the more it will be found that its use of terms and phrases, seemingly more or less pleonastic or tautological, is never something indefinite in the way too commonly supposed. On the contrary, there will be continual cause for admiration, in finding what a determinate and precise sense these seemingly indefinite words or expressions acquire for themselves more and more, through a careful comparison of parallel passages, by the light which is thus shed upon them from the bosom of the Bible itself. The result of such study in the end is sure to be our introduction into a new spiritual *usus loquendi* of the Scriptures, worth immeasurably more for the right understanding of their interior sense, than all that can ever be reached through any historico-grammatical method applied merely to their outward text.

So in the case of the particular example here immediately before us: the simple fact of its repetition, in such well nigh identical form, in the three emphatic passages we have quoted, is enough at once to show that its terms are not employed in any loose or indeterminate way. What they are intended to

express cannot be regarded, without high dishonor to God's Word as being mere random religious thought, capable of meaning much or little, or perhaps nothing at all, at the pleasure of the reader or hearer. The words are used with precision; they have severally a definite fixed sense; they flow together, each with its own clearly distinct force, as the utterance of organic inspired truth, and this truth in its wholeness, as each of the three passages declares, is nothing less than the full mystery of redemption itself, brought home to the human spirit. Surely there is enough here to engage and fix attention.

But it is not simply in these three passages, that we meet with such concurrence of phraseology, setting forth the same momentous truth. As in the nature of the case should be expected, if the significance of the truth in question be as now stated, the analogy runs throughout the Word of God—establishing thus such a law of usage for the right interpretation of its terms, such a living rule of knowledge for the interior meaning of its terms, we may say, as no science of philology can ever possibly reach in any other way. The fear of the Lord giving birth to wisdom, on the one hand, and the doing of his commandments producing intelligence on the other hand; is not this in fact the one grand idea of all religion, with which, when we come to look at it closely, the Spirit of God may be said to confront us face to face, as it were, from every page of the Bible? Directly or indirectly, it meets us everywhere, in sacred narrative, and doctrine, and promise, and prophecy, and song; running as a glorious band of light—the very rainbow in truth of God's covenant with the children of men—through the old dispensation and the new. It may be heard as a universal refrain everywhere in such voices as these: "Blessed is the man that feareth the Lord, that delighteth greatly in his commandments" (Ps. cxii. 1). "What man is he that feareth the Lord? him shall he teach in the way that he shall choose. The secret of the Lord is with them that fear him; and he will show them his covenant" (Ps. xxv. 12-14). "Teach me thy

way, O Lord; I will walk in thy truth: unite my heart to fear thy name" (Ps. lxxvi. 11). "Blessed are the undefiled in the way, who walk in the law of the Lord. Blessed are they that keep his testimonies, and that seek him with the whole heart. They also do no iniquity: they walk in his ways" (Ps. cxix. 1-3).

In this last passage, we have for the fear of the Lord what is the same thing in different words, namely, seeking him with the whole heart; as we find it expressed in other cases again by still different terms, and oftentimes implied silently without distinct mention. Indeed we have it as such silent assumption always, wherever the life of religion is spoken of with direct reference to God, in prayer or otherwise, as keeping the testimonies of the Lord or walking in the way of his commandments; wherever, in short, such rule of life is directly recognized as having its quality and authority from the will or voice of Jehovah, and the power of obeying it is then looked for as coming only from the same supernatural source. As in these passages: "O that my ways were directed to keep THY statutes." "Open THOU mine eyes, that I may behold wondrous things out of THY law." "Teach me, O Lord, the way of THY statutes; and I shall keep it unto the end. Give me understanding, and I shall keep THY law; yea, I shall observe it with my whole heart. Make me to go in the path of THY commandments; for therein do I delight." And so on, of course, without end. No religion without God, felt within the soul in some living way; and no such real conjunction with God, at the same time, save by the revelation he has been pleased to make of himself in his Word—which we are told "liveth and abideth forever" (1 Pet.i. 23).

How these two fundamental constituents of all religion meet together in the Law, is graphically represented in its original publication from mount Sinai; where the awe-inspiring glory of Jehovah leads the way, and sits enthroned, as it were in that preface to all that follows: *I am the Lord thy God, which*

have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. From which celestial summit then, the several precepts of the decalogue descend with necessary inward sequence into the bosom of our common human life; not leaving their Divine source behind them, not being parted from it at a single point in any way; but carrying it with them, and having it in them all along, as the centre and inmost core of their universal substance from first to last. The Jewish covenant in this way—hollow as it was, for the most part, and merely pictorial, as we know (Rom. ix. 27–33, x. 18–21, 2 Cor. iii. 12–15), for the body of the Jewish nation itself—rests in its true spiritual sense throughout on these two vast columns, the fear of the Lord and the observance of his law made known through Moses. Here we have what we may call the one thought of the Pentateuch. How it shines and glows especially in the book of Deuteronomy; the book, whose supposed rambling and somewhat garrulous style a certain order of senile criticism has sometimes dared to urge as an argument for its authenticity, because answering forsooth to the old age of its author! It is in truth the voice of old age: but of an old age already illuminated with the coming light of heaven; and the burden of it is everywhere in one and the same strain. It comes always to this: “And now, Israel, what doth the Lord thy God require of thee, but to fear the Lord thy God, to walk in all his ways, and to love him, and to serve the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul. To keep the commandments of the Lord, and his statutes, which I command thee this day for thy good” (Deut. x. 12, 13.)

Having thus sufficiently established the view which is taken of religion by the Scriptures at large, in the dual character here under consideration, as being at once the fear of God and the doing of his commandments, we are now to fix our attention more closely than we have yet done on the connection of the two terms with each other; as being well assured, from what we have seen that this is not a matter of outward, casual sound

simply, but something truly inherent in the nature of the subject itself.

The two terms are not tautological. Each has its own distinct meaning. One cannot take the place of the other. Each represents the idea of religion for common thought; but neither can do justice to the idea without the other.

We can conceive of the fear of God where there is no doing of his commandments. Devils tremble before him in this way. But all such sense of the Divine, whether with devils or evil men, we perceive at once to be not the presence of religion at all, but its full opposite.

So on the other hand we can conceive easily enough of the show of doing God's commandments, where there is no inward regard whatever for the presence of God himself in his commandments. It is possible to observe the precepts of religion, we all know, from other motives altogether, from a regard to simply natural, civil or moral considerations, for the sake of mere worldly credit or emolument, or say even out of mercenary superstition as the necessary price of getting to heaven. But who may not see the insanity of imagining this to be religion in any true sense? We have its wholesale condemnation from our Lord himself, in the case of the Jewish scribes and pharisees. Our modern humanitarian culture, outside of the Church, and also inside of it, abounds in the same delirium; holding itself to its own blind intuitions and ratiocinations in the form of mere natural religion, and even stupidly taking credit to itself for not *needing* the sanctions of religion in the higher form of strictly divine revelation. Out of its own mouth, in this way, it stands convicted of being at once hopelessly and profane.

The two terms thus must be conjoined, one with the other, if either is to have any religious value; but it is not enough again to have them conjoined in a merely mechanical and outward manner. Men may possess what they think to be religion in both forms, fearing God and obeying his command-

ments, while yet the two interests stand apart in their minds, having no mutual relation other than that of mere juxtaposition. But it is easy to see that such outward conjunction can never amount to more in the end than the fallacy already noticed, by which either one or the other of the terms is made to stand absolutely by itself for both. The disjunction in either case is virtually the same; and so in either case we can have only the same result, the form of religion without its life.

In distinction from this, now, the true idea of religion demands an inward, and therefore vital union of the two terms here in question; the positive entering of each into the other, with reciprocal complemental action and reaction, bringing to pass what must be considered in the case a common organic constitution, in the power of which only either of the terms can attain ever to its own right sense. Where it comes to this the two forms of religion, which we call the fear of the Lord and the doing of his commandments, are no longer twain, but one. They are not simply different sides or terms of religion, but are to be regarded rather as its essential factors and constituents. They make the only true idea of religion in this way, by their living conjunction, the full inward intermarriage, as we may say, of each side with the other.

But still another thought meets us here—a thought of indispensable account for the right understanding of our subject; and that is, the order which of right reigns in the formation of this mutual marriage. The factoral forces of which we are now speaking cannot come together in the constitution of true religion, with promiscuous indifference. Any such living organization must obey the law of all life, which involves necessarily the idea of substance and form, or essence and existence (the idea say of inward and outward), and determines its own process accordingly, as a movement going forth primarily always from the first side of this general distinction, and not from the second. In the case before us then, there is necessarily also this relation of priority and posteriority between its

two constituent terms, inherent in the very nature of the terms, and serving thus to fix their respective significance as compared one with the other. Looking at the terms themselves, no thoughtful mind need be at a loss to decide which of them is to be considered of prior and which of posterior force in the view now mentioned. But no small confusion on the subject is found to prevail nevertheless in the actual Christian world; and it is well, therefore, that we have the question fully settled for us by the clear authority of the Bible; as it is thus all the more important also, that we should humble our minds rightly under the mighty hand of this authority, so as to learn here effectually what may well be considered the most necessary lesson of our life.

In the Bible there is never any hesitation with regard to the order in which the two great factors of religion are required to come together in its constitution. The fear of the Lord, it tells us, is the BEGINNING of wisdom; as wisdom then also is declared to be the fountain-head of all else belonging to the religious life of the soul. The word beginning, as here used, especially when we look to the Hebrew text, is found to include in it three different senses. It signifies simple commencement, regarded as the starting point of what follows; it signifies principle, cause, or ground, regarded as that which originates, supports and holds together what comes after it as the power of a common existence; it signifies thus also end or final cause, regarded as that which, though it comes last, is always in reality nevertheless the inmost force at work in all that goes before it, and in that way the cause in truth of all other causation or principiation concerned in the process of bringing itself to pass. These three senses meet together in the declaration, The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom. There, in that fear, all religion first rises in the soul; there, it has its true fontal life, which goes with it in its whole subsequent course; and there only, it comes at last to the full realization of what has been its inmost actuating soul throughout—the heavenly bless-

edness spoken of in that ancient word of the Psalmist: "As for me, I will behold thy face in righteousness; I shall be satisfied, when I awake, WITH THY LIKENESS" (Ps. xvii. 15).

Such is the clear precedence assigned by the word of God, in our general text, to that side of religion which is distinguished as the fear of the Lord; a general term, as we know, expressive of all states of sensibility or emotion responding to the felt idea of God in the human spirit. In Eccles. xii. 13, we have the same order: "Fear God, and keep his commandments; for this is the whole duty of man." And so again in Job xxviii. 28: "The fear of the Lord, that is wisdom; and to depart from evil is understanding." So throughout the Scriptures; we find everywhere not only these two things, fearing God and obeying his law (or "departing from evil"), brought into view always as the necessary constituents of all true religion; but everywhere also these two things united always in one and the same invariable way; so that the fear of the Lord is made to be universally, either expressly or by implication, the actual beginning and inward essence of what is to be understood by the observance of his commandments. In this grand spiritual *hendiadys*, as we may call it, the two terms are related to each other strictly, in such order, as soul and body; and there can be no real life for either of them in any other order. Occasionally, it is true, the order may appear for the moment to be reversed; as where, for example, it is said: "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"—this last clause giving us, of course, the general term or condition expressed by the fear of the Lord. But in all such cases, the reversal of order, we can readily see, is in appearance only, while the true inward relation remains ever the same. The felt sense of God's presence and will, as positively resident in his commandments, is interiorly the very essential life of these commandments, and that without which all pretended doing of them, however dili-

gent and earnest, can never be anything better than a hollow *simulacrum* of religion, having no worth whatever in the sight of God.

What is thus true of the objective powers of religion, as they may be called (the Divine in its double character of essential being and outward form, Jehovah and the going forth of his truth or word), is no less true of its subjective forces also on the human side, namely, wisdom and understanding; which come into view everywhere in the anthropology of the Scriptures as the outbirth respectively of the fear of God and the keeping of his commandments. Here, again, we have what goes far beyond the conception of ordinary loose rhetoric. The terms, as before, are of fixed general and profound sense; not interchangeable in any way, yet bound together inseparably, at the same time, in the constitution of a common life. And this relation holds also, as before, only in one order, answering exactly to the law of priority and posteriority just noticed on the divine side; the precedence here belonging always to wisdom, and the character of dependent derivation to understanding. There is in the Bible throughout a standing distinction between these two conceptions, however at times it may appear to be otherwise. There is indeed the sense of some such distinction in all human speech, although few have power to see at all wherein the distinction consists; for here, as in a thousand other cases, words have a soul in them far deeper than ordinary lexicon or grammar. With all men, in this way, wisdom means intuitionally one thing, and understanding means another thing; while logically nevertheless the difference ends in a puzzle, making it for the most part intangible altogether. But in the word of God there is found no such confusion. Wisdom there has its own determinate sense everywhere; and understanding or intelligence has its own sense also, different but no less determinate; each having fixed relation to the other in the way we have now seen.

Each power, indeed, comes before us in the Bible under a

double aspect, as being either good or evil. There is, as we are told, a "wisdom that cometh from above," and another wisdom that is "earthly, sensual and devilish" (James iii. 15-17); and answering to this difference, there is again a "good understanding," which has its light from heaven, and a "darkened understanding," which is alienated from the life of God (Eph. iv. 18). But this does not weaken at all the point now before us; it only adds to it new illustration and force. There is in reality after all but one wisdom—that which cometh from above; the wisdom, so-called, that is from below, earthly, sensual, and devilish, is in fact but insanity, the faculty or possibility of wisdom inverted from its true heavenly order, and made to have in it thus only such life of death as belongs to hell. And so also there is in reality no true intelligence but that which is good, by having its derivation from God; all other intelligence, so called, can never be more than a grinning mockery of this, having in it infernal darkness only and no light. But whether as good or evil, true or false, the relation between the two terms, as we are now considering it, remains always the same. The intelligence, good or bad—spiritual or spectral—follows the wisdom under like view; showing thus how essentially the two faculties are at once distinguished, and yet united universally in the inmost nature of the human mind.

The relation of fearing God and keeping his commandments, which involves in it at the same time the relation of wisdom and understanding—the true wholeness of man—refers itself in this way throughout to the general structure of his mind, and finds here only its proper explanation. The human mind, as the science of it in general shows, resolves itself as a whole into two essential or fundamental parts, which are the WILL and the UNDERSTANDING. The distinction being thus universal, extends of course also into all particulars, making itself felt in everything belonging to the mind's life. The understanding is sometimes called the theoretical power, and the will the practical power—the first being in such view the organ of vision or know-

ledge, and the second the organ of movement and action. So regarded, they are easily enough distinguishable the one from the other; while it can be easily seen however, at the same time, that each requires the other always as the necessary complement of its own existence. The will cannot act without reference to some end, and the seeing of the end is possible only by the exercise of the understanding. On the other hand, the understanding cannot act without motive direction toward its object, and such motivation is not otherwise possible than by the will. Thus with different properties the two powers play perpetually into each other, with reciprocal modification; impressing their conjoint force on every single activity of the spirit of man, just as heart and lungs play into each other, and make themselves felt conjointly, in like manner, at every point in his body. At the same time, this co-operation is nowhere simple co-ordination. It has in it everywhere the relation of priority and posteriority, as this holds between cause and effect, or between substance and form. The will in such view is before the understanding, and governs it, however in common life it may appear to be altogether otherwise. Both powers meet as one in the unity of man's life, which is his mind; but the interior place there belongs always to the will. This is the inmost essence of every man, that which makes him to be what he is; while the understanding is the form in which such essence exists or stands forth to view—the exterior manifestation thus of the indwelling will. We say of a man, therefore, "As he thinketh in his heart, so is he." His thinking enters into his constitution, and is a necessary part of his life; not however in and of itself, or as something primary and central in its own nature; but only as it has its seat in the heart—which means, only as it is born of the will. That it is, universally, which constitutes the inmost being of the man, his true and proper life. Yet the will, as we say, cannot exist without the understanding, just as essence universally can have no reality without form. The will forms itself in the understanding, and

thus comes forth into the light. The will is the habitation of ends or purposes in this way—final causes, as they are sometimes called; while the understanding is the realm where means or efficient causes are sought and found, for carrying these purposes into effect.

What has now been said of these two powers, the will and the understanding, becomes more clear, when we look at what they are found to contain in them as organs belonging to our human life. Just as the significance of the eye or of the ear lies not in either of these organs outwardly considered, but in what we may call the living activities of actual sight and hearing, so here both the will and the understanding have their significance altogether in that which is inclosed, so to speak, in their functional action. This, as we know, is in the one case love and in the other case wisdom; the first being in men the immediate fountain of good, and the second the immediate fountain of truth. The good and the true find just here their only primitive, intelligible sense. All that proceeds from love is attended with a feeling of satisfaction or delight; and this with every one forms the notion of good, whether the love itself be right or wrong. And so also all that proceeds from wisdom is attended with a certain sensible gratification, analogous with the perception of light in nature, and this with every one forms the notion of truth, whether again the wisdom itself be genuine or spurious. Love is thus, we may say, the embosoming comprehension of all things that are held to be good; and wisdom includes in its bosom, in like manner, all things that are held to be true.

The will and the understanding now, we can see at once, owe all their worth to their contents respectively as thus described. Without these contents, they are only hollow vessels, empty and powerless abstractions. And so it is only here, in their true interior constitution, that what we have said of their conjunct character and reciprocal intercommunication comes fairly and fully into view. Here we have to do with that which is the

very life of the will, and with that which is the very life of the understanding; namely, with the love, and its good, which occupy and rule the will, on the one hand, and with the wisdom, and its truth, which occupy and rule the understanding, on the other hand. The priority we have already assigned to the will then, belongs really to the love of the will, as related to the wisdom of the understanding; and through that again, to the good as related to the true. A man's love is the principle of his life, its first essence or substance, separately considered; while his wisdom is derived from his love universally as something secondary and dependent. And so it is also with his goodness and truth. The good is the substance of his life always, and the true its environing, outshining form. The relation is that of inward to outward, of cause to effect; in one word, of soul to body.

Yet are the two modes of life, it must ever be borne in mind, still ever indissolubly joined together, like all essence and existence, in the power of what is after all but one and the same life. As the true is nothing except as it proceeds forth from the good, so neither on the other hand can the good ever be anything except as it makes itself thus actual in and by the true. And as it is thus with the two in their general constitution, it is thus also with every single exercise of the mind's life under either form. The love of the will runs out into a vast realm of affections, all under the power of its dominant unity; and the wisdom of the understanding runs out into another vast realm of perceptions and thoughts, which are dominated by it in like manner as a reigning central sun; but these two realms flow together, and inter-penetrate each other at every point. Every thought is what it is, by virtue of an answerable affection which it serves to bring into view; while every affection, at the same time, is what it is only by means of the answering thought through which it attains to form and expression. In this way affection and thought everywhere come together, dwelling and working each in the other.

All this, as already intimated, finds its analogy in the union of the heart with the lungs, as shown in the human body; an analogy, which is so striking that no really intelligent observer can look at it carefully, without seeing that the correspondence between the two orders of life thus compared, is not an accident nor a curious conceit merely, but the presence of a profound law, showing most conclusively the actual derivation of the physical here from the spiritual; and establishing through such grand example, at the same time, the general correspondence of the world of nature at large with the higher spiritual world, as the only rational view of God's universe. We doubt if in the whole range of natural science any study can be found, to compare in interest and true instruction with what is thus offered in this department of physiology, viewed as the counterpart and mirror of the soul's superior life in the way here suggested and assumed. In no other way, certainly, can we find so satisfactory an introduction, alike clear and full, to the confessedly obscure and difficult subject immediately before us, namely, the play of the will-action and the action of the understanding into each other in the ever-moving economy of the human spirit. These are in truth the cardiac and pulmonary powers of the soul; each distinct from the other; each reigning in its own metropolis, over a kingdom of its own which is co-extensive with the universal being of the soul; and yet each so interwoven with the other at the same time, in its entire constitution, as to leave no room for so much as the thought even of separate existence at any single point, on either side.

The correspondence of office and function between the corporeal and mental spheres in the case, is indeed in all respects complete, reaching out to the most minute particulars and details; but it would carry us too far out of our way to pursue the subject farther at this time. So we pass on now to the consideration of a yet higher mystery—the necessary completion of the psychological and spiritual in man, through real inward conjunction with the divine proceeding from God.

We have spoken of the will and the understanding as organs, and of love and wisdom as resident in them, filling them, as it were, with good and truth in the way of interior living contents; without which they would be no better than empty and dead names. Relatively to these contents they may be called receptacles, which are then themselves alive through what they thus contain. The will in this way is the receptacle of love, with all that proceeds from it as good; the understanding is the receptacle of wisdom, with all that proceeds from it as truth. But now the question rises, Whence do these contents in the two cases come? And surely no question can well be imagined of more solemn and awakening interest. How is it that the created will, being in itself mere capacity, finds itself possessed with the actual living warmth of love? How is it that the finite understanding, being in itself merely recipient, finds itself irradiated with the actual living light of truth? It is the old, old question, in fact, continually renewing itself through the ages: "Where shall wisdom be found? and where is the place of understanding?" And through the ages also, the deepest thinking of the world has had for it but one general answer. Not from the natural or earthward side of man's life can the glorious boon ever come; but only from its spiritual heavenward side, where room is found for the good and the true, in their own proper celestial form, to flow down substantially from the life of the Lord himself into the souls of his people. "Man knoweth not the price thereof; neither is it found in the land of the living. The depth saith, It is not in me; and the sea saith, It is not with me. It cannot be gotten for gold, neither shall silver be weighed for the price thereof" (Job xxviii. 12-15). Not from the realm of the finite, anywhere or in any form, can it draw its birth, but only from the bosom of the infinite; seeing it is before all time, as its own voice declares, and beyond all space. "The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way, before his works of old. I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth

was. When there were no depths I was brought forth; when there were no fountains abounding with water. Before the mountains were settled, before the hills was I brought forth. While as yet HE had not made the earth, nor the fields, nor the highest part of the dust of the world" (Prov. viii. 22—26).

It is indeed a common delusion with men to conceive of the understanding and will, as by and from themselves in some way producing their own contents, the true and the good; these spiritual substances, in the character of thought and affection, being considered then to have their origin altogether in the mind which thus seems to give them birth. But every such imagination is absurd, and goes directly to destroy the real substantiality of truth and good, by attenuating them into a sort of airy vapor floating off from men's minds into empty nothing. Our bodily senses have no power of themselves to originate their own sensations in this way. These are, in every case, the result of impression from what is outside of themselves, bringing to pass in them answerable affections or states, that belong then to the actual being of the organs in which they are found. And so it is precisely also with our higher mental organs, the faculty by which we think and the faculty by which we have the sense and activity of love. They are organic forms, interior and invisible to all natural vision, just as really as the brain is organic, in open view of such vision, for the inhabitation of these higher organs or powers that we call the mind; in the case of which then the clearest analogy requires, that these higher organs again should be regarded also as receptacles only, needing to be filled with their proper spiritual substance from a yet higher sphere. And that higher sphere, in the end, cannot possibly be thought of as anything less than the absolutely Divine.

To such conclusion we are shut up by all profound study of the world and of man. But we have also a "more sure word of prophecy" in regard to it, in the Holy Scriptures, to which as a light shining in the dark we are bound continually to give

earnest heed. If there be one thought plain beyond all others in the Word of God, it may be said to be this, that "a man can receive nothing except it be given him from heaven;" a thought which means necessarily, not only that he must thus owe to heaven what he receives at the beginning in any case, but that he must owe it ever after also in the same way as a new gift continually reaching him from the Lord.

There is nothing singular or extraordinary in this; it is but the necessary order of God's universal creation. There is no other conceivable relation between the infinite and the finite, between the absolute being of God and the relative dependent being of his creatures. They cannot be at all, as anything real, apart from him; they can neither exist nor subsist for a single moment in and of themselves. Of him, by him, and for him, we are told, are all things. All natural things in this way, mineral, vegetable, and animal, are what they are only in virtue of the energy of his being, pouring itself into them continually, in the form and measure of their created receptivity for such heavenly influx. When we rise above mere nature into the sphere of created mind, we know indeed that we are there brought to the last and chief end of creation; where it becomes the theatre of spiritual intelligence and freedom, making room for positive union and communion with God in the highest conceivable form. So much is at once signified by the declaration that man was made in the image and after the likeness of God, something that served at once to place him far above the world in every lower view. But is created mind for that reason any more self-existent or self-subsistent than created matter? May it be seriously supposed for a moment, that any such superiority on the part of man can ever possibly raise him in any degree above the general law of absolute dependence on God, which we have just seen to be imbedded in the very idea of creation at large? Or may it be dreamed, that because intelligence and freedom—the image and likeness of the Divine in man—are in their very nature both light and law to themselves, they must

therefore have, somehow, a separate independent existence of their own, such as there is no room to think of in the world below man? The question surely needs no answer. It answers itself.

It is not to be disguised, indeed, that the greater part of men do nevertheless secretly cherish just this insane fallacy in their minds; saying in substance, if not in form, Our thoughts and our words are our own, who is lord over us? Their only notion of rationality is that of self-intelligence; their only notion of freedom is that of self-volition. And so their only notion also of personal life, as consisting of these spiritual factors, is that of something, which however it may have come to be in them at the first, is now at least in them by actual tenure as their own; and they are ready at once, accordingly, to resent any contrary supposition, holding it to be destructive of all right use of life, and branding it possibly with the stigma of metaphysical mysticism and nonsense. But the nonsense, God knows, lies altogether on the other side. No exaltation of created existence, in man or angel, can ever amount to more than a relatively advanced capacity simply for receiving into itself the very same presence of the Divine, that is at work in different measures and degrees throughout the whole compass of creation. The angels in heaven know this, and find in it the beatific sense of their own light and freedom, as they could not possibly have it, or so much as bear to think of it indeed, in any other way. That it should be so largely otherwise with men in this world is their great misery, and forms most emphatically the very curse of the fall from which the Son of God came into the world to set us free.

The Scriptures teach us most explicitly that all life with man is from God. From God, not in the way of outward gift, something created from nothing and put into men as their separate property, but in the way of a perpetual inbreathing of the Divine essence which can never be sundered from itself; in the sense exactly of what is said of Adam in the beginning, "God

breathed into his nostrils the breath of life and he became a living soul." An organ of life, that means, and not life itself. Life is one with the absolute being of God, and cannot be thought of rationally as passing over to created minds in any other way. Only of the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ in human form, is so great a thing as that affirmed; and then it amounts at once, as we know, to the most overwhelming argument of his full oneness with God. "As the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have LIFE IN HIMSELF" (John v. 26.) No such gift ever has been made or ever can be made, to either angel or man. Angels and men have no power to live, except by real participation in the one absolute life which is thus comprehended for their use first of all in him who is the fulness of the Godhead bodily. "In him was life, and the life was the light of men" (John i. 4). "I am the way, the truth, and the life" (John xiv. 6). "I am the light of the world, he that followeth me, shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life" (John viii. 12). "I am the resurrection and the life." (John xi. 25). "Because I live, ye shall live also: at that day ye shall know that I am in my Father, and ye in me and I in you" (John xiv. 19, 20). "God hath given to us eternal life, and this life is in his Son. He that hath the Son hath life; and he that hath not the Son of God hath not life. We are in him that is true, even in his Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God, and eternal life" (1 John v. 11, 12-20). But why go on with quotations? We might as well quote proofs for the shining of the sun in the heavens. That natural fact is itself indeed but an image of the spiritual fact here, which shines forth upon us from every page of the Bible; the ground fact, namely, of all religion, that all our springs are in God (Ps. lxxxvii. 7); that in him we live and move, and have our being (Acts xvii. 28); that with him is the fountain of life, and that in the light of this life only, is it possible for either men or angels ever to see light (Ps. xxxvi. 9).

And yet with all this, at the same time, we know only too

well, as regards the whole subject, that now no less than in the time of Christ's first coming, and with the present Christian world generally as then with the religious Jewish world, the old saying quoted by our Lord himself from Esaias the prophet, is still sure to be fulfilled: "Lord, who hath believed our report? and to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed?" (John xii. 38).

From what has now been said, however, it follows that not only the life of God indefinitely taken is the source of life with men in the way we have seen, but that the essential constituents also of that life, Divine love and Divine wisdom, enter actively into the constitution of man's life in the same way. They, too, flow into men continually from God alone. God is love, we are told; that is with him not an attribute simply of his existence otherwise thought of, but what must be considered the primordial basis of his existence, the very inmost of his being. He is at the same time wisdom or word, with like original and eternal necessity ("the word was in the beginning with God, and the word WAS God"); not an attribute then again of the Divine, but its essential form, the positive outgoing and manifestation of its interior substance as love, without which this could have no existence whatever. These two conjoined as one, are just what we are to understand by the Divine life; and so it becomes at once plain, that they must be in their own nature just as incapable as this life itself of entering into any created mind, in the way of separate possession or appropriation. In other words, there can be but one love and but one wisdom, for the universe; just as there is for it but one life. All absolutely, infinitely, and without partition, in God himself alone; and then in created finite spirits only in the way of relative self-communication—the only way in which it is possible for the absolute being of God to enter anywhere into the works of his hand, whether natural or spiritual. And as it is with the Divine love and wisdom in this view, so must it be of course also with the good and the true universally, which

issue directly from the love and wisdom of God, and in this way belong also to his absolute and eternal being. "There is none good but one, that is God" (Matth. xix. 17). "I am the truth," Christ says—which means necessarily truth in its infinitude, truth as one and universal; "to this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth: every one that is of the truth heareth my voice" (John xiv. 6, xviii. 37).

How hard it is for us to rise to the height of this great thought, and not be immediately dragged down from it again by its inveterate contradictory, reigning all around us. How hard it is for us to believe steadily what the Bible so clearly teaches; namely, that truth is no abstraction, no airy creature of men's thinking merely, as it is commonly supposed to be, but actual objective reality and substance; and that in this character it is born for ever from the bosom of the good, which is alike positively substantial and real; the two by their everlasting union in God, and from God, being in fact no less than the very presence of Jehovah himself, ever living and ever active in all his ways and works.

It is easy to follow the organism of man's life, naturally viewed, up to its culmination in the brain, from whence then all its action may be plainly seen to flow derivatively into every part of the body; and natural science is unwilling ordinarily to allow any thought of organization beyond this. But what can be more irrational in fact, than to stop thus with our upward induction here, where the innumerable rills of the nerve-system issue, full of life, from the glandular substance of the brain? Can that be the origination even of natural life? Who may not see that the summit of the merely natural as reached there, postulates of itself the coming in of the spiritual now in the form of still higher invisible organization—the organism of created mind—as that which must inhabit and possess the brain from above to give it living action? And just as clearly, we say, the invisible organism of the mind again in such created

and finite form can never be in and of itself the absolute origination of this process; it must itself be again a subordinate receptacle only for the spiritual in yet higher view; for the spiritual as nothing less in the end than the life of the Lord himself, entering in the way we have now seen into the human spirit, and thus finding room there for the real actualization of what is the last end of all God's works. That end, we know, has not been ever that the creation should be an outward show merely of his wisdom and power, but that it should open the way for a realm of created intelligence and freedom—his own image and likeness—into which he might then pour the fulness of his everlasting love, and so dwell in it as the habitation of his holiness forever.

This communication of the Divine life into the human, as now described, is general, something appertaining to all men, and not the extraordinary distinction simply of some men. It belongs to the universal relation of the human to the Divine, which as we have just seen is such that man cannot be man at all, except as he lives, and moves, and has his being in God. But men, as free, have it in their power at the same time, either to admit this higher life of the Lord into themselves in its own proper order and form or not; to admit it; and here at once, then, comes into view the wide difference there is always between the evil and the good, the wicked and the righteous. The good look believingly towards the Lord, and receive into themselves thus the power of his life, in the double form of goodness and truth, love in the will and light in the understanding. The wicked and the unrighteous, on the other hand, refuse to acknowledge the Lord, by looking toward him in any such believing way; on the contrary, they turn their back upon him, under the domination of an exactly opposite principle, the love of self and the world; and thus close up their minds, as far as they can, on the spiritual side, so that the light of heaven finds no intromission into them, save only so far as is needed in a glimmering way to maintain their mental powers in mere formal

existence. The result with them, in this way, must ever be corruption, thick darkness, and moral death. They are not still cut off from communion with the spiritual world. No spirit of man can subsist without comprehension in that world, any more than his body can subsist without comprehension in the general world of nature. But whereas the conversation of the righteous is in heaven (Philip. iii. 20), and their fellowship with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ (1 John i. 3), the wicked of whom we now speak actually join themselves with hell while yet here in the body, and dying in such state come at last there to what was all along before their own place.

With the wicked universally we have in this way a false understanding and a false will, holding to each other the same relation which we have seen before to belong to these powers necessarily in our general human constitution. The will being the reigning love of the mind, is its inmost life; from which the understanding takes its quality and form. What the love seeks and embraces is considered to be good; and what falls in with this in thought is considered to be true. The love here is full turning away of the soul from God, the absolute and only real good, and full turning in the exact opposite direction toward self and the world; which is idolatry in its very essence, and the inmost core of all evil and sin. Out of such love, there may arise what seems to be light in the understanding; but the light can only be answerable to the bad source from which it springs, and what it proclaims to be truth can never be aught else in fact than diabolical falsehood. How can it be otherwise, we may well ask; since, by the very nature of the case, the light is not of heavenly genealogy, and has not in it therefore any life from the Lord, but is of directly opposite birth; having in it intrinsically only hatred of the Lord, and being in that way no more than a foul spurious luminosity, born from the concupiscence of evil, and serving but to make darkness visible in the sin-benighted soul. "If thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light; but if thine eye be evil, thy whole body

shall be full of darkness. If therefore the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness" (Matt. vi. 23).

All such life is properly speaking not life at all, in any sense answering rightly to the higher nature of man. It is what the Scriptures mean by spiritual death, and what the angels have in mind always when they think of any death; namely, the condition of created mind or spirit self-sundered from the universal fountain of life in God, and so having in it no power to will any good or to see any truth. And so then, it can never be more than the hollow mockery of either good or truth that is possible at all for such fallen existence; and just as impossible is it, that there should be for it any genuine humanity in any view or form. It may be said of such fallen existence universally, "the whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint." Not only is it hopelessly shorn of its proper dignity in the "heavenly places" of the mind, where this as will and understanding should receive into itself, directly "all the fullness of God" (Eph. iii. 19), but the curse of that deprivation is felt also extending itself at the same time as a power of fatal disorder, down through the entire lower life of the mind in all its functions and offices. There is a total inversion everywhere of things as they should be in the economy of the soul, by which the last throughout is made to be first, and the first last. So that whereas the light of wisdom, from heaven, should descend as intelligence into the bosom of reason, and through this reach down with organic vitalizing force to all natural knowledges and experiences beneath that plane, making out of the whole the unity of a true spiritual man, the inversion here noticed turns all just the opposite way; making the natural, as mere sense and science, to be supreme, and sinking the spiritual by comparison into such insignificance as reduces it in the end to mere nothing. And how may it be possible that there should be in such case as that any good anywhere in the will, or any truth anywhere in the understanding?

Coming back now to that with which we started in this article,

it is easy to see how it is that the true life of religion (in full contrast with what is the want of all such religion in the character of the ungodly just described), is and can be universally nothing less than such a real flowing in of the Divine life into the human, as our Bible anthropology thus far pursued has shown to be the only true ideal of all created spiritual existence, whether human or angelic, as related to the Divine. The life of religion is not in men ever as their own original property; neither can they rise to it in any way, as of themselves, from below; to be in them at all, it must come into them from a sphere actually transcending the summit of their own existence in every natural view. The highest with men in themselves considered, is no more than an empty capacity in the double form of will and understanding, answering as image to the Divine love and wisdom, and offering or refusing them the entrance they are ever seeking to gain into the human soul. With just this high and mysterious meaning it is that our glorified Lord says: "Behold, I stand at the door, and knock; if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me" (Rev. iii. 21). We see at once, how any such entrance must be conditioned first of all, on the part of men, by the fear of the Lord, which means, as we have seen before, the reverential acknowledgment of the Lord, as being in truth what he claims to be in the view now stated, with some felt sense at the same time of his presence and glory. That is the beginning of wisdom or true religion—the "life of God in the soul of man"—because it is the first opening of the soul in its interior being as this has place in the will; and so then at the same time, immediately, a real entrance also of the love of the Lord into the room which is thus made for its reception; which is nothing less in fact than the life of the Lord flowing into the soul, with power to vivify and irradiate more and more all the "deep places of the earth" that are found there inaccessible otherwise to the pure light of heaven.

That, we say, is the only possible order of such divine rege-

neration; life from the Lord first in the will, and then light from this in the understanding. Hence that sacred *hendiadys*, already noticed—founded in the duplex nature of all mind, whether human or divine—by which the fear of the Lord in man joins itself with the keeping of his commandments (that is, the following of him in the light of his life as this dwells in his word); and so in consequence wisdom proceeding from the first becomes again, in like order, what is called a good understanding. It seems indeed as if the *hendiadys* in the second form fell away here from the order it follows in the first form; inasmuch as wisdom has its seat in the faculty of intelligence, no less than good understanding. But this is only a strong example of what we have already seen to be the necessary interpenetration of the two forces, will and intelligence, in every point and particular of our life. In a multitude of cases thus, what ostensibly at first belongs to one side is found, on closer view, to refer itself inwardly and essentially to the other. So here; wisdom appears in and by the understanding; it is there as light shining in the otherwise dark mind. But as we have now seen, it is there, when seen in true character and form, not in the way of any thought or reflection properly, but purely and solely in the way of what the great English poet dares to call “bright effluence of bright essence increate,” the love of Jehovah let into the will-power of the human soul, and made to shine there as a star of righteousness forever and ever. That is what the Bible means by wisdom. There is, as we have seen, the diabolical mockery of this in another form, where the light that men think they have in them is only thick darkness. Such as it is, that too is essentially the love of the will, the reigning state of the heart, back of all thinking strictly so called; the love being here, as we know, deicidal self-love set on fire of hell. This is the candle of the wicked, which shall be put out (Prov. xxiv. 20). But wisdom in its true, genuine form is the “candle of the Lord,” shining inwardly in man; that, in short, which constitutes the SPIRIT OF MAN that

goeth upward, in distinction from the spirit of the beast that goeth downward to the earth (Prov. xx. 27; Eccles. iii. 21). "THOU wilt light my candle," says the Psalmist; "the Lord my God will enlighten my darkness" (Ps. xviii. 28). And so it is said of God's holy Jerusalem universally: "There shall be no night there; and they need no candle, neither light of the sun; for the Lord God giveth them light; and they shall reign forever and ever" (Rev. xxii. 5).*

Wisdom, so understood, is that which is highest in man, that which inmostly joins man with God in the life of his will, and is thus the very essence of his human being; so that all the other powers and activities of this being, whether intellectual or affectional, out to its extreme boundary of mere bodily appetite and sense, can never appear in their true normal character and form save as the central light of that divinely inflowing life is found at last entering into all, and disposing all to its own glorious service and use. It matters not in the case, that the outward and empirical seem to come first—to lead the way in what is thus brought to pass; in the familiar order of bodily sense, ordinary outward memory, common natural knowledge, reflection, the exercise of reason, and then, as the result of all, what seems to be intelligence, mounting on its own wings toward heaven. It is perfectly certain, in spite of all such appearance, that, as we have said before, the end here is in truth the beginning; and that there can be no really *human* development, otherwise than as this end enters organically throughout into the entire process by which it thus brings itself

* The deeper thinking of the world has always borne testimony, more or less clear, to this idea of wisdom, as distinguished from mere science and learning. Among the ancients (whether represented by Job or by Plato), he only was held to be wise, who had the knowledge of the good in himself practically, as his own inmost being—something well understood, at the same time, to be in him only by indwelling inspiration from the Almighty. That alone is VIRTUE; the fountain-head of all light and strength with men. Alas what a lapse have we from this, in the vaunted so-called wisdom of our nineteenth century!

finally into full view. Such is the universal philosophy, or say rather *theosophy*, of the Bible. "See, I have called by name Bezaleel, the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah"—God says to Moses, when fit provision was to be made for the work of the tabernacle, which should image in outward paradigm our Lord's incarnation, his holy heaven, his church on earth, and his life in every regenerate man; "and I have filled him with the Spirit of God, *in wisdom, and in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship*" (Ex. xxxi. 23). That is the everlasting order of God's kingdom. The reverse of it is hell. It is not just the order of our common school education, or of our Smithsonian institutes. Not the order of the wisdom of this world (1 Cor. ii. 6). But most assuredly the order of Paradise, from which our race fell, through listening to that whispered lie of the serpent: "Ye shall not surely die: your eyes shall be opened; ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil." And therefore most assuredly also the order of the new creation in our Restorer Christ, through which only room is made for the promise: "To him that overcometh will I give to EAT OF THE TREE OF LIFE, which is in the midst of the paradise of God" (Rev. ii. 7). Lord, evermore give us this celestial bread!

In the proper study of our subject, we are required carefully to distinguish here two states: the original constitution of humanity, as it comes before us in the idea of Eden—the true golden age of our world's life; and what humanity has come to be since, in its universally fallen character and form, as we find it in the world now.

Man was so created in the beginning, that will and understanding were in him as immediate unity throughout; so that he could think only as his actual volition was, and will only what was his actual thought. The primacy of the will-power was then such that the faculty of the understanding lay involved as it were in the will, being in it a sort of instinct or direct, spontaneous perception, rather than any distinct reflec-

tion or science. The love of the will was at once the light of the intellect; and both were sensibly comprehended in the life of the Lord. There was thus, of course, open communication inwardly with angels in heaven, and free intelligible correspondence, felt on all sides, between the spiritual and the natural worlds. It is not possible for us now, in our age of iron, to reproduce in thought even that celestial mode of existence, which has long since perished so utterly from our planet. We know only, from the Bible, that it once had place here; and it is our privilege to believe, that it is not wanting still in ten thousand other planets, peopled like ours with human life.

In wide difference from this, the life of our race as it now stands is in itself considered a profoundly fallen life; a life estranged from heaven, and from the spiritual world, so far as to have in it almost no sense whatever of any reality in things unseen and eternal. The evidence of such great change appears at once in the plain fact, that the two faculties of the will and the understanding no longer act with men in quiet unconscious harmony as they did in the beginning, showing heart and mind to be one, and the heart at the same time to be in the mind, so to speak, as its veritable animating soul. We can now, without any difficulty, know or think what is good and true, and yet will just the opposite, namely, what is evil and false; something wholly at variance with the idea of paradise and heaven. Something, we may add, at variance wholly with the idea of hell also; for there, in the end, all capacity for knowing either goodness or truth must be extinguished, by the overflowing power of corruption in the will. And so would it be with men on the earth also, if the dominion of the will over the understanding had been allowed to continue in its original form; because our will now in its natural character, is so corrupt, that no room is to be found in it for any conceivable rectification of our life from that source. If we are to be saved, the case demands as we know, not simply the reconstructing of our old will thus fallen into evil; but the creation in us of a strictly new

will, that shall have another seat entirely in our spiritual constitution, and show itself in this way to be the fountain of a new heavenly life from the Lord. Such spiritual regeneration, is made possible for us only by a process starting now in the intellectual side of our being; and in that view there is actual mercy for us in the separation of intellect and will here spoken of as a consequence of the fall. The separation belongs to the Providence of our Redeemer God, and holds preliminary relation in this way to his coming into the world through the assumption of our flesh, without which there could have been for us no salvation in this or in any other way.

We can only now, in the very briefest way, speak of the ingeneration of this new spiritual life in fallen men—the great miracle of the gospel, fashioned after the model of our Lord's own blessed glorification (John iii. 11–13; xii. 28–32; xvii. 17–19). To describe it in full would require a whole body of divinity; and this, by the time it was complete, would be found probably like our systems of theology in general, to be little better than the grave of Lazarus, holding all within itself in dark, cold obstruction, and bound helplessly hand and foot.

As just intimated, the first motion toward spiritual regeneration with men now belongs to the understanding, as having in it a capacity, apart from the will, to see and own what is true. It can even see and own the good in this way; and this then is mistaken often for the actual perception of the good itself as such; but it is not that ever in reality; it is only seeing the good as true or right. Such seeing of truth, however, as having in it authority and right, makes room for *conscience*; which differs wholly from the perception of the will as it existed before the fall, and yet is an analogous principle (a true dictation from God) holding now in the understanding. Here opportunity is gained for heavenly affection from the Lord to flow into the soul, not through its old will at all in any way—for that as we have just seen is hopelessly corrupt—but by the formation of what becomes in fact the power, more and more, of a new will

planted in the intellectual side of the life; a new will, actually looking down upon the old will as something beneath itself, and drawing after it in the end a like regeneration for all the contents of the understanding, For it is of the first importance here to see, that all the truth with which this process starts in the mind, at the outset, is itself defective and more apparent than real; even though it be drawn from the Word of God; just because it is in the first place taken in only as natural knowledge, and has not yet come to have in it the true breath of life inspired into it interiorly from the Lord. But truth thus owned and homaged in the conscience intellectually calls out toward itself what may be called intellectual affection; that is, the complacency or it may be even zeal of love, not just for the good as such which the truth affirms, but for the truth thus approved by the intelligence as worthy in itself of such high regard. That is not yet religion; it falls short still of the true idea even of virtue; but it is much, Oh how much! nevertheless, in the *sic itur ad astra* of the redeemed of the Lord, who shall "come to Zion at last with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads." For now the good which has been all the while latent in such truth, comes in course of time to assert itself more and more as it were in its own right, as a principle of real delight in the law of the Lord for the Lord's sake. The truth that reigns in the conscience is brought more and more to regard the good as its proper end, and in this way to insinuate itself into the life of the good; until finally the whole process is reversed, and the subject of the glorious change is found, without direct sense of the fact at first, acting not from truth primarily, but from that heaven-born principle of charity which St. Paul declares to be the only fulfilling of the law (Rom. xiii. 10). All, of course, through the inspiration of God's almighty Love; entering the soul from the interior side; taking into its living service all cognate truth and faculty previously at hand from the opposite side; imparting new birth in this way to the universal man; causing the desert within him to rejoice and blos-

som as the rose; and, in one word, brightening the entire field of his existence with the light of immortality.*

This is that great mystery of regeneration, of which our Lord says to Nicodemus: "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God" (John iii. 3); and of which St. Paul writes: "If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature; old things are passed away; behold all things are become new" (2 Cor. v. 17). It stands forth as a pre-eminently Christian doctrine in the New Testament; but just for that reason it meets us everywhere also in the testimony of Jesus Christ, which from the loss of Eden onward forms the animating spirit and soul of the Old Testament. In all that is spoken there prophetically, in particular, of God's creating the heavens and the earth anew, it is only this spiritual creation certainly that can be intended, to which the outward natural creation from first to last stands related but as empty shadow. "Behold, I create new heavens and a new earth: and the former shall not be remembered, nor come to mind. But be ye glad

* This must not be confounded, of course, with the ethical theory by which a certain class of thinkers have dreamed of a natural genesis of virtue and morality from the original selfishness of the will, in the way of educated habit, natural sympathy and enlarged range of thought. No *such* righting of man's fallen life can ever reach to what the Word of God means by regeneration; and it has nothing in common with the process here briefly sketched as God's method of bringing this to pass. Here indeed man's own activity is called into the fullest exercise; but this activity is made to move throughout in the bosom of God's life-giving love, insinuating itself into the movement from first to last. For that love is really latent from the outset even in the truth, from the Divine Word, with which the process begins, however imperfectly and impurely such truth may be in the mind at the beginning. All turns on the two great conditions—so simple and well known, and yet so "hard to be understood," and, we may say, so generally unknown—fearing God and seeking him directly in his commandments. These are as the two pillars Jachin and Boaz, which faced each other at the entrance of God's ancient temple (1 Kings vii. 21). They open the way into the Lord's house in full spiritual sense, and thus verify the words of the Psalmist: "Honour and majesty are before him; strength and beauty are in his sanctuary" (Ps. xcvi. 6.)

and rejoice forever in that which I create: for behold, I create Jerusalem a rejoicing, and her people a joy" (Is. lxx. 17, 18). "A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you: and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you a heart of flesh. And I will put MY SPIRIT WITHIN YOU, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments to do them" (Ezek. xxxvi. 26, 27).

In this last passage, a new heart means a new will, and a new spirit means a new understanding. These two together make the mind of man, which is man himself, and both need regeneration, in the way we have now seen, by the Spirit of the Lord entering into them as life. Note well again also the order; the heart first, and then the spirit; the new will divinely quickened from the Lord, and through this then the new understanding. The spiritual life which we have since the fall by Christ Jesus is not the celestial life, strictly so called, which belonged to our humanity before the fall; but it comes in the end still to the same general order. It is still "a garden planted eastward in Eden"—a paradise that springs forth from the true Orient of the Lord's Love, the side of earth that lies next toward heaven; and out of that divine source only it is then, that the river of the water of life still proceeds in the old order of WISDOM, intelligence, reason, and outward knowledge or science—those four ancient, goodly streams, which in such order make glad forever the city of God, the holy place of the tabernacles of the Most High (Gen. iv. 8-14; Ps. xlv. 4; Ezek. xlvii. 1-12; Rev. xxii. 1, 2). Though at first it seem otherwise, the real priority, both of being and of power, in this new creation, belongs still, in the way we have seen, not to the understanding, but to the will. Truth can have no life in it, except from the good breathed into it by the Lord. Faith, without charity, or not having charity in it as the very principle and soul of its own existence, is but a dead corpse and "nothing worth."

Men are born for truth, as they are born also for freedom.

The first is the inalienable right of their understanding, the second is the inalienable right of their will. Hence their instinctive pleasure in knowledge and self-action from the beginning. Hence the world's common magniloquence in praise of liberty and science. But, alas, how little it is understood, what either the one interest or the other really means.

Freedom is, indeed, the prerogative of man's will; it is simply the will's love determining itself toward its own end; and that is the very being of the man as he is at the time. But if the love in which the man exists, and which is thus his very being at the time, is itself foul and false, turned away from God, who is the absolute and only good, and fixed on the man himself as standing in the place of God; what then? Can that be freedom? Is *that* the liberty of either thought, or speech, or action, which men are born to regard as their indefeasible right, and which they are bound to maintain, if need be, at the cost of life itself? Common sense, as well as religion, answers: No. The will, to be the true norm of freedom for men, must itself be free; must itself move in the orbit of God's will. Otherwise it is only the diabolical and damnable counterfeit of will, whose freedom is but the bondage of hell. The life of the Son of man entering into men is that alone, by which they can ever attain here to their original birth-right. He is the truth; he came into the world to bear witness unto the truth; and his voice to all now is: "If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples, indeed; and ye shall know the truth, and *the truth shall make you free*" (John viii. 31, 32).

But see now the perverseness here again of the common thinking of men on this great subject. No sooner are they brought to see and own such dependence of freedom on truth, than they immediately begin to set up truth then, under the view of knowledge, science, reason and intelligence generally (whether drawn from secular or religious data matters not), as being for them now in and of itself the proper mastery of the entire situation. As if the understanding could be the origin

of its own light (the light by which only it can see anything in heaven or earth as it really is), any more than the will can be the origin of its own freedom or good! Who should not know that truth, without the life of love from the Lord in it, is as form without essence, body without soul, something cold, hard, unpliant and dead; something which in its theological form especially is forever driving men asunder, without the least power to draw them ever into catholic unity and wholeness? It has been well compared in such view to the wild ass of the desert, solitary and snuffing up the wind; which the Bible makes to be the type of Ishmael (Gen. xvi. 12); himself born of an unfree Egyptian mother; the mocker of Isaac; of whom it is said, that he "dwelt in the wilderness, and became an archer;" that his mother took him also "a wife out of the land of Egypt;" and that his hand was against every man, and every man's hand against him.

J. WILLIAMSON NEVIN.

ART. II.—THE GOSPEL IN CITIES.

BY REV. GEO. H. JOHNSTON.

THERE is a saying: "God made the country, and man made the town;" and it is sometimes quoted by the representatives of good morals in the country with a significant air, meaning as much as that the country is God's territory, and the city is the devil's. This judgment rests in the fact, no doubt, that Cain, who "went out from the presence of the Lord," built the first city. That Cain was the founder of cities, however rude the first ones may have been, is certainly nothing in their favor. But we are reminded, that the *ground* was cursed for man's sake (which includes the country), and that it should bring forth thorns and thistles, and that in the sweat of his face should man eat bread all the days of his life.

Cain was probably prompted to build a city from a sense of fear in the interest of self-defence. He gathered around him his kin and organized society. In this community, Lamech introduced polygamy; Jubal was the "father of all such as handle the harp and organ;" Tubal-Cain was an "instructor of every artificer in brass and iron;" and Jabal "was the father of such as dwell in tents, and of such as have cattle."

Here then, it seems, we have the elements of city and country life represented by Cain and his descendants. The city furnishes the simplest form of organized society, next to the family. The useful arts, so prominent in the after history of the world, are here in their beginnings, in the works of brass and iron; the fine arts receive their first impulse in the production of musical instruments; shepherd life is countenanced; polygamy, that blight upon the homes and hearts of millions, is introduced. But Abel, too, and the line of those who feared God, kept flocks. The fact is, by nature there was no difference between the line of Abel and Seth, and that of Cain. While in the one case, immorality and irreligion developed themselves faster than in the other, the proneness to evil was naturally the same in both, and it was only restrained and overcome by "communion" with God. Also, the line of partition was not strictly maintained between these two currents of history; for, in the process of time, the "sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose."

Cities are in themselves not bad. They are what their inhabitants make them. So the country. From the twilight of history until now, they have dotted the lands in which man has dwelt. Perhaps they are a reflection, in some sort, of the existence of a city on high, as the natural heart reflects, however dimly, the existence of God. In the nature of the case, society here organized itself; laws and government were gradually developed; trades and professions, the useful and the fine arts, learning and culture, gradually found place; and religion, with

its gods, temples, altars, sacrifices, worship, gave evidence that man is by nature religious. Agricultural and pastoral life, though important, and sometimes representing large wealth and wielding, upon occasion, decided influence, as is seen later in the case of Job and Abraham, yet the main activities of history centered in the cities and organized communities. Nomadic life accomplished but little, in any age, of substantial value for the progress of society. In this regard it represents "masterly inactivity." While it is comparatively free from the dangers of densely settled society, where association is favorable to, if it is not also a powerful stimulus in the development of crime, it yet does little in any period to solve the problems of life. Husbandry, and the quiet, monotonous flow of the pastoral life, are not so central in the activities that distinguish nations, as are the more definitely settled communities, where laws and fixed government become necessities, and the industrial arts are systematically cultivated.

Of course, husbandry, including the pastoral interest, is a great and necessary source of supply to the towns and cities, which devote themselves mainly to the mechanical and mercantile pursuits; and as husbandry enlarges its sphere of work as in the more modern ages, it becomes more and more a great factor in the production of the staff of life, while it is also a principal dealer at the marts of mechanical industry and at the ports of commerce. Whatever it may have done in originating progressive steps in the development of the arts, science, government, commerce, culture, it seems always to have taken rather a secondary part in these industries and pursuits, occupying, in the nature of the case, a conservative relation to the ebb and flow of social, political, literary, and religious life.

The energy, industry, concentrated wealth, and influence, that gather in the great hearts of the countries, the cities of the world, seem necessary to lead off in the execution of great enterprises. We would not even seem to disparage the one that we might exalt the other. We are only trying to sketch facts.

In ancient times, great cities, such as Babylon and Nineveh, represented more worldly greatness and glory than the thousands that were scattered over the country besides. Within their walls art was found, as the world then understood and cultivated it; here mechanics attained to their best models; science produced its greatest works; politics labored in the interest of successful government; and religion was venerated as the highest concern of man.

Later, Jerusalem in Israel became the centre for that people, not only as the resting place of the ark of God, but the genius of the land for temporal enterprises gathered in that great city. Jerusalem was the strength and beauty and glory of Palestine in all that makes a people great in this world.

Thus also in the Grecian Republics, and in the Roman Empire, the cities were the centres of art, learning, political organization, governmental policies, diversified industries; and religion gathered around itself in Athens, Corinth, Antioch, Ephesus, Alexandria, Rome, its most imposing temples and altars, and its most pompous ceremonials. Here poets and artists, orators and historians, generals and statesmen, princes and kings, resided. Here the great festivals and fasts were held, and the shows were periodically exhibited, in the presence of the multitudes that congregated from all quarters, to feast their eyes and passions upon the carnivals. Eliminate the cities from the records of ancient history and only the shell remains. The pastoral and agricultural elements of history move along, like the quiet flow of the river, until disturbed by the centres of organized society. Life here is comparatively free from the violent throes that so often convulse the body politic, until the influence of disturbance in the central parts of organized power reaches out upon the land and rouses the more calm and passive dwellers in the interior and borders of the country. Even then, when aroused, they are generally comparatively easily controlled, but when once organized, and under competent leadership, they are a terror to evil doers, a power to

vindicate the right; or, misguided, prove a scourge to the land.

While cities afford great opportunities for the development of inborn-sin, so that vice, in its rankest and most loathsome forms, is here to be met with as it is seldom seen even in single cases in the rural districts, it is not to be overlooked that cities have always represented evidences of the greatest religious interest and activity. Heathen nations and rulers even, in their best condition, paid great respect to the oracles of the gods, reverently performed their devotions, and offered their sacrifices to secure the divine favor.

It seems a fact that, for purposes of government, art, culture, religion, cities have always taken a leading controlling interest, and that in them, and from them, many of the great interests of life have reached out upon the world.

In the time of Christ, Jerusalem was chief in the mind and heart of the Jew, not only because with it were associated the glorious memories of the reigns of David and Solomon, but because there also clustered all his religious hopes. Scribes, Pharisees, Sadducees, priests, rulers, people, all turned their faces to this shrine; and from here large influence went out into all the borders of Canaan. This city also continued to be the centre for all the Jews of the "dispersion," and a mighty influence was wielded by them among the Heathen nations, with whom they were in constant intercourse, and thus the hearts of many were directed to the same altar where the Jew was wont to worship.

When Christianity was organized, it was done, not in the country, but in Jerusalem, the centre of the known world for the oracles of God. The Apostles acted upon this divinely indicated plan. They commenced the preaching of the Gospel, not first in the rural districts, in the villages and smaller towns, where it would have met with less organized opposition than in the great city; but, as the Master confronted Satan entrenched in the fastnesses of the world's life in its various forms of moral and religious error, Judaistic and heathen, lifted the veil

of heathen superstition and shed rays of light into the thick darkness, dispelled false Messianic hopes in the presence of all Israel, so also His Gospel is not to be hid under a bushel, but it is destined to light up the surrounding darkness from one of the loftiest eminences of organized society, even from the world-renowned Jerusalem. Here its light is first to shine, where the world despised its founder, rejected Him, and connected Him in His death with the vile of the earth; here will He manifest His risen power, and assert the perennial nature of His Gospel, confound His enemies, and challenge the world with the saving efficacy of His theanthropic life, exalted to the right hand of God, but present by the Spirit for the regeneration and sanctification of fallen humanity. Christianity will organize and establish itself first upon the theatre of its rejection. Where sin so abounded, that all the enginery of hell was marshalled to withstand the second Adam in the mission of successfully grafting the race with a pure and holy stock, upon which all the diseased and dying branches native to the first Adam might be grafted, live and bear fruit here and hereafter, *there*, upon the same spot, will He turn the cross, the instrument of torture and death into the symbol of life and peace, and plant it so firmly in the presence of His enemies that all their machinations shall not be able to restrain Him in this work. When the Church is fairly grounded in this ancient city, then the Apostles begin to carry the good-tidings into the regions round about.

But we do not find them scattering into the quiet of the country, and so keeping themselves comparatively aloof from organized opposition; on the contrary, they are found directing their efforts to spread the Gospel in the larger towns and cities. At Jerusalem the first martyr sheds his blood; still the Word is preached there. Saul with others go on the search for the ambassadors of the cross, not into the wilderness, but to Damascus. In Jerusalem the first Synod is held. To Antioch and Cesarea, they go with the Word of life. To Alex-

andria in Egypt, to the larger cities and towns of Asia Minor and the prominent islands in the Mediterranean, to Ephesus where is located the great temple of Diana, to Macedonia, to Berea, to Athens and Corinth, the garden of earthly wisdom and artistic glory, and to Rome, the embodiment of secular power, they went as the first objects of their interest and labor. Twenty-five years after Christ's death, there was a flourishing congregation in Rome, to which Paul addresses an Epistle from the bosom of the congregation he had established at Corinth.

These cities represented the trade, wealth, intelligence, culture, secular and religious influence of the Roman empire. While they were the centres of commerce, culture, and political power, the Church, under the divine guidance, knew that to establish herself at the seats of worldly activity might cost tears, and sweat, and blood, which it did, as the Saviour had said, but once rooted here, the conquest of the world would follow in the order of God's providence. While all forms of error and vice were to be confronted here, the best elements of mental and moral susceptibility were also at hand, upon which the seed could be sown with good prospect of a harvest. When Christianity has laid hold upon the city, and the Church, in the work of the Christian life, has opened the avenues of a pure faith, a blameless life, and a divine charity, it is wonderful to see how she wins her way, bringing the soul and the body, the humble and the great, silver and gold, to serve her for the glory of God. In the regeneration of the individual human life, the work must not be, it cannot be, of an outward sort merely; not a work as it were on the outskirts of the man, but the subject must be apprehended centrally, and from the heart and life the outward man and his walk must be brought into the obedience of faith. When the will is freed from the bondage of the flesh, the body will be directed by the regenerated moral nature. So Christianity must be planted in the organized centres of the world's life and activities, and laying firm hold on these, making culture and commerce tributary to the Gospel, though subjec-

tion be accomplished only in part, yet will it tell powerfully for the further triumph of the cross in the cities themselves, and especially also for the spread of Christianity into the tributaries of the national life. This is the normal way to preach the Gospel. Here the greatest battles are to be fought in the interest of Christianity, first in establishing its claims, and afterwards in maintaining the ground it has won. It must meet these organized worldly powers, in whose bosom sin is cultivated in its worst possibilities, until it will openly defy the challenge of the Gospel, as heathenism and perverse Judaism did. This sin will also do in the Christian age, showing itself confident enough to set aside the restraining presence of the divine precepts, which lie at the foundation of a healthful social system, and are necessary to the true happiness of mankind. Christianity must meet all forms of worldly culture in the cities. Literature, in its best and in its worst forms, is an every-day study, a subject of constant entertainment in the offices and parlors, lobbies and halls. There is no subject brought to the surface in ancient or modern times, whether of law, medicine, art, philosophy, history, politics, religion, that escapes notice. The evidences of Christianity are conned, as well as Greenleaf on Evidence. Huxley and Darwin are as eagerly read as the five books of Moses and the orthodox commentaries on them. Truth and falsehood have their advocates. The cities of a nation represent largely its social, political, mercantile, and religious life. This seems to have been true in the heathen world of ancient times, and it is true in the present. So in Christian lands, cities wield a vast power. It has been said that London is England, that Paris is France, Rome is Italy, Edinburg is Scotland, etc. While the cities in America cannot be said to crystallize the national life in the sense that Paris does this for France, because a Republic, and especially the American Republic, is far more plastic than the governments of the old world, yet they are not without vast significance for the whole land, in all material and religious, as well as social and literary interests.

The Gospel is for the world, for man in all possible circumstances. It challenges him as a nomad, peasant, recluse, king; it makes its appeal to the rural districts, with their sparse population, as well as to the cities, with their thousands and millions. It is God's revelation to bridge the gulf between man and his Maker. The breach is co-extensive with the race. By nature alien from God, in his life he tends farther and farther from his right relation. He goes on, how often, lower and lower into the mire, until his level is akin to Satan's and his position hard by the borders of hell. Much of his time and talent are spent in efforts to strengthen himself against the claims of the Gospel. He ransacks the round of creation, falls back on his own resources of thought, endeavoring to answer the intuitions of his nature, anon sallies forth in bold attacks upon the Gospel itself; thus negatively and positively he seeks to fortify himself against the truth. In cities vice accumulates and strengthens itself by sympathy and cultivation. Errors, false philosophy, irreligion, and downright infidelity grow up together, like as the rankest weeds grow in the marshes. The Gospel, however, must be preached in the cities as well as in the wide country. But the Gospel is always true to itself, and it must be presented in its own character. It will not suffer mutilation. The Apostles and their successors were commissioned to preach *the* Gospel, not *a* Gospel, such as they might elect. It is in its nature adapted to every degree of vice, to every phase of doubt, to every species of false philosophy. Mary Magdalene is healed by its virtue; Nicodemus is challenged, instructed, and won, by its mysteries; and the Epicureans are reminded from the midst of Mars Hill, of the existence of the unknown God whom they worshiped, and Jesus and the Resurrection are so set forth that their philosophy is dumb and makes an inglorious retreat. The first preachers of the Gospel stood in the presence of the most abject vices and the most refined and subtle philosophies. The world had never before attained to such heights of truth unaided by revelation, nor had it sunk to such depths of

bondage to the flesh. Some were on the borders of heaven, others on the confines of hell. Some gnashed on the Gospel with their teeth, while others gladly embraced it and were soon raised to ecstasy of joy. In these first ages it was presented with marvelous simplicity. Nor did its representatives fear to present its claims before kings, princes, governors, philosophers. The Roman and Jewish authorities were reminded, not indeed in the spirit of reckless challenge, but in the interests of righteousness and truth, that they were guilty of innocent blood, and if they would be cleansed they must, with the vilest of the earth, secure it from the Lamb of God. Repent and believe the Gospel, was the preacher's cry as he stood at his post. *Faith* in the adorable Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, as God has been pleased to manifest Himself in the sublime movement of revelation so graciously announced after the fall, and so wondrously fulfilled in the advent of the Son of God, and in the coming of the Holy Ghost, in the organization of the Church with her endowment of the means of grace, *this* was the condition in order to a new and spiritual life. This was the substance of the message delivered: faith in the facts of revelation as embodied in the Creed undermined heathen temples and thrones, and brought kings to bow before the Prince of life.

That the ministers of those times were solicited by the devil, in the guise of false philosophies, to bring the Gospel into harmony with their deductions, is readily gathered from the epistles of Paul and John; that the advances of these gnostics were resisted and answered in the yet clearer presentation of the truth, which, in the nature of the case, cannot be fused with the projections of the human reason, but must always be accepted in its own character and be interpreted from the bosom of its own plane, is equally true from these epistles. After the first century their successors had to contend with the same kinds of error presenting itself in new forms. When the State recognized Christianity and it gradually rose to a co-ordinate

power, new dangers and temptations arose. The State courted the favor of the Church, and as the Church was induced to compromise her doctrine and to abuse her functions, she weakened her influence and endangered her life. Amidst the throes of the old civilization and the rising into life and being of the new, the Gospel was put to the sorest tests. But many an Athanasius, St. Augustine, Chrysostom, stood true, resisted all opposition to the positive claims of Christianity, uncompromising to temptation and flattery from every quarter, and thus achieved great victories for the cross. In the proportion that the truth was yielded, covered over by glittering generalities, or it was sought to season it to suit the age, to that extent its power to renew the heart and mould the life were lost. As the Church gained her first and greatest victories in the centres of worldly power, so she was subjected to the greatest dangers in these quarters, and here her fair name and fame were first trailed in the dust.

In modern times preaching ought, in the main, to be what it was in the first ages of the Church. Error, though it assumes various garbs, now looming up in one form, now in another, is yet substantially the same in every age. Unbelief attacks revelation now in one of its central mysteries and now in another. It charges upon the Bible and its facts, as mailed warriors thrust themselves upon the battlements of their foe, only to be slain and help fill the moats wherein there lie already thousands who have furiously, but in vain thrown themselves upon the thick bosses of Jehovah's buckler. The scientists, for example, of our time, who go about to discuss the origin of man, and to question the service of prayer, delving in the earth with their faces downward, seeking to find a standard of judgment in the bowels of the creature by which to measure the Creator, when they ought to stand erect and look upward as God intended, so that light from above might illumine their paths, these scientists, we say, are doing substantially what the heathen did, in vain, for so many generations. They tried to discover whence man is,

and what profit he should have if he should pray to God ; but finally the "*wise men* " gathered around the " babe of Bethlehem," worshiped, and were satisfied.

But the theme of the preacher is not science. It is the Gospel. To this he has sworn allegiance ; this is the standard he is pledged to exalt. He is not called upon to reconcile the Bible with science, any more than the scientist must show that science agrees with the Bible. The Bible reflects God and His will in His approach to man for his redemption. This is a higher interest than any apparent mysteries, that have been or that may yet be found, covered up in the bosom of the material world. The scientist stands in the plane of the natural to pass upon the spiritual, whereas the spiritual is not only its own interpreter, being the higher, but it must also interpret the natural if there is anywhere a key to be found to unlock it. It is a dictate of common sense, as well as a principle of sound philosophy, that the lower cannot be a standard of interpretation for the higher, the natural cannot interpret the spiritual except as the spiritual first illuminates it.

Not this secularizing interest, or any other form of specious infidelity, ought to be allowed to divert the minister from steadfastly presenting the facts of redemption. In cities, where the demands of the gospel are met by all kinds of antagonizing errors and falsehoods, there is the greater need to guard against a diversion from his legitimate calling. There is always more or less temptation to be withstood. One age presents one series of temptations, and another will be distinguished by other phases of sin. The relation in which Church and State stand to each other brings with it special trials. Our own country presents aspects that are peculiar to it. While it takes into its capacious maw all kindreds, tribes, and tongues, and infuses into the general mass its own generic life, stamping its own character upon its citizens, there is such a diversity of sympathy, taste, culture, national and religious association and bias, such mental and moral characteristics, such a restless stir and disposition to

set aside the *old* and make all things *new*, that the true faith of the Gospel is in constant jeopardy. In the cities of this country this danger is doubtless most prominent. Here too, the number and diverse kinds of denominations and sects, the jealousies and rivalries between them, notwithstanding their frequent loud professions of sympathy with each other, and their efforts at co-operative work, the eagerness with which they seize upon each other's members, heralding their increase from the pulpit and in the press, the rage to be popular, to float with the current around, so as to secure the "run" for their particular church, all this, and much more besides, is demoralizing over against the effort of faithfully presenting the Gospel. Anything to be popular. Any expedient to win the masses. Costly churches are built. Debts load them down. Popular ministers are needed to raise the wind, to get up an interest, to start a revival, to draw the wealthy, not so much for their souls' sake, as for the delectable privilege, under the circumstances, of reaching their pockets. The choir must be first-class, not so much to lead in the praises of God in the use of substantial tunes and melodies, as to entertain, to draw. Entertainments must be provided. Cook-stoves, ranges, dining-rooms, the necessities to get up a first-class meal, are in some cases to be found in the churches. Tea-drinkings, grand suppers, fairs, lectures, concerts, stirring revivals, in the winter season, are common. Now and then a Japanese, Chinese, or big Indian in full dress, is exhibited by the congregation at twenty-five or fifty cents a "sight," who closes his talk with the "war-whoop" according to previous announcement. It might be a question, into which we do not care to enter, whether, while the sleepy looking Mongolian and the big Indian are brought forward to entertain the parishioners, or to fill a depleted treasury, or both, are not also exhibiting the type of ministerial and congregational piety, in the presence of which the performance takes place. The Sunday-School too must furnish its quota in the promotion of the general interest. Concerts, panoramas, exhibitions, which how-

ever, are not indiscriminately to be condemned. The topics discussed on the Lord's Day in many of the pulpits, judging from the advertisements to be seen in the Saturday papers, are not always upon squarely gospel themes. They often read like advertisements of quacks, who describe their wares with a flourish to arrest attention. The simple announcement of a gospel theme is too tame. The public, it is thought, will not be attracted in that way, and the public must be gratified. Thus expectation is raised, and then in the preparation and delivery of the sermon there must be studied effort to meet this expectation; but the effort more than once falls flat enough. True, the sober Christians in the congregation, who became God's children in the acceptance of the unvarnished Gospel, and who are desirous of being fed from the Master's table, may inwardly protest to this popular gospel and go away hungry as they came, but what of that? Such cases are not difficult to find. In order to the successful planting and propagation of the Christian Church, its objective as well as subjective side must be faithfully presented and maintained. The mysteries of Christianity must be made to challenge the faith of men, else it will never take deep hold upon them. The objective verities of our holy undoubted faith are the same yesterday, to-day, and forever. They are perennial and abiding like their Author. To own them as Divine, and to trust in them as the anchors of the soul, settle faith and make it firm in its roots. The subjective side is continually subjected to new conditions of thought and life, and it is difficult to maintain anything like a proper equilibrium in essential harmony with the objective facts of revelation, and so there is the continual tendency to bring down the objective, supernatural, churchly, and sacramental upon the plane of the merely natural, unsacramental, unchurchly. Cities once orthodox and churchly in the sense of ancient Christianity and of the Apostles' Creed, from which, as from centres of the Christian life and missionary activity, towns, villages, and the country in the distance were evangelized, are the first to fall

from grace, from the truth as it is in Jesus Christ. This is true of ancient, and we think also, of modern times. The great cities of early Christianity became corrupt in doctrine and the Christian life, before the interiors and borders of the country, and they became corrupt in the proportion that the objective in Christianity was yielded or suppressed, and the faith of men was displaced by notions, superstitions, rationalism, and infidelity. In the Middle Ages various human expedients were devised and substituted for the Gospel, and thus its essence and life were eviscerated, while the claims of the substitute were enforced by the forms of law, and the demands of authority. The Reformation was a successful effort to re-assert and re-establish the integrity, authority, and efficacy of objective revelation, and, at the same time, it was a demand that the life shall correspond with the faith professed. Hence the Creeds, confessions, catechisms, liturgies, and hymn-books of that period make due and equal account of both sides, the objective and the subjective, in Christianity. But in our day and country, especially in the cities, perhaps not yet so seriously in the rural districts, the objective, divine, churchly, and sacramental in revelation, in its concrete historical form, is sadly ignored, perverted, explained away, and the subjective is made to be the great power of God unto salvation. Our apprehension of this one-sided error may be summed up in the phrase, "religious exercises." Any representation of the Gospel now that has not in it as the distinguishing feature, the element of "Religious Exercises," fails to move the crowd, whatever else it may move. If it be a fact, that we have a one-sided presentation of the Gospel in our day, and that chiefly a subjective one, and this prominently in the cities, whose fault is it? The answer is plain: the ministry's. The ministry has fallen from grace in this matter, and the saddest feature is, that it glories in it, in part at least. The colleges and seminaries of the land are perhaps measurably at fault, because they do not devote themselves so heartily to the "Truth and to Learning" for their own

sake, as once they did, but are hastening almost with one accord to the plane of "Utilitarianism," thus ingloriously compromising their legacy, and selling their birth-right for that which is not bread.

But the people want "religious exercises," and they do not believe in the mysteries of Church and sacraments, nor in ministerial prerogatives. Well, to that we set the maxim: like priest, like people. If the ministry had not made shipwreck of some cardinal points in the faith, the people would not stand on the level they do. With many, ministers and people, Christianity is only what man makes it. The sacraments, the Church, ministerial office and authority, the Gospel with its power of life and resurrection, these, we are told, have no meaning in themselves. The Church embodies no gracious remedial powers, baptism is void of grace, the Lord's Supper is a reminder of Christ's death—only that, and nothing more; the ministry does not represent office above the layman. Thus we are informed in public by representatives of Westminster and Canterbury. This kind of bastard Gospel is the reigning genius of American city-Christianity, just now, and because it lacks the backbone of a firm and steady faith in the mysteries of the Gospel, without which it must always be weak, and weakest when it imagines itself strongest, it is able and ready to fall in with and use all kinds of agencies, and every instrumentality, devised by associations and organizations, Christian and un-Christian, reformers and evangelists, good, bad, and indifferent, hailing from whatever point of the compass they may, only so that they promise ability to stir the masses and arouse the Church to do her duty. But every effort induced after this fashion, must be a failure sooner or later. The Church cannot do her appointed work except as she is true to herself, her own mission and life. She must work with the means God has placed in her hands, and with no others.

These are some of the features of city Christianity in America just now. Over against this doubtful condition of things,

it is more or less difficult to stand firmly. But while there is this vapid foaming and froth, this insipid mushroom Gospel that grows up in a night, and is by nature unstable and transient, it must not be imagined that cities are destitute of true gospel preaching. That would be an egregious error. As to ministers and congregations (denominations may not be too readily classed as a whole; for there is diversity among them, though a number are substantially in the faith once delivered to the saints), there are those who stand fairly in and move forward on the plane of positive Christianity, in general harmony with the letter and spirit of the Gospel, as it was preached and lived in the best days of the Church.

Sometimes there rises a "tidal wave" that fairly sweeps the city, which is then sure to carry all that are unstable with it, and it even undermines some that would fain resist the current, but are not able, either because they have not sufficient root in themselves, or because they are caught up in the rush of the stream, and are fairly lifted out of their moorings. These last, when the flood subsides, again gravitate to their former positions, glad for their deliverance. Others, who were firm in their foundations, and so could not be moved, seeing now that the fruits of an apparently great movement, are neither so abundant in quantity, nor so good in quality as was supposed, nor such as the Gospel, in its steady day by day presentation, is accustomed to produce, settle down anew in their convictions in harmony with the general mind of the Church in all ages, that the words of Christ are still in full force for the conscience and the life: "So is the kingdom of God, as if a man should cast seed in the ground; and should sleep, and rise night and day, and the seed should spring up he knoweth not how, . . . first the blade, then the ear, and after that the full corn in the ear." God has a goodly number in every city among the ministry and laity, that have not bowed the knee to a spurious gospel, nor will they compromise his cause at the beck of the world, or prostitute his house for

secular purposes. "My house shall be called of all nations a house of prayer."

A distinguishing feature of the Church in cities is its wealth. It is wonderful to contemplate the amount of earthly treasure in the aggregate that here directly and indirectly is made to be a servant at the foot of the cross. While many a one in marrying the Spouse of Christ has not given her his chief affection, still centering his heart largely in his possessions, there are not a few who count it a high privilege to act as faithful stewards for His cause. Not only do many of the splendid temples, beautiful without, and neat, elevating, inspiring to mind and heart within, witness to the promptings of grace operative upon the hearts of His children; but the wonderful *charities* to be seen on all sides; hospitals many; homes for the aged, for male and female; asylums for the blind, deaf and dumb; houses of refuge, of correction; orphanages; missions, including temporal and spiritual work; soup-houses and dispensaries; libraries, etc., etc., some of which receive State support, but most of them originated, supported, and managed from motives of Christian duty, *all* testify to the divine gift of charity. There are, for example, in Philadelphia, two hundred and fifty organized charities. So of other cities, in this and in other countries. Many of these charities have been endowed in whole or in part by God's people. Thousands of dollars are contributed annually toward their support, besides the large amounts given directly to the poor. It is wonderful to see how the mercantile interest is made subservient to the establishment and spread of the Gospel, and to the founding and support of the varied charities that cluster around the Church, as the true mother of man appointed by God to relieve his sorrows. Heathenism is cruel, heartless, homeless. Here, "Man's inhumanity to man—makes countless thousands mourn."

But when the Gospel began to do its work for the race, the heathen was taught with more emphasis than Judaism could teach him, and upon a grander scale, the lesson that, "He that

giveth to the poor lendeth unto the Lord ; and that which he hath given will he pay him again ; ” especially in that benediction of grace that bringeth quiet to the soul amid the restless throes of life.

Not only the wealth of cities is largely enlisted in promoting the work of the Church, but its culture and learning now, as in the past, are powerful auxiliaries in its lay as well as official work. Cities afford the broadest range for presenting the Gospel, and the largest scope for benevolent work. Sympathy and love for the poor and sorrowing can here be cultivated on the broadest scale, for the subjects of charity meet you on every side. The poor must be seen, their squalid condition looked in upon ; their needs made eloquent by tears and entreaties, before charity will accomplish its perfect work. Hence cities furnish some of the noblest examples of humble piety in the stated alms that relieve the sorrows, and cheer the hearts of the deserving poor. “ The poor ye have always with you.”

For missionary work, cities are undoubtedly *first* in importance. To plant the tree of life in the midst of this sin-stricken world, cities must be the natural starting points. Any great enterprise, secular or religious, must enlist the interest of, and secure a foothold in, the centre of the world’s activities in order to secure decisive results. To begin with the borders, and to be content with skirmishing on the outskirts of the enemy’s territory may be easiest, as it undoubtedly would have been for the Apostles ; may risk less dangers, involve less self-denying toil and persecution, but it will also be a warfare less fruitful of great victories for Christ and his cause. The ministry of the Apostles and of those who succeeded them must be accepted as the wisdom of God upon this subject. “ Beginning at Jerusalem.” The seed must be sown in the capital of Judaism. Even here the wrath of man shall praise God ; He who was despised and rejected of men, founded His Church and established the first congregation upon the site and under the shadow of the Old Testament temple, the true type of the “ body of Christ, the fullness of him who filleth all in all.”

The Church gains a foothold first in the heart of the world's life. For this work she is commissioned and endowed, and she has the inspiring word of her Lord to nerve her for the conflict: "The gates of hell shall not prevail against my Church." Here she will have to meet the enemy in his strongholds and contend with him at great disadvantage. Persecutions from the devil and his allies and agents in the form of organized secular and religious powers; fire, prisons, sword, banishment, torture, death, may each and all have to be met in turn; but the victory shall be won.

What an undertaking to carry the Gospel to Rome! How dark the sorrows; what pools of blood; what tortures and deaths; what ravages in the homes and hearts of the saints, before the crown of Ceasar is laid at the feet of Christ! When a foothold is gained, the enemy will be subdued to loving obedience, else he will be used by the Master-builder as scaffolding to assist in rearing the temple for God and His praise. Now culture, wealth, science, merchandise, social and political power, will be hands and arms in furthering the mission of love and peace among men. When the main streams are in their proper channels and under control, the tributaries can be managed; they will naturally follow in the right course. To the extent that Christianity permeates the leading elements of society will it be possible for a country, and the world at large, to be successfully reached. Without this, it must at best be but a slow, if not an almost hopeless task. But by the aid of the centres of the world's life was it intended to reach out upon the world at large. This is implied in,—“beginning at Jerusalem.” Certainly, so far as the facts go, successful missionizing has always proceeded upon this basis. In our times, in view of the divisions that obtain in the body of Christ, denominational work and progress is efficient in proportion as it embraces church activity in central localities. Any denomination that systematically, whether from indifference to the work of missions in cities, or from fear of demoralization by contact

with city civilization, or from a supposed want of means for the work, or from lack of suitable missionaries to begin and to successfully prosecute the work, fails to lay hold upon this divinely indicated primary sphere of Christian missionary labor, is destined to have a proportionately weak, limited, crippled, denominational life. It may be catholic in theory, but in such case fails to be consistent with its principle. Christianity is catholic in the basis of its life, but where its genius apprehends any branch of the Church, it will urge to the application of the principle upon the broadest scale. The life must manifest itself. Policy, expediency, are here out of the question. Paul did not go to Greece and Rome, nor St. Mark to Alexandria, to plant the Church, except with the undoubted conviction that they had a mission to those people. Those branches of the Church that have pursued this policy, are doing a great work for the cities, receive with open arms the multitudes that continually flock into them, and are a great source of help to the weak in their own land, and help to evangelize the heathen.

Any observer knows, that a large proportion of active business talent, as well as great numbers of the laboring classes of both sexes, are continually moving to the larger towns and cities. Not to husband this material is annually an immense loss. But it is not enough to provide for this influx, if even this could be successfully done, which is simply impossible in the larger places where the population is spread over miles of territory, unless there be a goodly number of well-organized congregations judiciously located to gather in all these hundreds that regularly come, which, however, in regard to some denominations, is notoriously not the case. There are denominations that have no churches at all in many of the larger towns and cities of the country. Any Church that has a mission in this or any other land has a mission in the cities. While it looks after any of its sheep scattered over the rural districts, it must establish itself in the larger places, else its mission will be only a half-way one. Those denominations, whose main strength lies

in the rural districts, are regularly sapped of much of their material, if their wants are not provided for by the churches organized by the same denominations in the great marts of trade. Any one, not having given the subject special attention, would not be able to form even approximately a correct judgment in regard to it. The writer knows of a denomination (and there are others), that for years has furnished *hundreds*, nay, *thousands*, of substantial members, male and female, from the towns and rural districts of the country for the different denominations and congregations in the larger towns and cities, and in many of these congregations into which this material has been gathered, it is now, and has been, of the most substantial membership. It is surprising to be told, that a majority of the leading business firms in Philadelphia, for example, are constituted in whole, or in part, of those who came from the country.

In one of the principal business streets of Philadelphia, Market street, for thirteen squares, including the leading business part of the street, largely wholesale, three-fourths of the firms are in whole, or in part, from the country. Many of these people came to the city as clerks, salesmen, laborers, and by habits of industry and economy learned under the parental roof, and by faithfulness to Christ and His Church in which they were nursed and trained in their childhood and youth, in the bosom of the educational system of religion set forth in the Old Testament, confirmed by the teaching and self-practice of Christ and His apostles, and distinguishingly prominent in the first ages of Christianity, resurrected in the time of the Reformation, and still clung to and inculcated by the best elements of Protestantism—by their ingrafting into Christ in infancy in the holy rite of baptism, and by the Christian nurture vouchsafed to them in their early years,—we say, *on this account*, many of them have been pillars solid and reliable in the Church, ornaments to society, an honor to the State. With such elements to begin with, it were a comparatively easy

matter, under proper missionary guidance and efficient laborers, for any branch of Christ's body that is not dead, but living, having an abundance of vitality, to organize itself in such places as are yet beyond the sphere of its Christian labor. If repentance for past neglect is not delayed in the case of such as are guilty in this matter, there may still be mercy, and God may give large prosperity to those who begin late, if they count the reward not of merit, but of grace.

ART. III.—CONFIRMATION IN THE REFORMED CHURCH.

BY REV. PROF. J. H. DUBBS, A. M.

THE rite of Confirmation is justly regarded by the German Reformed Church as a service of the highest interest and importance. So prominent is the position which it occupies in the order of our worship, that we cannot conceive of its abrogation without a radical change, not only in our religious opinions, but in our social life. Our members generally look back with peculiar pleasure and affection to the day of their Confirmation, and the remembrance of the vows there proffered and the blessings there received, remains to cheer and strengthen them in all the vicissitudes of life.

In certain other branches of the same historical confession the case is very different. In the Reformed Dutch and Presbyterian Churches, for instance, the rite of Confirmation is not only practically unknown, but the word itself has an evil sound; it is regarded as a relic of prelacy, or of popery itself; and any attempt at the general introduction of the service would be strenuously resisted.

The existence of such antagonism between several branches of the same historical confession, which are in many respects so closely allied, constitutes, in itself, a subject of no small interest and importance; but our present theme is considerably more extensive, and involves an inquiry both into the external history and the religious significance of the rite of Confirmation in the Reformed Church.

Prior to the Reformation, Confirmation (Ger. *Firmung*) had come to be generally acknowledged in the East and West as one of the Sacraments of the Church. As the early Church had declared, that every sacrament must have the authority of Scripture, it was usual in the Roman Church to defend it by referring to the well-known passages in the Acts of the Apostles, in which it is related that the Apostles laid their hands on the Samaritans and the Ephesians after they had been baptized, that they might receive the Holy Ghost. The Greek Theologians, on the other hand, acknowledged that the sacrament had no adequate Scriptural authority, and based their arguments in its favor on the unanimous testimony of tradition.

Yet, though Confirmation was so generally acknowledged as a Sacrament, it was by no means firmly established in the faith and affections of the people. This was owing partly to the fact that the bishops, who claimed its administration as their special prerogative, in many instances entirely neglected to perform it. Most of them were princes of the empire, full of business and cares of state, who had neither time nor inclination to visit parish churches for the sole purpose of administering confirmation. Some of them appointed suffragans (Ger. *Weihbischöffe*), whose sole function it was to perform this duty; but the practice was not approved by the Pope, and was soon discontinued. As the sacrament was not considered essential to salvation, the people were easily reconciled to their deprivation; and, as is said to be still the case in some parts of France, there were many churches in which no confirmations had occurred within the memory of the oldest inhabitant.

Besides all this, the original significance of the sacrament was greatly obscured by a number of additional ceremonies, which were attached to it, and which might easily be misunderstood and made the subject of ridicule. The Catechumens appeared before the bishop, accompanied by their sponsors. The bishop then dipped his thumb into consecrated oil, and made the sign of the cross with it on the forehead, nose, ears, breast, and, in the Oriental Church, the feet of the candidate; then kissed him affectionately with the words: *Pax tecum!* and concluded by giving him a sharp blow in the face. The latter portion of the ceremony, which, of course, referred to the trials and persecutions which the neophyte would be called to endure, was often in Germany the signal for loud and prolonged laughter. The actual laying on of hands had been entirely discontinued.

The Reformers were unanimous in rejecting Confirmation as a sacrament, because, as they said, it lacked the "marks of a sacrament," and because, in their opinion, it detracted from baptism. Melancthon declares it to be "an abominable ceremony," and Calvin calls it "*abortivam sacramenti larvam et injuriam baptismi.*"

Yet, though the Reformers were thus unanimous in rejecting Confirmation as a sacrament, it was felt at an early date that something was needed to take its place. Calvin himself says (Inst. III. 19): "I sincerely wish we retained the custom which I have stated was practiced by the ancients, before this abortive image of a sacrament made its appearance. For it was not such a confirmation as Romanists pretend, which cannot be mentioned without injury to baptism; but a catechetical exercise, in which children or youths used to deliver an account of their faith in the presence of the Church. Now it would be the best mode of catechetical instruction, if a formula were written for this purpose, containing and stating in a familiar manner all the articles of our religion, in which the universal Church of the faithful ought to agree, without any controversy:

a boy of ten years old might present himself to make a confession of his faith; he might be questioned on all the articles, and might give suitable answers; if he were ignorant of any, or did not fully understand them, he should be taught. Thus the Church would witness his profession of the only true and pure faith, in which all the people unanimously worship the one God. If this discipline were observed to the present day, it would certainly sharpen the inactivity of some parents who carelessly neglect the instruction of their children as a thing in which they have no concern, but which in that case they could not omit without public disgrace: there would be more harmony of faith among Christian people, nor would many betray such ignorance and want of information: some would not be so easily carried away by novel and strange tenets; in short all would have a regular acquaintance with Christian doctrine."

It will be observed that in this passage, which is often quoted as Calvin's testimony in favor of Confirmation, the great Reformer has nothing to say in favor of the laying on of hands; and though it is sometimes said that Calvin practiced Confirmation at Geneva, it may well be doubted, in the absence of other evidence, whether the Genevan service was anything more than the public profession of faith, which is still required of candidates for Church membership by some of the Presbyterian churches.

There seems to be some difference of opinion as to the locality where the Protestant rite of Confirmation first began to be practiced. Herzog mentions Pomerania; but Dr. Schinke, in Ersch & Gruber's Encyclopædia, declares that the rite was first introduced in 1540 by Joachim II. of Prussia, whose order of worship had been reviewed and approved by Luther. In subsequent editions of the same Liturgy the service for Confirmation was however omitted, in consequence of the bitter opposition of the people. When we consider the fact that the Reformers insisted so strongly on the universal introduction of catechetical instruction, it certainly seems strange that the rite

of Confirmation, which appears to be the only natural and proper conclusion of the catechetical course, should have been so slow in making its way. During the Thirty Years' War Confirmation went almost entirely out of use as a church-service; but some pious families practiced the laying on of hands, in imitation of the patriarchs of the Old Testament. When the celebrated Spener became Superintendent of the Churches in the diocese of Frankfurt in 1666, he could only find a single church in which Confirmation was practiced; and there it had been introduced by one of his immediate predecessors. "The continuance of Confirmation," says Herzog, "was preserved by pietism." The rite appealed to Spener by its awakening influence; he believed that the great majority of nominal Christians needed such a renewal of the baptismal covenant as it involved; and mainly by his influence its re-introduction into the Protestant churches was "so rapid that it seemed as though a general desire existed for it." The civil authorities laid hold of the matter, and sanctioned the rite by legal enactments, so that it soon came to be regarded as a civil no less than a religious ceremony—like the ancient assumption of the *toga virilis*, a public recognition of the passage of the individual from childhood to youth.

"The Reformed Church," says Dr. Schinke, who is evidently a Lutheran, "was very slow in adopting Confirmation, and only came to appreciate it as she practically learned to value ceremonies as symbolical representations of religious ideas and emotions, and as a means of awakening and strengthening them." Elsewhere he says that Confirmation was not universally introduced into the Reformed Churches of Germany before the beginning of the present century.

It is very certain that the rite of Confirmation had been thoroughly domesticated in the Reformed Churches of Switzerland and the Rhine provinces before the beginning of the emigration to America; for in the earliest records of our oldest churches, whose founders were generally natives of those countries, we

find regular entries of confirmations. A number of catechisms, to be used in preparing candidates for Confirmation, were prepared by some of our oldest ministers, and several of these contained a selection of Hymns for Confirmations. There were controversies concerning the character and significance of Confirmation; but so far as we know, the expediency of maintaining its practice has in this country never been called in question. The practical question which confronts us is, therefore: In what light should confirmation be regarded in the Reformed Church?

We think we may safely say, that our views concerning the origin and importance of the rite are considerably in advance of those of the Reformers of the sixteenth century. The latter in every instance speak lightly of confirmation, calling it "a mere *adiaphoron*," or "a ceremony of admission to the Lord's Supper." Vid. Turretin 17, 23. They insisted also that the laying on of hands, as practiced by the apostles was simply a means of conveying the supernatural gifts (*charismata*) of the Spirit, which naturally fell away with these miraculous manifestations. In these respects we believe the Reformed Church in the United States, in common with the Evangelical Church of Europe, stands on higher grounds. Herzog says: "Protestant polemics should never have allowed itself to accept the declaration that the passages in the Acts concerning the laying on of hands did not refer to the Holy Ghost, but only to the special gifts of the Spirit in apostolic times." Ebrard says: "The justification of our present rite of Confirmation is certainly found in Acts viii. 14-17, as showing by way of analogy that baptism finds its proper completion in the laying on of hands."

The service of Confirmation, according to the "Order of Worship" of the Reformed Church, is of a two-fold character: it involves, first, an act of consecration, and, secondly, an act of benediction. It pre-supposes that the germ of the new life, which was implanted into the soul by baptism, has been pro-

perly developed by Christian nurture; it therefore includes a free and personal assumption of the baptismal vow, a renunciation of the three great enemies; a profession of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ; and a life-long consecration to His blessed service.

The central and essential part of Confirmation is, however, the laying on of hands. By this means the Church not only expresses her approval of the profession which has just been made, but actually claims to impart "in larger measure the Holy Ghost, by whose help alone we are able to live holy and obedient lives."

We do not hold that Confirmation is a sacrament, in the accepted sense of the word; it is rather the crown and completion of the sacrament of baptism. But surely we can say with Ebrard that "it is a mystic, sacramental act," or with Melancthon, when speaking of ordination, that "it partakes of the character and qualities of a sacrament." It springs out of baptism, and we cannot dispense with it without mutilating the sacrament. The Reformed Church is therefore fully justified not only in refusing to regard Confirmation as an empty ceremony, but in considering it a precious treasure, to be carefully guarded and safely transmitted to subsequent generations.

ART. IV.—JEWISH ANTAGONISM TO CHRIST.

BY REV. R. LEIGHTON GERHART.

ALL "great" events have their roots running back into the obscurity of the past. The crucifixion of Christ was not brought about by the circumstances of a day, but was the result of forces at work in Judaism for ages before. Study of the Old Testament dispensation confirms us in this opinion. In the light shed by the Redeemer we perceive its incompleteness, the necessity for its destruction, and the promise which it holds of spiritual good, not for one nation only, but for all nations,—we see its harmony with "the truth as it is in Jesus." But projecting ourselves into pre-Christian times, and shutting our eyes as much as possible to the world as seen through any other medium than that afforded by Jewish life, the scene changes. We become conscious that the oracles of God are clothed in forms which to the *natural understanding* could not fail to develop the false Messianic conception that prevailed at Christ's advent, and was the cause of His denial and crucifixion. Of the many elements in the religion of the Jew, which were most powerfully active in bringing about this result, there are three which rise before us with special prominence, and to them we invite attention. All, it will be readily seen, tended to direct the thoughts and energies to earthly instead of spiritual subjects, thus disqualifying the mind for recognition of the Lord in His true character, and from perception of the real nature of the kingdom which He came to establish.

First: The Old Testament only in the most incidental manner refers to a future world, and never represents the kingdom of Israel as reaching its consummation beyond the grave. This

is most perceptible in the Pentateuch, which, in the estimation of the Jews, ranked first in authority among their sacred writings. Here there is no mention of the resurrection. So total is this want that in His controversy with the Sadducees our Saviour is compelled to quote a passage which does not do more, as Dr. Smith remarks, than suggest an inference on this great doctrine. The Jews undoubtedly believed in the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the dead, but they could deduce no argument from the teaching of the first and greatest of their leaders in support of the position. Through other parts of the Old Testament, however, runs an undertone clearly indicating the existence of this belief when they were composed. It crops out frequently in expressions such as, "the righteous has hope in his death," and the exclamation of David, lamenting the death of his child, "I shall go to him but he shall not return to me," and is plainly stated in Isaiah xxvi. 19, "Thy dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise. Awake and sing ye that dwell in dust: for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out the dead." But while there are passages of this kind, there are also others, in Ecclesiastes, the book of Job, and elsewhere, which contain such gloomy expressions concerning the silence and vacancy of the grave, as to give occasion for the belief, uttered even in our own day, that the Old Testament Scriptures do not teach the immortality of the soul. A view which gained such strength with the Jews as finally to culminate in the formation of one of the most powerful and highly cultured of the Jewish sects, the Sadducean, with which it was not a minor point of faith, but the distinguishing tenet. Even with those maintaining an opposite view there appears to have been no sense of its connection with the work of the Messiah. He was never pointed out as the destroyer of death and giver of a higher existence beyond time. His work was on earth, His kingdom on earth. Belief in a future existence ran parallel with the expectation of His advent, and was not woven into the

very texture of that hope. So little essential connection was felt to exist between this great doctrine and their religion, that the high priest's office, in the time of our Saviour, was successively filled by two who denied the resurrection, without exciting sufficient feeling in the nation to induce their removal. Our surprise at this is deepened when we remember what a cardinal point of faith it is with us, and how entirely the state of the soul hereafter is regarded as turning on its present relation to the Redeemer. To us the results of His work are only there to appear in full glory; and we cheer ourselves with the thought that even the highest blessings conferred on us now by Christianity, inestimable as they may be, are, in truth, but foretastes of what is to come. In our words, thoughts, and actions, in our sorrows and joys, the hope set before us in eternity is active with vivifying power;—life would be nothing without it. Yet this well-defined hope the Jew had not; even the belief that he had was vague and unsatisfactory.

Second: The benefit promised for obedience to the law of God was so generally spoken of under earthly, material forms, that the real nature of the blessing to be conferred on Israel was overlooked. The view that sorrow and suffering are necessary conditions to growth in grace, that faith is one of the surest pledges of persecution and conflict, and that the most awful calamities are often the truest signs of Divine favor is but faintly intimated in the Old Testament. That truth is one of the distinct characteristics of the revelation of the New Covenant. Christ gave suffering a new character. He poured light into the grave, and glorified affliction. Hence with the apostles and early disciples there is rejoicing under persecution. Peter calmly sleeps in prison, chained hand and foot between two soldiers, though the next day, so far as he can judge, is to see his execution; Paul and Silas, in the midst of the earthquake, pour forth their souls in songs of praise to God; John in the prison-isle of Patmos has his vision of heaven, and some of the most glorious utterances of the Apostle to the Gentiles are written while awaiting

trial and judgment at Rome. The contrast which David presents is striking. He pours out his strain of complaint unsupported by any perception of it under another form than that of a misfortune. Strong bulls of Bashan beset him, gaping upon him as a ravening and roaring lion, his strength is dried up like a potsherd, his tongue cleaves to his jaws, he is in the very dust of death. The one thing which supports him is the belief that he will see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living; words not to be understood in that spiritual sense in which the Christian would apply them, but as referring to material good, to be enjoyed in this life.

The withholding of this is, in the Old Testament, continually recognized as a mark of Divine anger, while prosperity and happiness are looked upon as true signs of God's approbation. Pestilence, famine, defeat in war, sickness, are directly attributed to some particular sin, and are thus invariably shown. Examples innumerable occur throughout Jewish history. Saul is rejected on account of disobedience; a fearful pestilence follows David's numbering the people; the idolatry of Solomon entails the division of the kingdom; the sin of Jeroboam involves his overthrow; three years' drought is the direct offspring of Ahab's wickedness. This side of the Scripture is more apparent even in the prophetic books than elsewhere. The captivity is presented in no other light than as a punishment for the apostacy of the nation. "Wherefore, thus saith the Lord of Hosts, because ye have not heard my words, behold I will send and take all the families of the north, saith the Lord, and Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, my servant, and will bring them against this land, and against the inhabitants thereof, and against all these nations round about, and will utterly destroy them, and make them an astonishment, and an hissing and perpetual desolation." Jer. xxv. 8-9. Repentance will immediately ward this off. "Turn ye again, now every one from his evil way, and from the evil of your doings, and dwell in the land that the Lord hath given unto you and to

your fathers for ever and ever : and go not after other gods to serve them, and to worship them, and provoke me not to anger with the works of your hands ; and I will do you no hurt." Jer. xxv. 5-6. And while this is the reward of repentance, consistent adherence to the law of God will be even more signally recognized. "Execute ye judgment and righteousness, and deliver the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor ; and do no wrong, do no violence to the stranger, the fatherless, nor the widow, neither shed innocent blood in this place. For if ye do this thing indeed, then shall there enter in by the gates of this house kings sitting upon the throne of David, riding in chariots and on horses, he, and his servants and his people. But if ye will not hear these words, I swear by myself, saith the Lord, that this house shall become a desolation." Jer. xxii. 3-5.

Through the whole Old Testament runs this line of thought, until misfortune under all forms becomes so identified with sin, and happiness and prosperity so associated with faithful adherence to the covenant, that it became almost impossible to conceive of their being sundered. We hear even the disciples inquiring of Christ as they pass a blind beggar, "Who did sin, this man or his parents, that he is born blind?" That the affliction of the poor fellow might have sprung from another cause, did not occur to them.*

Third: In full harmony with the earthly character of the blessings promised for obedience to the covenant, we now find even the most spiritual of the prophets speaking of the Messiah

* Want of space prevents us from considering those passages which speak of affliction as a refining fire, and the chastening of the Lord as that of a father who punishes his son for his benefit. We can only direct attention to what appears to us to be the *general* tone of the Old Testament when speaking of affliction and sorrow. Its character in this respect is strikingly seen when contrasted with the spirit pervading the New Testament, which is pre-eminently that embodied in the words of Christ: In this world ye shall have tribulation, but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world.

and His dominion under the form of an earthly kingdom. Taking up the Church under the figure of Jerusalem, "beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth," the prophets unfold to its fullest extent the idea of a queenly city, ruling over and ministered to by the whole world. The thought thus embodied becomes more realistic as the topography of the surrounding country is taken up and made the vehicle for the conveyance of some truth. The valley of Jehoshaphat, the mountains of Lebanon, the desert wilderness, the sea, all play their part in fixing the eye upon the central figure, Jerusalem. Thus also the nations of Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Greece, together with the lesser tribes, dwelling on the borders of the Promised Land, the people of Philistia, and Phœnicia, of Edom, Moab and Ammon, with many others, by their specification aid in producing the same effect.

The salvation and righteousness of the Lord shine out from the temple, and never, however wide is the prospect of blessing for the surrounding nations, is it dissociated from the Holy City. Christ was the first to speak the word of disenchantment, and that too to an outcast Samaritan: "Woman, believe me, the hour cometh when ye shall neither in this mountain nor yet at Jerusalem worship the Father." Even during the darkest period of Jewish history, the captivity, when the prophet breaks out, "Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee," it is of Jerusalem he speaks. Her walls and towers, lying low in the dust, are to be rebuilt, are to catch once more on their glorious summits the first light of the morning; her desolate and waste places are to be repaired, and heathen scoffers are to recognize her queenly power once again.

The share which the Gentiles are to have in the promised blessing wonderfully emphasizes this idea of sovereignty. The strangers are to stand and feed her flocks; the sons of the alien are to be her vine-dressers and plowmen. The kings of the earth and forces of the Gentiles are to throng her gates, closed

neither by night nor day, to minister unto her. They are to come not as equals, but as subjugated people. "The sons also of them that afflict thee shall come bending unto thee; and all they that despise thee shall bow themselves down at the soles of thy feet." Thus it is to be with those who submit, while of the unyielding, it is said, "the nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish; yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted." Every figure which a warm Oriental imagination can suggest is used to build up this glowing conception. The glory of Lebanon, the fir-tree, the pine-tree, and different precious woods are to beautify the sanctuary. The white flocks of Kedar and rams of Nebaioth are to come up with acceptance to the sacred altar. Even the waves are covered with ships from Tarshish and the isles of the sea, steering for Jerusalem, like a cloud of white doves flying to their windows.

All this glory culminates in the radiant figure of the coming king. His name is Wonderful, Counselor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace. He is to sit upon the throne of David, and rule the kingdom, ordering and establishing it with judgment and justice forever, his majesty and power continually increasing. Out of the ivory palaces, which are his habitation, we see him issuing, his garments smelling of myrrh, aloes and cassia. In the prime of manhood, his fresh, healthful beauty far outshines that of the children of men. His countenance beams with joy, while words of wisdom and truth, enchanting with the perfect harmony of their utterances the ears of those about him, flow in a stream of grace from his lips. Girded with the sword of power that flashes, we can suppose, like Excalibur, he rides prosperously, clothed with truth, meekness, and righteousness. With gladness and rejoicing the daughters of kings in costly apparel encircle him, the queen in gold of Ophir is by his side, while princes and great ones of the earth attend his progress. Before such a picture, it is not to be wondered that the Man

of Sorrows was forgotten, that the strain of deepest sadness, pervading the prophetic utterances, was passed by. Like the plaintive breathing of a flute, mingled with the thrilling blast of a trumpet, it was unheard. Like the faint blue vein which often marks the fairest Carrara marble, it was willingly overlooked.

The circumscribing of his life and of the work of the Messiah to this world, the presentation of the blessings to be derived from his religion in the form of earthly good, together with the glorious picture of earthly sovereignty embodied in the expected king, gave full opportunity for the luxuriant growth of wild dreams which dazzled the heart of the Jew, and prevented him from seeing the inner spirit of his faith. Judaism was for him an eternal thing, to be superseded by nothing better. The Temple was never to crumble to ruin, nor was the smoke of the sacrifice ever to cease. That the Promised Land, the Temple, and the nation itself, were but types of something infinitely more glorious which was to be realized in every land and in all nations, appears not for one moment to have troubled the repose of his blissful anticipations. In the promises of his religion he saw only what appealed gratefully to his ambition, pride, and sensuous desires. He was oblivious to the fact that, when gathering up his robes he shrank contemptuously away from contact with the mail-clad Gentile, he was nursing in his own heart the very evil which filled him with abhorrence. For the noble Cæsar and the brutal Herod, in their aspiration for power and lust for dominion, were but expressions of that same self-will which prevented the Jew from seeing the true nature of Christ's sovereignty.

That the words of the prophets should have led the Jews astray need occasion no surprise, nor need we wonder that God did not reveal His purpose under a form that could be understood by all. Where there is no susceptibility for the spiritual, there can be found no medium for its conveyance. The North Pole is no more surely defended by its thousand

miles of ice from the approach of bold adventurers, than is the soul under such circumstances from the advent of truth. Every form of expression then becomes an effective instrument for its more complete debasement. It is useless to inquire: "Why speakest thou to them in parables?" Whether a parable or not a parable, spiritual ideas presented to such persons are as pearls thrown before swine. But those who had experienced a real sense of the inherent sin and weakness of humanity could not escape having their eyes opened to a broader prospect. Like Paul, like Augustine, like Luther, craving for reconciliation with God, with self, and with duty, would allow no rest until it had been found in its true source. To such persons Old Testament education was wonderfully adapted to quicken and develop true apprehension of the Lord. In almost every act of daily life the holiness of God and the sinfulness of man was emphasized, while the need of reconciliation and the way of atonement was continually displayed before their eyes in the whole Temple service. The very silence of the Scriptures concerning the future world would excite deeper longing for more complete revelation, and more implicit trust in God as the only source of hope. While the profound conviction which comes to the heart of every one who possesses any susceptibility for the spiritual, that things of this world have no real power to satisfy the demands of our higher nature, and give what all desire, rest and peace, would quicken their apprehension and enable them to perceive in Christ a greater glory than the riches and power which were so often used by the sacred writers to clothe their idea of the coming king. That the symbolism of their religion and the utterances of the prophets would be clearly comprehended, was not to be expected, for prophecy can be fully understood only in its fulfilment, not before. While seeking, therefore, for those elements in the Old Testament dispensation which may be pointed out as the cause of Israel's blindness, we must regard that whole order of life as the one best adapted to develop in our fallen

humanity the lofty spirituality of a Mary, a John, and a Peter, and of making possible the advent of Christ. We must regard it in that light, even though so large a body of the nation was lost in attaining the end.

In the spiritual as well as in the moral and physical spheres of life there is always, apparently, a great waste of material in the production of anything very precious. The countless millions who went to form the Greek nation lived, died, and are as completely forgotten as if their existence was a matter of no importance whatever. They imparted no impulse to history; but that whole nation was needed to produce a Plato, a Homer, a Demosthenes, a Phidias. In them, and in men of their character, is found the meaning of the countless myriads that lived and passed away without leaving so much as a tombstone to recall their memories. In all the diversity of their character, in all the variety of their pursuits, in all the mingled good and ill revealing itself in their conduct and life, they were needed in order that thought might be born in Plato, Homer, Demosthenes and Phidias. So the seed grows, develops a plant, expands broad leaves to heaven, drinks in the sun and rain, for months, perhaps for years; in the end we pluck from it a single flower to charm the eye, or distil from it a single drop of subtile power to alleviate pain and strengthen the drooping heart. So we may regard all Israel in its good and evil, in the negative and positive influences which it exerted, as necessary in order that the pure flower of perfect womanhood might appear, and Christ be born.

The presence and activity of evil both within the Church and out of it conditions the development of holiness. The world exerts a quickening and preserving influence on Christianity. It may be compared not only to the wave that threatens to wreck the ship, but also to the sea that bears up the bark as she speeds on her course. By the heart-touching appeals for instruction, sympathy and support, which the world continually makes to the followers of the Lord, it excites disinterested love

and self-denial; by its awful presentation of the degeneracy to which self-will leads, it utters an admonition which none can hear without dread; while by enmity and persecution it evokes a concentration of energy, an elevation of self-consciousness, a calmness of patience, and a resoluteness of purpose, distinctive of highest personality. Evil was active to the same end under the Old Testament economy. There, however, we find it instrumental not only in the formation of personal character, but also in the advancement to a clearer consciousness of the Messianic idea. The gradual unfolding of this conception keeps pace with the progress of the nation, and in many instances the stages of its advance are significantly coincident with the great epochs in the history of the people and the outbreak of new forms of corruption among them, thus being elevated to a higher plane by circumstances and events altogether uncongenial to its spirit. Not until the establishment of the monarchy, which was set up in direct opposition to the will of Jehovah, is the Messiah portrayed as a king, riding in peace, girt with the sword of power. Not until the prophets are persecuted and treated with all indignity, and, though innocent, appear bearing the sins of the people, does there arise in full vision before them a suffering Redeemer. Moses, pre-eminently a prophet and law-giver, sees Christ the same, and says: "A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren like unto me." And this "like unto me" is being repeated continually in the lives of Israel's greatest leaders. With none more so than with David. From him, the shepherd-king, we have the exquisitely beautiful psalm: "The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want." From the depths of his own anguish David prophesies: "They pierced my hands and my feet. I may tell all my bones; they look and stare upon me. They part my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture." (Ps. xxii. 16-18.) When the waters of sorrow roll over his own soul, he utters those other words directly applied to Christ: "The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up; and the reproaches

of them that reproached thee have fallen upon me." (Ps. lix. 9.) And: "They gave me also gall for my meat; and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink." (Ps. lix. 21.) While from the abundance of his hope in God, born of innumerable blessings, he sings: "Therefore my heart is glad, and my glory rejoiceth: my flesh also shall rest in hope. For thou wilt not leave my soul in hell; neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption. Thou wilt show me the path of life: in thy presence is fullness of joy; at thy right hand there are pleasures forevermore." (Ps. xvi. 10, 11.)

The prophets, in their own lives, prefigured Christ. In them Christ cast His shadow before. This could not be otherwise, for they were governed by the same principle that animated Christ, the will of God, hence could not but prefigure Him when called upon to endure temptations and trials even in a remote degree resembling those suffered by the Lord. Their own experience thus became an inexhaustible well from which they drank themselves and gave to others. In many ways our capacity for experiencing is shown, to be the gauge of our capacity for knowing. And for our breadth of understanding and many-sidedness of character we are indebted to the vicissitude of our lives, which by forcing us into scenes and circumstances of varied nature called into play faculties which, had the tenor of our lives been more even, would in this world forever have lain dormant. Those who go the tread-mill of limited and unvarying duties become by necessity narrow-minded. The soul, if true to itself, grows full, round and perfect, by passing through many changes. It is not the sunlight alone that makes the luscious grape what it is. From the darkness of stillest night, and the light of the morning, from the dew of the early day, and the breath of the storm, from the warmth of summer-heat, and the frost of winter-cold, it draws sweet influences and grows toward perfection. The sun alone would burn and blacken it, and dry up its juice; the night alone would mildew and rot it, filling it with bitterness; the storm would crush it; the frost

would bring it to an untimely end; but as the days go by, it passes through many changes, and grows full of juice and of a spicy sweet flavor, and beautiful to look upon and fragrant; at last it hangs amid the dying leaves of Autumn ripe,—fit for the lips of the heart's first love. Thus the various elements in Judaism, good and evil, lent their aid to produce the assembly of noble and spiritual men and women who welcomed Christ at His advent. Thus they ripened through time and change, and when the Lord came, He found them perfect, the souls of His redeemed, the grapes of God.

When speaking of "the false Messianic conception of the Jew," we must, however, draw a broad line of distinction between the effect produced by a thought held in a general superficial way, as most thoughts seem to be held, and the effect produced by one which can be seen in its incipient stages of growth in the very childhood of an individual, and which grows with his youth and manhood until it becomes the ruling idea of his life. In the first instance, the thought can be banished with comparative ease by a forcible argument, and a second made to usurp its place; in the second, however, the task can only be accomplished by a long, slow process, and then not without great struggle and pain. The difficulty is increased ten-fold when the idea, whatever it may be, is national, and not merely individual; when as a national idea it appears in the very germ of the nation's life, and from that point begins to develop, moulding the mind of the people as they increase in numbers, wealth, general culture and intelligence, animating their customs and manners, characterizing their religion, and in every function of the State and Church exerting itself with formative power, and thus continues to live, asserting its dominion with fuller and more tyrannous will from day to day, until centuries roll themselves into ages, and years are counted by thousands. Under such circumstances the idea nets its fibres into the very core of the heart and root of the brain, subordinating to itself reason, intuition and emotion, to eradicate which is almost

equivalent to tearing the heart out of the bosom, for it has become identified with our very existence. Then it goes far beyond merely governing our thinking. It ultimately affects the physical nature, altering the cast of mind, and ends with producing a type of character which spontaneously reveals itself in certain errors and certain virtues, transmitting itself from generation to generation. Follow the development of Puritanism, was it nothing more than a notion or an opinion in the minds of Cromwell's followers? Was that indomitable will and fortitude, that inflexible courage, which so often made Europe tremble, the result merely of a general acceptance of a creed? Was it not the result of the absorption of an idea into life as an active, living principle, which roused into strongest activity certain faculties while holding others in abeyance, and thus went on working until it produced a type of character, known all the world over?—one so strong as to be transmitted from generation to generation even under uncongenial circumstances? The Puritan mind to-day runs in certain channels, even after the Puritan faith has been forgotten. The pulse of the sea is felt far inland where the voice of blue ocean is never heard, and the gull's white wing is never seen; so, when any mighty impulse is given to humanity, its effects are transmitted to ages so remote that the original cause passes almost out of sight.*

Now, this we conceive to have been the effect produced in Judaism by the Messianic idea. There never was a nation whose birth and development was so coincident with that of a particular thought. There never was a nation so permeated in every function of its life with a clearly defined principle, from which its religion, politics, and whole culture drew their existence. Judaism is one of the wonders of the world. So unique is its whole formation and growth in comparison with

* Under the head of The Anthropological Postulate, in Dr. Martinsen's *Christian Ethics*, it appears to us that the general principles involved here are plainly stated.

other nations surrounding it, that one can look upon it only in the light of a tremendous miracle. It finds no resemblance or counterpart anywhere, and the further science advances, the more isolated in character and mission does it become. But the very individuality of its character only makes more possible the effect of which we have been speaking. We cannot suppose for a moment that such a thought as Israel embodied could do nothing more than guide in a general way the thinking and conduct of the people. It gave the Jew his physiognomy.

Mind and body, as all know, are in closest sympathy. They form a unit in which, though each can be distinguished from the other, there can be no separation without destruction. It is a matter of question whether any thought, however trivial, can be received without imparting to its recipient a permanent reflection of itself. Did Greek art show itself only in temple, statue and poem? Did it not aid in the production of a type of mind, a type of form? Did not the idea of law correspondingly mould the Roman? Yet both claim descent from the same great mother-race, the Aryan. Can any one carry in his mind a noble or degrading purpose without enjoying or suffering a corresponding development of those elements of his nature which are noble and pure to the subordination and almost total destruction of their opposites? Let any particular vice or virtue be strengthened by indulgence or education, and it will become so strong as to transmit itself to succeeding generations; whereas, if in its incipient stages it is restrained, it may die with its original possessor. The awful truth that the iniquity of the fathers shall be visited upon the children unto the third and fourth generation, is written deep in the constitution of man.

When we speak, then, of "the false Messianic conception of the Jew," we do not designate a conception that floated in the popular mind like the reflection of a cloud in the bosom of the lake, but of a conception which in the very bud of the national

existence in Abraham began to live; which with every stage in the development of a higher spirituality continued to unfold itself; which with every step toward the production of a saintly Mary and a saintly Simeon drew one step nearer the production of a Judas and a Caiaphas. We do not point to certain elements, and say, these, and these alone, wrought such a result. There were a thousand concurrent causes active to the same end. Every part of the Old Testament economy may be regarded as participating in the work. As the slightest requirement of the law, if submitted to in accordance with its intention, would aid in cultivating a capacity for the recognition of Christ, so the perversion of the law in its slightest detail would tend to bring out a directly opposite state. And as the Messianic hope was the governing principle of the theocracy in all its ramifications, binding every part in one body, and thus serving to develop a holiness of character peculiar to itself; so the false conception of the Messiah was the governing principle in the false interpretation of the law in every particular, and the formative cause of that form of evil which confronted Christ during His life upon earth. A form of evil rooted in the type of life represented by the Jew. For the people as a body were more under the dominion of the false idea than of the true. A comparatively small number seem to have attained to that height of spirituality which was required. Even with these, as the disciples illustrate, there was a reigning misapprehension of the Messiah which was only finally eradicated by the outpouring of the Holy Ghost on Pentecost.

Having thus considered some of the main elements in the life of the Israelite which appear to have been active in the formation of the false view of his own destiny, let us now consider some of the circumstances which aided in fixing and intensifying it, in bringing it to that pitch of fanatical fervor shown in the crucifixion of the Redeemer.

The Babylonish captivity wrought a marvellous change in

the whole character of the nation. This appears distinctly both in its religious and secular aspects. Previous to that event, the moral and spiritual life of the people was almost dead; after it, there was shown in this respect a strength and freedom unknown before. The fire of the furnace had refined the gold. Previous to it, royal authority had been supreme. The king was the rallying centre of the nation; after it, we find the sacerdotal assuming the pre-eminence, and the High Priests swaying a power unknown to their predecessors. The internal government of the state became more and more that of a hierarchy. Previous to it, the nation had been readily induced to prostitute itself to the worship of heathen divinities; after it, the dread of idolatry was so intense and fervor for the maintenance of the purity of the faith so great, that the attempt of Herod the Great to ornament the gates of the Temple with golden eagles excited a tumult, allayed only by the removal of the obnoxious images. Previous to the captivity the prophets had been the spiritual directors of the people; less than seventy years after it, the prophetic voice had died to silence, and there was thenceforth no new revelation of the will of God.

In this age, consequently, the Old Testament Canon was formed; and we find the attention of men directed with ardor to its study and explanation. This was also the age of the Talmud, of the sanhedrim, of the establishment of synagogues throughout the land, of the growth of the sects of Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, of the formation of that class of men known as scribes and lawyers, and of the rise of the rabbinic schools; results which were all conditioned, as one can readily see, and brought about by the withdrawal of prophetic guidance, and the necessity which that imposes of developing the resources of instruction already given. It was a period of meditation, when the thoughts of men were introverted in contemplating the promises confided to them. It was the hour of

expectation and of patient waiting, consequently, the period of highest spiritual development.*

* But the changes in the political and secular life of Israel were even greater than this. Previous to the triumph of Nebuchadnezzar the promised land was mainly inhabited by the Israelites. The old Canaanitish tribes had been very effectually destroyed, and the surrounding nations, though continually making inroads upon the country, were never permitted to acquire and maintain a permanent foothold there. But beginning with that event, there is a rapid advance of foreign peoples, who, notwithstanding many checks, continue to gain strength, and at last succeed in destroying the Jewish nation. In the age of Christ this ruin was threateningly imminent. Galilee was inhabited by a mixed population of Greeks, Romans, Phœnicians, Arabs and Jews. These five nationalities are all said to have been represented in Nazareth during our Lord's life. Samaria was thronged with those who mingled their blood with the heathen Assyrians during and subsequent to the captivity. The nucleus of the nation was gathered in Judea; Jerusalem was its centre; it was called Jewry. The

* "The true religion came now to be grasped individually with a deep earnestness as the highest blessing of life; it had often been lost already, and might easily be lost again, but this only made it necessary to grasp it the more firmly; it sank into the mind with a marvellous glow, penetrating and warming it throughout, and filling it with infinite blessedness. These feelings receive the most perfect expression in many of the later songs, and nowhere else have we so clear a proof of the pure truth and the irrefragable certainty with which the ancient religion laid hold of men, with no further protection or privilege than it could secure for itself, and independently of all national interest or of the position of the individual in the community. Here we find hardly a trace remaining of any contest with the world or of any severe struggle to avoid losing hold of the true God in the midst of its conflicts and dangers. Transfigured already in pure blessedness, the spirit feels itself in possession of the highest good, and only takes delight in pondering over it, and grasping it with growing earnestness."—EWALD'S *History of Israel*. Vol. V., p. 187.

very name indicates the changes wrought by Gentile domination. And so sensitive were the Jews there to the degeneracy which was manifesting itself in the people of other parts of the country through close association with the heathen, that Galilee was held by them in contempt, being spoken of as Galilee of the Gentiles, while with Samaria they would hold no communication whatever. The enmity for the people of the latter district being so great that a strict Jew would not even travel through it in going from one end of the land to the other. In the age of Christ Judea was a Roman province, of which Pontius Pilate was Procurator. The rest of the country was ruled over by Tetrarchs, descendants of Herod the Great, each of whom acted independent of the others. Their authority was derived from Rome; to the Emperor they paid tribute; upon his favor they were to a great extent dependent, yet they appear to have enjoyed the complimentary title of kings. Foreign rule was indeed everywhere apparent. On the Jewish sea floated Roman galleys; Roman highways crossed the land; Roman fortresses crowned commanding heights; over the Temple towered Antonia, and in it was a Roman garrison. The legion was a familiar sight. Even the malefactor's death was Roman. Western manners trod in the footsteps of the Western conquerors. Roman law and Greek culture went side by side. Heathen philosophy was studied and taught by many of the learned, and had already been so absorbed intellectually as to characterize the views and govern the thinking of bodies of men belonging to the ruling classes. The architecture of the period was prevailingly Græco-Roman. The columns of the Temple were Corinthian, the gate Beautiful was made of metal distinguished by the name of Corinthian Brass, and from all the adornments of that magnificent edifice Greek genius looked down upon Jewish worshipers. On the shore of Galilee and elsewhere rose palaces and cities of foreign aspect. In those cities stood the colossal Roman theatre, where barbaric gladiators fought and died, and in those palaces was spread the

luxurious Roman feast, and was witnessed the shameless dance, and heard the sensuous music of Western dissipation. Even the language of the people had passed away. Only the educated were familiar with Hebrew. Hence the surprise exhibited by the question concerning Christ: "Whence knoweth this man letters, having never learned?" With the return from captivity the people brought with them the language of their conquerors, the Aramaic. Even that was debased by absorption into it of words and phrases borrowed from the Greeks, Romans and various nations, with whom daily, in every town and village, the Jews were compelled to mingle. The character of the country had changed. Western civilization threatened to submerge the Eastern. Judea rose like an island out of the sea, yet on it the waves were encroaching.

It is not difficult to see the effect which all this had in preparing the Jews for the renunciation of Christ. On the one hand, the purity of morals and religion which followed the captivity was the primary condition of greater degeneracy than was before known. The absence of prophetic guidance threw the rabbis back for support upon their own natural ability. Lacking the living power of a lofty faith, which would have given them strength to break through the cob-web obstructions of the letter and unfold the spirit of their law, they descended to the most puerile, fanciful, and mechanical methods of interpretation. They reasoned to the best of their ability, and, what was worse, followed out their line of thought to its ultimate results; then made their conclusions the stand-point from which to contemplate the Scriptures—very much in the same manner in which theologians of to-day build up their systems, and then make them the scales by which to weigh the Gospel. From this came that vast mass of tedious, endless, and almost meaningless exactions and requirements known as the Mishna,*

* Some conception of what is here meant by the exactions and requirements which the Rabbis deduced from the law may be formed by reading the following note from Dr. Farrar's *Life of Christ*, Vol. II., p. 432. It relates to the

which in the days of our Saviour was proverbially of higher sanctity and greater worth even than the five books of Moses. The attempt to observe this bound up the best energies of the soul in the fulfilment of specific requirements, which were regarded as marking the farthest horizon of spiritual perfection. Thus the Jews were led to worship an external law, and saw not that the kingdom of heaven lay in the heart.

The whole tendency of religious culture at Christ's advent was of such a nature as of necessity to cramp the understanding and deaden all spiritual susceptibility. On the other hand, the dominion of the Gentile invaders aroused a jealous and feverish watchfulness to prevent the dissolution of the nation, and, at the same time, fanned into brighter, stronger flame the expectation of the coming Messiah, whose mission as the restorer of the kingdom was now more eagerly longed for and rested upon as the only hope. To defend their sacred institutions from sacrilege, to exert a conserving power upon the people, and thus keep the nation unbroken until Messiah would come to claim His own, seems to have been the effort of its leaders. The mighty empire of Solomon had, piece by piece, been wrenched from their grasp, the land had been more and more completely usurped by foreigners, one thing only

observation of the Sabbath, but is a fair example of the spirit animating all the instruction of the Jewish teachers at that time. "You must not walk through a stream on stilts, for you really carry the stilts. A woman must not go out with any ribbons about her, unless they were sewed to her dress. A false tooth must not be worn. A person with the toothache might not rinse his mouth with vinegar, but he might hold it in his mouth and swallow it. No one might write down two letters of the alphabet. The sick might not send for a physician. A person with lumbago might not rub or foment the affected part. A tailor must not go out with his needle on Friday night, lest he should forget it, and so break the Sabbath by carrying it about. A cock must not wear a piece of ribbon round his leg on the Sabbath, for this would be to carry something. Shammai would not entrust a letter to a *pagan* after Wednesday, lest he should not have arrived at his destination on the Sabbath. He was occupied, we are told, all the week with thinking as to how he should keep the Sabbath."

remained, their religion, the law—the birth-right of Jacob; and to guard and keep that till its fulfillment was the one effort. Like Niobe, whose children had one by one been stricken with death, with outstretched arms in an agony of suspense, endeavoring to shield the last from harm, so, guarding their only remaining hope, the Jews waited the issue.

At this crisis, Christ came. Sprung from the peasant class, poor, young, without reputation, without signs of royal authority, and unattended save by the base multitudes that are always ready to follow any wonder, good or bad, He entered Jerusalem, and, standing surrounded by all the magnificence of the Temple, before the faces of those who claimed to be above all others the chosen people, proclaimed their hope to be the baseless fabric of a vision, unsubstantial and unreal, and called upon them to forsake all and follow Him through shame and dishonor—to a throne?—to a Cross. Need we wonder that they shrank with fanatical intensity from the end He designated? They saw in Him the confirmation of their worst fears. It was for them the end of all, Jerusalem, the Temple, their whole ritual, their very existence as a people; the end of all their hope, of all their joy, of all their pride, of all that had sustained them in captivity, and made the tyranny of their subjection to Rome tolerable; the end of the one thing which through the vicissitude of a long and singularly eventful career had given them comfort and held them united as a people. Reason, and prejudice, and passion, emphatically said no. The thought was intolerable, so irreconcilable with all previous conceptions as to forestall a candid examination. Their numbers and influence gave them immense support. They were the heads of the nation, holding in their hands, if any could claim to do so, the sacred covenant. They included the priesthood, the sanhedrin, the scribes, lawyers, Pharisees, Sadducees, and the learned rabbis, who, if any, were surely qualified to interpret the Scriptures. Standing together at Jerusalem, the centre of the theocracy, this great college of venerable and learned teachers and scholars

united in condemning, as contradictory to their whole religion, the man who claimed to be their Messiah. Now we in our day place great reliance on the view and opinions of our learned men, and are wonderfully governed and controlled by the development of thought which has preceded us in years gone by, and the Jews in their generation were as wise as we are in ours.

There was, too, a certain independence in Christ's way of entering upon His work which must have appeared inexplicable. He entered into no communication formally with the heads of the nation. He asked for no co-operation. He proceeded about His work as if utterly insensible of their existence. They who, according to all the ordinary rules of procedure, should have united in support and sympathy with Him, found themselves altogether set aside. That Christ's coming should be above the natural order of events in this world, was, of course, affirmed. But while His appearance was to be in a supernatural manner, it was at the same time, to be in full harmony with their whole organization. But Christ disjoined all their preconcerted views, antagonized the whole. There was no point of contact, no general principle upon which to base an agreement, no rule by which He might be measured; He was the direct opposite of what they were. His rejection need occasion no surprise. The conduct of the Jews was too human to occasion surprise, too much in harmony with the conduct of men to-day when confronted with what contradicts their thinking and education. So blinded do men become by education and slowly developed prejudice, that scarce any folly, however absurd, is too absurd to find firm adherents.

We are not to suppose that this tremendous question was decided by a group of venerable counselors, assembled in a spirit of calm moderation. The accusers and judges of Christ were swept on to the terrible conclusion of His trial by a whirlwind of passion. It was an age of anarchy. The wild elements of disorganization were everywhere active. A new order of things was usurping the place of the old. Old

ties were being broken and new ones formed. Oppression and violence roused and fed the worst appetites. The nation was ripe for rebellion; mutterings of the coming storm were already heard. Degeneracy permeated religion and politics. The boldest sophistry covered with a thin veil flagrant evasions of the most sacred laws. Divorce was common and readily granted for most trivial reasons. Marriage was only too often an excuse for adultery.* The plea of Corban sanctioned the violation of the holiest filial duty. Hypocrisy was avowedly recognized as a legitimate means for the promotion of good. There was an emptiness, a craftiness, an abandonment of all principle, and an alliance with evil, which fully justified the fearful language applied by our Lord to the representatives of the great sects;—language which finds no parallel in the *Philippics* of Demosthenes, or Burke's tremendous denunciation of Warren Hastings, or any other orations, famous for their severity. But while there was a large body of Christ's antagonists who fully embodied the worst evils of their generation, and while they were evidently the prime movers in the bitter persecution which He suffered, we must not suppose they were His only antagonists. Men of a different order stood aloof from, and took decided stand against Him; men of pure morals, noble life, and high aims. From their ranks sprang Saul of Tarsus; to their ranks belonged Gamaliel; Nicodemus was slow to forsake them. There were many who appear to have been driven by no insane madness of spirit, but to have labored under the vain delusion thrown around them by their

* "A most shameful proof of organized hypocrisy is furnished in the advice given by Rabbi Ilia, to those who suffered from sensual temptations. It occurs in two separate passages of the Talmud. I cannot quote the passages, but the purport of them amounts to this, that the sin of fornication is permissible if it be effectually concealed. Another Rabbinic rule about divorce is just as thin a disguise, just as cynical a concession. 'A man must not marry a woman *with the intention* of divorcing her; but if he previously inform her that he is going to marry her for a season, it is lawful.'"—*Farrar's Life of Christ*, Vol. II. p. 473.

whole culture. Men of whom both Peter and Paul speak as having acted in ignorance; in an ignorance under which reason and intuition lay pitiably enthralled. In the upright and God-fearing Jew of to-day we may see an exemplification of this. Though ages of unexampled growth and prosperity have set their seal to the religion of Jesus, they are incapable of seeing in any other light than that in which it appeared when Caiaphas spoke his wise sentences for the execution of the Redeemer! To this day the vail remains untaken away. Yet who for a moment could apply to them the burning denunciation uttered by our Lord? No; their blindness was the result of ages of gradual degeneracy, of gradual identification with a principle altogether irreconcilable with the real meaning of the covenant. To call them by the general epithet of wicked men, to regard them as cold and inhuman, as resolutely out-facing divinity, leaves one of the most subtle forms of evil under a mask, which only renders more sure its approaches. They were zealous for God and His law as in their ignorance they saw it and Him.* They were not monsters. They loved their little, black-eyed Jewish babes. They spoke tenderly to their wives. They laid their hands upon the curly heads of their manly boys and solemnly bade them reverence God. There were many reckless

* As Paul forcibly emphasizes this, "Brethren, my heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is, that they might be saved. For I bear them record that they have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge. For they being ignorant of God's righteousness, and going about to establish their own righteousness, have not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God." Rom. x. 1-3. So also in 1 Cor. ii. 7-8, he plainly tells us that it was not in a spirit of heartless wickedness that they crucified Christ, but in the darkness of ignorance. "But we speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, *even* the hidden wisdom, which God ordained before the world unto our glory: which none of the princes of this world knew: for had they known *it*, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory." So also we know that while the Pharisees fully merited the stern rebukes of Jesus, they, nevertheless, included in their numbers the most noble and righteous of the nation, and, probably, to them more than any other body was due the preservation of the faith, against the innumerable attacks made upon it from all sides, until the advent of the Messiah.

and desperate men among them, but they were not all of that character. We cannot doubt the possibility of infatuation in the realm of the spiritual any more than we can doubt its possibility in the realm of the natural. And there we see men and women pursuing with unquenchable ardor—living, laboring, agonizing, and dying for objects which have reality no where but in their disordered minds, and which all the world knows are mere delusions, but delusions woven by a spell of such magic power over the reason and heart of their poor victims that no argument or proof, however positive, has any strength to break it. And in men of past times, and in men of our own times who have professed and who do profess, low, unscriptural views of Christ, and who have died for their creed, or are willing to die for it, we have as convincing evidences of the existence of the possibility of blind infatuation in the realm of the spiritual as we have of its existence in the realm of the natural. Who will pretend to sound the full depths of the evil?

We have no wish to play the apologist, but are only attempting—and it may be poorly succeeding—to present the subject in a way that will to some extent rid the mind of the impression produced by oft-repeated charges of perversity, hardness of heart, and false conception of Christ, brought against the Jews in explanation of their rejection of the Messiah. Charges which are true, but which have lost their vitality by frequent repetition. A thought repeated ever under one form will produce deadness and insensibility, whereas if continually arrayed in new garments it will instruct, interest, and convince. Fix a diamond in one position and, as all are aware, it will lose half its beauty. Every idea must play the chameleon if it would enjoy a long and active life. Good taste eschews proverbs, and, it appears to us, that good sense will also. For no idea can endure crystalization in set words. It must grow, or its influence will be ruinous. Christ informed living existences with His thought; He spoke in parables, a mode of expression which

more readily than any other endures study without exhaustion.

But the failure of the Jews to perceive the relation in which Christ stood to them, teaches us a lesson which we dare not let go by without study. Truth asserts itself in facts before it is recognized by the intellect. The reason and understanding fail to trace the connection between one age and another, until both stand, as established facts, somewhat removed from us by the lapse of time. Then, the interpretation can be only partially made. There is a ruthless breaking into existence of the new life, and a ruthless overthrow and destruction of the old, which confounds logic. That which ages have been laboring to produce appears to reach a meaningless end. Philosophy is at fault, and the wisdom of sages, like the gold of the miser, is, as if by magic, transmuted into dust. In periods of transition it must be our moral and spiritual sense of the Divine, and our intuitive grasp of its meaning, which must be our guide. These culminate in faith, and lead us out, like Abraham of old, we know not whither. Thus it was with the disciples. They knew not where they were going, but followed like children the guidance of One, whose authentication of Himself to them was deeper than they could fathom. So, we think, it must be to a great extent to-day; to attempt to explain clearly, and master intellectually every subject, and be willing to submit to that only which is satisfactory in this respect, cannot but lead one astray. Even the constant attempt to do this is liable to become injurious, for it cultivates a tendency to rely upon our own ability in that direction, and, also, to induce a sluggish activity of the intuitive faculties. When these are entirely subordinated to the reason, there follows deadness of spirituality, more supreme than gross vice can entail. At all times, the reason and understanding must be permeated and vivified by a quick intuitive recognition of the good and evil; there must be ever present in us that undefinable, sympathetic power which is endowed with the faculty of spontaneous recognition of the Divine. The

absence of this will be inevitably followed by narrow, confined views; there will be a rigid development of one or more ideas to the exclusion of others just as important.

Our Saviour made no attempt to present His thoughts in a systematic form; He addressed Himself pre-eminently to the conscience—"the light within"—not to the understanding. Whenever an opportunity was offered for awakening the mind by a question or an illustration, He took it without endeavoring to indicate the necessary connection which was borne by what He said to some antecedent or consequent truth. As a parent deals with a child, imparting now one thought and then another, as the opening mind of the little one makes possible its reception, so our Lord dealt with men, enjoining continually the necessity of faith as the first condition of spiritual growth. There was certainly unity and progress in His instruction, just as there was development in His own character from the manger to the grave, but there was no effort made to harmonize in a logical way all the various aspects of the truth, so that from beginning to end no part would appear to contradict another and the whole stand full and complete before the mind. But since our Saviour's day one is compelled to think that humanity feels itself burdened with the obligation of reducing to a harmonious system all the various ideas uttered by Him and His immediate followers, or are embodied in the sacred Scriptures. When this cannot be done readily there is often resort to curious shifts to explain away some troublesome fact or inflate it with the meaning it must have in order to suit our convenience. As if by sheer intellectual strength entrance could be forced into the arcana of Divine revelation. We would forcibly tear off the lid of the sacred ark not knowing, like the men of Bethshemesh, that such an act must result in destruction. For the philosophy and theology of every age shows that to follow rigidly any fixed method, or develop to its ultimate results any single line of reasoning, no matter how comprehensive, will inevitably re-

sult in a conclusion, entitled to no other name than absurdity. Perhaps it is the sense of this that moves so many original and profound thinkers to break off abruptly in their course, even at the risk of being charged with inconsistency, and leave to others, if they have a mind to do it, the task of following the thought to its termination.* A course pursued by the followers of Plato, and every other great thinker, and invariably with the same result,—a result so contradictory to common sense as to require little more than its utterances to secure its condemnation. Perfect equilibrium seems beyond human skill to attain. So true is this, that the very claim to have evolved a complete system of theology, is almost sufficient to warrant the assumption that somewhere in the argument lies coiled a subtle fallacy. God's revelation cannot be buckled into the strait-jacket of human logic.

To save us from the evil in which all attempts of that kind are in danger of ending, there must be more childlike acceptance of the various points of faith brought before us in the Scriptures, more dependence placed upon the innate sense of God's love and wisdom, which to a greater or less extent is the gift of all, and more readiness to accept those elements of truth to which the intuition directs us, even though they appear contradictory to one another. For principles which seem most conflicting may, as all know, exist in closest harmony. It is

* There is a striking example of this given by Dr. Nevin in his review of Krauth's *Conservative Reformation*. He says: "The grand unconscious simplicity of Luther's faith, in the whole work which brought itself to pass through him, must ever be for a thoughtful spirit one of the strongest proofs that the work was not so much of man as of God. He went forth upon it emphatically, like 'Abraham of old, not knowing whither he went;' and he went through it, clear out to the end, very much in the same way. He meant no mixture with Rome at the start; and afterward when he blew his three trumpet blasts in that direction—his address to the *German Nobility*, his *Babylonish Captivity*, and his *Freedom of a Christian Man*—it was without any thought or care whatever for danger lying in an opposite direction. Yet when this danger actually came, he stood ready at once to face it in the same resolute way, without regard to logical consistency or outside reference of any sort.

doubtless true that, "whatever is against right reason, that no faith can oblige us to believe." But it is no less true, "that reason cannot be the positive and affirmative measure of our faith," which it is continually in danger of being made. For "our faith ought to be larger than (speculative) reason, and take something into her heart that reason can never take into her eye."* Of this the most striking example is given us in St. Paul. He appeals to the understanding continually. He reasons with all the force of a giant intellect. He presents us with the nearest approach to a system of theology to be found among the sacred writers, and yet, so broad and powerful is his grasp of foundation principles and of principles apparently inharmonious, that Unitarians, Trinitarians, Calvinists, Arminians, Baptists and Universalists—scarce a sect in Christendom but finds firmest foothold in the sixteen brief chapters of the Epistle to the Romans. His recognition of apparently conflicting ideas reminds one of the Himalayas, which boldly raise aloft one grand, awful pinnacle of majesty here, and another there, without seeming to care whether their broad bases are lost in obscurity or not, content that their snow-clad summits are bathed in the light of heaven. Human reason would beat all down to a dead level, or, failing in that, pivot itself upon one and declare all the rest mere shadows. Who that values his reputation for consistency would, as he, dare to write: "Work out your salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God that worketh in you to will and to do of His good pleasure," then pass on without attempting to reconcile what seems so contradictory. Glowing mountain peaks of great principles! he saw and recognized them, though their wide bases were lost in mystery too profound for human ken to penetrate. Is it so we apprehend the Divine Revelation in Christ? No; every

He was not to be bound even by his own promises, when they were found to issue in what he felt, through the faith that was in him, to be palpable falsehood."

* Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection*, p. 321.

part must be dovetailed and fitted in to that which precedes, and that which follows it, with the exactness of a Chinese puzzle. What finer illustration of this can be found than the doctrine of predestination as developed by Calvin, or the doctrine of Apostolic succession, as maintained by a part of the Episcopal Church. In the same spirit only too many theories advance from base to apex. Juggernauts of logic! they grind inexorably in their way, even though it be to crush out the souls of half humanity.

This was the secret evil at work in the heart of the Jew. He had not evolved what we would term a system of thought, but he had evolved what for him amounted to the same thing. He had formed his opinion of how Christ should come, and what manner of man He was to be. And this opinion was supported by reasons the most plausible, and reasons most unanswerable, for they were educed from the sacred canon. That his interpretation might be wrong, was absurd even to suggest. For on this point, priests, rulers, elders, lawyers, scribes, Pharisees, Sadducees, and rabbis, were united. Whatever disagreement might exist on other questions, all was harmonious here. If they were wrong, multitudes of the wisest and best, whom they had revered from infancy, and at whose feet as students they sat, were also wrong. "Christ cometh of the seed of David, and out of the town of Bethlehem where David was," they reasoned. How could that be reconciled with the advent of Jesus from Nazareth? "Search and look, for out of Galilee ariseth no prophet," was given with confidence, as an unanswerable rejoinder to the timid interposition of Nicodemus. Again, they argued, "we know this man whence he is," there is no mystery about it; he is a carpenter, the son of a carpenter, sprung from the class of people about him; "when Christ cometh no man knoweth whence He is." Thus they dealt with Him, stifling the agitation of their hearts, and the strange misgivings which His tremendous appeals to their moral and spiritual susceptibilities had created. For the struggle for

recognition of Him in many had evidently been great, but what He was conflicted too directly with their conception of what He should be, and the motion in their hearts was smothered. It was the pulse of life whose throbbings were stilled, but that in their blindness was unknown.

The whole attitude of the Jews exemplifies the saying of Jesus; "that on you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharias, son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar. Verily I say unto you, all these things shall come upon this generation." The Lord Jesus was continually making special application of general truths, some of which under different forms are frequently confronting us. Here we have what may be regarded as a statement of the thought that, every age is the product of the ages that precede it. Hence it is the sufferer of the innumerable evil influences, and the inheritor of the results accomplished by all the good influences active in the life of the nation through all preceding ages. That on that generation was laid the blessing of all preceding time, He was Himself the convincing proof. In every judgment there is the rewarding of the good, and the punishing of the bad. The Jews suffered judgment for their evil, not only in the destruction of Jerusalem, and dissolution of the nation, but also in that deadness of spirituality and falseness of conception concerning Christ, which resulted in His denial. In that lay the true weight of the awful penalty, one which is not yet exhausted. That state of degeneracy grew with the growth of the Theocracy. Every new advance in revelation towards the advent of the Redeemer was the condition of a higher unfolding of the false principle; for every truth evokes a counterfeit which is evil, evil differing in order or degree from every other evil known, just in the degree that the particular truth which evokes it is distinct from those preceding it. The judgment laid upon the Jews did not come in an external manner, but was the natural and necessary issue of

their degenerate life. From sin to sin they had gone; there were periods of reformation and judgment, it is true, when the nation paused in its course, when great changes were made, when old forms gave place to new, when degrading vices were put aside, but under finer and more subtle forms the same spirit asserted itself, not weaker, but stronger. At last the consummation of the age came; all the evil was punished, and all the good rewarded.

It is doubtful whether any other people could have been guilty of the great sin of Israel. Gross vice, deep depavity, excessive brutality, are found among the heathen, but that refined spirit of evil which could undaunted behold the dead raised by a word, then wreak its hate on the worker of the miracle by putting Him to death, required a higher revelation of the Divine for its development than was given heathendom. The Greeks could poison a Socrates, but it is to be doubted whether any but the Jews could crucify a Christ. The miracles of the Redeemer, which the Pharisees without a blush attributed to Beelzebub, would in all probability have bowed the Greeks in servile adoration at His feet. Indeed, this is plainly told us in the woes pronounced against the cities of Galilee. "Woe unto thee, Chorazin! Woe unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works had been done in Tyre and Sidon, which have been done in you, they had a great while ago repented, sitting in sackcloth and ashes." An impressibility exemplified in the conduct of the priests at Lystra, who upon seeing the miracle wrought by Paul and Barnabas, brought oxen and garlands to the gates of the city, with the intention of honoring them with a sacrifice. This same contrast appears in the trial of Jesus. Pontius Pilate's hands were red with the blood of innocent men; he had been guilty of the most causeless murder, and indulged forms of depravity from which the Pharisees and Sadducees would have shrunk with horror, yet the kingly bearing of Christ and His mysterious language overawe him, and in his weak way Pilate sincerely

sought the Redeemer's release. Annas and Caiaphas, however, were different men; they did not possess even the susceptibility of Pontius Pilate. Their opportunities were greater, hence their declension was deeper.

Thus from its high estate the nation fell. That which had been ordained for its eternal honor and peace became the occasion for the nation's deepest degeneracy and shame, and yet, wonderful to see, that very evil had its part to play in the redemption of the world, and became instrumental in accomplishing a greater good than it destroyed.

ART. V.—EVOLUTION AND PROVIDENCE.

"For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, *even* his eternal power and Godhead."—BIBLE.

THE world of thought—Christian and non-Christian—has had its critical attention called to the scientific investigations and speculations of the Darwinian school, with its fundamental principle of evolution. The theory advanced has been ably advocated and ably attacked by those capable on the one side of appreciating its merits and, on the other, by those capable of noting its defects. Whilst, perhaps, on the part of its defenders, we might be able to trace that vein of rancor and bombast, which the history of philosophy and science shows to be almost inseparable from the disciples of a new (progressive discovery and) idea,—yet, on the other side, we might note that element of premature, unscientific denunciation, which, also, has always characterized the conservative opponents of novelty. To assert, even to prove that Prof. Darwin and his adherents have, as yet, failed to demonstrate clearly the truth of their theory by the

arguments drawn from their investigations in the sphere of nature, is, after all, merely to show that the arguments advanced are as yet inconclusive, whilst yet, the idea underlying the entire system may be true and correct, and, that time and effort, whilst they may alter the manner of the argument, may not only not change or do away with the idea of evolution, but may even demonstrate it to be that which explains reasonably, the secret of the species. It will do, neither to boast on the one side, of a present, determined success, nor, on the other, of an ultimate, certain defeat. Whilst the proper arena, in which the demonstrative contest lies, must be kept clear for those whose lives and talents are devoted to the subject of Natural Science, yet, since discovered truth—or that which is thought to be truth—becomes the common property of all,—the general reader and thinker, after such study and reflection as enable him intelligently to form an opinion personally, possesses an undoubted right to lay hold on that idea which his mind is influenced to favor, and, proceeding from this—the fundamental idea, *e. g.* evolution,—is justified in viewing it in such relations as please him, whilst he leaves the authentication and demonstration of the truth of the idea, which he has appropriated, to those competent to that purpose. It is his right, too, to present any further slight arguments or dim views, which may arise before his mind in favor of his accepted theory; in short: no one can deny him the privilege of speculating to his heart's content and head's extent, upon that theory, which seems to him the correct one. To one, however, who is convinced of the truth of Christianity—of Christianity as being the truth of the Absolute, and, consequently, including within itself *all forms, in which, truth is manifested*—so as to preclude the idea *that any form of truth can possibly stand in antagonism to it, or vice versa*,* it (Christi-

* “*** Each advance of science, instead of being a limitation of theology or of metaphysics, has been an extension of both. So far from metaphysics and theology having been driven from any region of nature by science, no science has arisen without suggesting new questions to the one and affording new data

anity) becomes, for him, the complemental, ultimate and infallible, test and measure of truth. Being such, what would be more natural and logical, than, for such an one, to view that fundamental theory of the great work of creation, which he chooses to accept, in its relations to the Absolute Truth, and, in the light of the latter, to reject, or adopt, such modifications as seem inconsistent, or consistent, with his chosen test?* A leading design of this paper is to view the idea of the evolution of species, in a general way, in itself, and in its relations to Christianity.

The reader is presumed to have, at least, a knowledge of the general lines of thought as advocated by the evolutionists and their opponents. As this paper is not of a controversial nature, but one of the many arguments urged by the anti-evolutionists, will be formally noticed. It has frequently been urged that no examples or instances of the development of one species into a higher order, have been actually observed, and that such a change is directly opposed to present experience. The immense periods of time and (in the case of man) the necessary co-existence of all the classes, might be sufficient answers to, at least, make this objection lose the greater part of its force. But, if it is insisted upon as a decisive argument and as one in whose favor the presumption lies, it can, with equal force, be urged

to the other. Each new science brings with it principles which the metaphysician finds it requisite to submit to an analytic examination, and in which he finds new material for speculation: and also in the measure of its success, results in which the theologian finds some fresh disclosure of the thoughts and character of God. Underneath all science there is metaphysics, above all science there is theology, and these are so related that every advance of science must extend the spheres both of true metaphysics and true theology." Prof. Flint: *Philos. of Hist.*, vol. I, page 272.

* "The idea of God is, confessedly the apex and crowning point of all the lines which form the pyramid of human knowledge. And ***,—unless all the converging lines find there a final rest and satisfaction, a sense of incompleteness arises." George Herbert Curteis, A.M.; *Dissent*, &c. Sec. Ed., page 323.

by the opposite side as a logical rebuttal: that (1)—neither has the creation of man by a distinct, separate act of a creating Providence, exerted upon the dust of the ground or upon nothing, been observed in the present experience of man, but is directly opposed to such experience, and, (2) that the record of creation as found in the Holy Scriptures, does not warrant any such use of it as an argument, since it is equally applicable to the other side; for the evolutionist holds more strictly, consistently and scientifically to the creation of man from the dust of the ground, than does he who does not hold to the development of one species into another.

But, leaving now such argumentative quibbling, let us work ourselves away from the confusions which meet us on all sides, and endeavor to find a foundation upon which our feet may rest; some central spot, from which the threads of thought radiate; some point, where we can grasp the idea—fundamental to the controversy—in its entirety, freed from the scum of conflict and the vapor, which, rising from the clashings of dispute, have almost succeeded in covering it (the idea) from sight or have surrounded it with an almost impenetrable mist. Let us endeavor to ascertain that which is *common* to all the parties to the discussion, and, having found this *common principle*, we will have found the only test to which all can yield and which can be acknowledged as the gauge of approximated truth by all concerned. No philosophical controversy—nor any other for that matter—is productive of any desirable or definite fruit unless all parties start from a principle, common to all, and acknowledged by all, to which they may refer as a common test of the validity of theories advanced. What is now this fundamental conception from which all proceed in this great scientific controversy? What is that common idea which must permeate all the lines of thought upon the subject of the process of the natural world, and which forms the very life of any theory in regard to nature, that is worthy of any attention and will receive a hearing before any scientific mind on either side? The

writer, for himself, finds it to consist in the grand conception of the *world-unity*, and, truly, of such world-unity in an organic, living process (*Werden*). It will, he imagines, be certainly acknowledged by all thinkers—whatever may be their opinions concerning the *nature* of this world-unity and the *manner* in which this process began and is carried forward,—that whatever theory may be advanced, if it does not fall in with the idea of a world-unity and is inconsistent with, or opposed to, this fundamental conception—that such theory is unworthy of any scientific attention other than to show that it is inconsistent with, or opposed to, the profound idea of the unity of nature,—and, this fact having been ascertained, the theory is, at once, forced into oblivion or laid away amongst the archives of a past age. There is, also, associated with this idea of a world-unity in an organic, living process, the further idea of a development or progression; a development, indeed, as the writer conceives it, not of the unity, as such, since a unity is, by its very nature, unchangeable,—but a development or progression, by which, all the conditions external to a unity, are so ordered and posited as to allow the unity by its continuous assimilation of these ever-present, external conditions, a fuller, freer and more perfect expansion of its life and activity, and which assimilation continually wakens into such potent life and activity, the slumbering, infinite, powers of the unity; the external conditions are assimilated and the latent forces of the unity spring into a progressively larger life and play and self-assertion. However, whatever the nature of development or of progression may be (for the present), the *idea* of it is now inseparably associated with that of the world-unity in the minds of our scientific thinkers, and consequently, we have, again, as a result: whatever that theory concerning nature is, that will not stand the applied test of the conception of a world-development,—whatever may be the opinion as to the *nature* of this development or progression and as to the *mode* in which it is brought about and carried forward,—that such theory will possess neither weight nor

influence in scientific circles, and, will receive no further attention than the one which is not equal to the test of a world-unity, and, like it, must go to the waste-basket.

There is no division, the writer imagines, in the scientific world, in regard to the two fundamental conceptions alluded to. They are indisputable, and, in these days, need no arguments in their favor, since the modern mind accepts them spontaneously because they are in conformity with "the intellectual type of the age."*

From this point now, the scientific minds have proceeded. Starting from the idea of a world-unity and of a world-process (Werden) or world-development (Entwicklung), each theorist forms a system with these ideas underlying it, proceeding to trace and define, systematically, the nature of this unity and the nature of this world-process and development; the causal beginning of this unity and its probable, ultimate end; the laws underlying this process and development; the relations which exist between the unity, its factors and the developing process; the manner or mode in which the world-process is carried forward, and the forms in which it posits itself in space and time. Here now the utmost perplexing diversification takes place, but remembering that all theories and systems radiate from the above-mentioned, two, fundamental ideas, and are merely intended as expositions of these two conceptions, the student of modern science is enabled to test the strength and validity of

* "It was observed that every great change of belief had been preceded by a great change in the intellectual condition of Europe, that the success of any opinion depended much less upon the force of its arguments, or upon the ability of its advocates, than upon the predisposition of society to receive it, and that that predisposition resulted from the intellectual type of the age. As men advance from an imperfect to a higher civilization, they gradually sublimate and refine their creeds. Their imaginations insensibly detach themselves from those grosser conceptions and doctrines that were formerly most powerful, and they sooner or later reduce all their opinions into conformity with the moral and intellectual standards which the new civilization produces." Lecky: *History of Rationalism*, Introduction.]

every step, and if he finds it inconsistent with the idea of a world-unity or of a world-development, he rejects it as being no contribution to modern science or as a defective one. The writer does not wish to be understood as asserting that every modern, philosophical thesis upon the subject of Nature in its entirety, starts formally and consciously from these two conceptions; stating them formally, as constituting such starting-point,—but that all such systems, consciously or unconsciously, reproduce them, as being the molds in which the scientific mind of the present day is cast.

In a rough generalization, the thinkers and writers upon the subject of Natural Science, might be viewed as constituting two classes,—with, of course, numerous shades and differences of thought within each—viz.: (1) those who hold that the existing order of things in the natural world was brought about by the gradual development and progression of a lower into a higher order, by virtue of such a law of evolution existing in the very nature of things;* that this evolution or development goes forward, subject only to those laws which it enfolds and unfolds; that such evolution is entirely *independent* of any and all active interference of an external, governing and shaping Providence; that the differences existing between the species are only graduated differences in point of development; that the beginning of the present order of things was merely a germinal beginning; that beyond this germinal beginning the philosopher of nature is not called upon to go for a solution of nature's problem; that nature, herself, solves her own problem, and the law of evolution is, for the Scientist, the key to that problem; that there is a world-unity and that it comes to view in one continuous, unbroken and unbreakable, living, organic world-process

* "Evolution," says Huxley, "is that hypothesis which embraces in one stupendous analogy the growth of a solar system from molecular chaos, the shaping of the earth from the nebulous cubhood of its youth through innumerable changes and immeasurable ages to its present form; and the development of a living being from the shapeless mass of protoplasm we term a germ."

as world-evolution or world-development,—and (2), those who hold that the existing order of things in the natural world, has been brought about by the will and act of a Divine Being, whose personality is external to the natural world; that this Divine Being has, from first to last, molded and formed the world by His thought and act; that His activity in the natural world is direct and immediate, and *independent* of the latter; that the world-process has gone forward only by reason of His co-operation and under His surveillance and active interference as a presiding Providence; that the differences between the species are *not* brought about by a gradual evolution which develops a lower into a higher order, but that the higher order is the result of a special act of creation determined and performed by the Divine Intelligence,—entirely independent of such lower order; that the world-process is a unity and that development does take place, but that the latter *only* takes place within each particular order, *i. e.*, that each order can be developed and can develop itself, *ad infinitum*, within itself, but cannot by virtue of its own powers and the presence of never so favorable external conditions, evolve a new and higher order out of itself.

Should any reader find, or think, that the informal divisions as above, are incorrect and that the account of the principles as held by each, is inaccurate, then let him merely regard them as two classes and sets of principles which—with all that has gone before and all that follows—have their only existences in the brain of the writer; whereupon, he can proceed sympathetically and contentedly and the object of the writer will not have been lost on account of a difference of opinion in that regard.

Let us now endeavor to gather together the lines of thought which may show that the idea of a *world-unity* demands such a view as is held by the *first* described class of thinkers; that a narrow and critical consideration of the nature and demands of *development* will require for the solution of the problem of the world-development, the views of the *second* described class;

that the *world-unity* demands such a germinal beginning and such an uninterrupted process and gradation of one order into another as asserted by the *former*; that the *world-development* demands the co-operative activity of an Existence external to the world-unity as maintained by the *latter*; that the *Evolutionist* requires the philosophy of the *Special-Creationist* and the latter needs the science of the former; that the two are complementary, and complete the truths of their mutual ideas; that in the *former*—despite the title of Evolutionist—it is the grand idea of a *world-unity* which their magnificent labors have brought to light, and, that in the *latter* the chief requirements of a *world-development* have been preserved by their wonderful faith.

But little need be said upon the subject of the *world-unity*. It is self-evident that there is no unity in a process which breaks or is broken in upon at intervals. If Providence, only at different periods comprising thousands of years, appears actively in the field of nature introducing a new element or order, which is then left to develop itself and which has no living, organic connection with what had gone before, the process is so broken in upon,—nature becomes a series of platforms raised one above the other—a foreign element *takes possession*, but the world-unity has ended. If man was created by an act of Divine interference, “out of nothing,” by a mere act of the Divine will, then he is created out of that which had no vital union with that portion of nature which preceded him; the world becomes then indeed, a stage erected for his convenience, but the world-unity is gone; there is no more of an organic connection, then, between man and preceding nature than there is between the actor and the wooden platform upon which he acts; man ceases to be the head of nature, except by usurpation, and becomes a mere Gnostic foreigner. If this act of Providence was exercised upon the “dust of the ground,” *as dust*, the unity is again broken, since the process between inorganic nature and man has been disregarded; man then stands

in closer connection with inorganic nature (so-called) than with the higher orders, for then in fact, he has none with the latter at all.*

If however, Christian thinkers insist upon holding to special acts of a creating Providence in the domain of nature and the formation of species, then, any other than a very irregular and loose philosophy compels them to fall in with the idea of the world-unity as demonstrated by the evolutionists, and, by projecting their faith into scientific form, to hold to an

* Although the creation of man "out of nothing" is apocryphal, yet the writer takes this opportunity of asserting: that if the Bible is a revelation at all, it is the revelation of God's activity within the sphere of human freedom; that the revelation of God's activity in the natural world, if He has been there actively, must be found in the sphere of Nature herself, if found anywhere. It lies in the very nature of things, that if God has been active in the history of humanity, He would make use of those means, which are the only ones possible to ensure a knowledge of such historical activity to succeeding generations, viz.: *written records*. Nature, however, is her own, standing record, and her rocks, plants and animals are themselves the record of God's activity in her sphere, if His hand has been there at all. It is utterly illogical and futile for the theologian to appeal to a text of the Holy Scriptures, sundered and torn away from the entire intention and life of the Word of God found therein, in order to solve the problem of Nature. Upon the other hand, it is equally illogical, unscientific and futile, for the naturalist to endeavor to read the history of God's activity in the sphere of human freedom, in the rocks and species of Nature. If God has been active in the sphere of freedom, then the only possible way by which such activity could be made known, historically, to, and be traced by, men, would be by just such written records as are claimed to exist. If God has been active in Nature, then Nature, herself, will inform us of it and of the manner in which such activity was exercised, and a correct reading of her rocks and species will, nay must, disclose the workings of God within her sphere, if He has worked there at all. Should, however, Natural Science establish, that which Christian faith has held, viz.: that Nature's record does disclose and demand such a Divine activity within her material sphere then it is quite natural to infer that the two records are mutually complementary, and, together, form the record of one and the same process; then, and not until then, can the one be used in order to cast light upon the other; then, and not until then, does that higher than the world-unity—the union of God and man—come into view, which combines the ideas: God, Nature, Man or Freedom into one grand harmonious whole as the true *cosmical* unity.

ever-present, ever-active, *ever-creating* presence of God in the world and in each—the most minute portion of it; to make it a world-law, immanent and active in every particle of the universe, in each individual and class in its germ and throughout its developing process and fruition,—and that what are termed special acts of a creating Providence, are merely the higher and more marked manifestations of this general law of a present, creative activity of the Divine Being. Then, that creative act of Providence, which constitutes the difference between a tree and a bird, becomes no more of a *special act*, than does that act of a creating Providence, which makes that tree or that bird at any particularized moment of its developing existence, other than that which it had been but the instant before. Granting a general law of an omnipresent, never-ceasing, creative activity of Providence, all special acts fall within this law, being mere manifestations of it, and, consequently, what are termed, in this sense, special acts, are only such phenomena of this law as are more distinctly marked in the differences between the species. Rejecting the special acts (Darwin), the general law is rejected; rejecting the general law (Anti-Evolutionists), the special acts must also be rejected as inconsistent and arbitrary interferences which science cannot recognize. Then indeed, and then only, do Christians obtain a *law* of Providence, which will throw into one connected, organic process, all those scattered phenomena termed: special acts of Providence;* then,

* “*** The marked tendency of advancing civilization is to strengthen our belief in the universality of order, of method and of law. This being the case, it follows that if any fact, or class of facts, have not yet been reduced to order, we, so far from pronouncing them to be irreducible, should rather be guided by our experience of the past, and should admit the possibility that what we now call inexplicable will at some future time be explained. This expectation of discovering regularity in the midst of confusion is so familiar to scientific men, that amongst the most eminent of them it becomes an article of faith.” Buckle: Hist. of Civiliz. in Eng., vol. I. “A law of nature being merely a generalization of relations, and having no existence except in the mind, is essentially intangible; and therefore, however small the law may be, it can never admit of

and then only, is theology able to fall in with the idea of a world-unity in one unbroken process of development; then, and then only, does the Deism of Darwinism disappear, and, yet, the doctrine of evolution stand and assume such form as the Christian Scientist can accept. What matters it then, if in the case of man, this general law manifesting itself through the family of apes, was actively exercised there? Monkey is not the result, but man, a distinct order, with the stamp of this higher manifestation of this general law of creation, upon him. But the questions arise: Does such a law of a creating Providence, as immanent in Nature as is the law of evolution itself, exist? Can the existence of such a law be read in Nature's record? Does Nature herself demand such a law to meet the requirements of her development? Does the world-unity in its process as world-development tell us of such a law? These questions now lead us from the consideration of the world-unity to that of the world-development, or, the world-unity in its process as world-development. Here, nothing will be of service, but a preliminary, close survey of the process of development itself, as it makes itself known to us in a concrete object. Leaving abstractions for the present, we will take a germ in hand, from nature herself, and then watch it narrowly through its process of development and thus learn, at least, the mode of this evolution and its demands. Having thus gained a knowledge of the form of development, the form of it ever being the same, we will practically apply the results to the idea of the world as a whole, or the world-unity, in its process of development. This is perfectly legitimate, since if there is a world-unity and the development of the world *as a whole* in one, specific process, to which the developments of the other unities within the grand one of the world-unity, are as factors, then, that *form* of the developing process as seen in any one of these

exceptions, though its operations may admit of innumerable exceptions." Id. page 30.

minor unities, is applicable to all, including that universal one of the world-all.

The writer selects as being a simple form and as one liable to few subtleties, the acorn in its process of development into the oak tree. The acorn *develops* into the oak; the oak is *evolved* from the acorn. Premising, of course, that that which is to be the product of the developing process must exist embryonically in the seed-germ. We have then, the acorn as the germ of the oak. We find, however, that he who lays the acorn in the palm of his hand and watches for it to sprout, will need patience. Of no less importance for the future oak, than is the acorn itself, is the presence of *external conditions* of development. The acorn requires to be placed in suitable soil as one imperative condition for its development. It requires, also, no less imperatively than its own existence, other conditions, such as: air, heat, light and darkness, and moisture. The more favorable, of course, these conditions are, the speedier and the more perfect will be the development. *In that instant* in which the acorn meets with the proper, external conditions, does the process of development towards the oak begin. How these external conditions awaken the slumbering life of the germ into potent activity, man has, as yet, been unable to say, but we designate by the general term of *assimilation*: the complementary meeting of the germ and the external conditions; the seizing upon these conditions by the germ and its self-appropriation of them. From the moment in which assimilation begins, does the wonderful process go forward. All things, however, are so delicately posited that were, but for a moment, one of these external conditions removed,* the process would immediately reverse into one of decomposition, and, if the external condition were not quickly restored, before the power of assimilating is too much weakened, death is inevitable. In the instant that the power of assimilation is effectually prevented from asserting

* By placing, *e. g.*, the plant in a vacuum.

itself, as, *e. g.*, by the cutting of the rind around the tree and not allowing the fringes of the cut bark to meet, etc., the process stops, *i. e.*, death ensues, and decomposition sets in immediately. We see therefore, that which every one has seen with his own eyes, that the external conditions must never be wanting for a moment if the process of development is to continue, and, that they are no less imperatively necessary for the acorn, than for the sprout, the shoot, the twig, the sapling, and for the grand old oak—the emblem of strength, beauty and vigor. We note also that as the process goes forward, those conditions which were sufficient in quantity to enable the little oak-germ to begin its upward journey within a square foot of ground, no longer suffice for it when it bursts through the soil, and its very development provides for its needed increase of provender; not that the external conditions increase in quantity, for they are ever present in an infinite degree, but that the germ expanding through its assimilation of them, springs into larger life and activity and thus demands and assimilates more, progressively. The little shoot gathers into its tiny bosom the drops of rain or of dew; the roots strike down and out, and thus furnish support and their portions of nourishment; the sapling gives up a portion of itself for the general good and spreads off into branches, and these again into leaves, and thus, there is gathered in a plentiful supply of air, moisture, light and heat; the trunk expands and the rind thickens,—deeper strike the roots, and life-communication is kept up between all the parts by the unceasing flow of sap. Nor, is at any particularized moment of the process, the developing subject that which it had been but the preceding instant; nor yet has that been lost which it had been. The development has been continuous and unceasing, and so also the changes; but the oak-unity has been preserved intact. The seed-germ, casting aside the shell which enclosed it, expands into the sprout;* the sprout is (higher) other than

* Here language is weak and insufficient. Whilst thought can grasp the continuous process through each particular moment and successive step,

the germ, but yet contains the germ; the sapling is other than the sprout, and yet the sprout is taken up in it; the full-blown tree is other than the sapling, but yet the sapling appears in it. We see consequently another, and very important, feature of the process of development, viz.: that it is a continually *making* or *creating* process,—the tree becoming in every moment of the process that which it had not, as yet, been. This is neither more nor less than a continuous process of creative acts, since, *to create* signifies merely the positing or placing in existence that which (whether substance or form) has not, as yet, existed. Since the oak-germ, therefore, in its developing process is continually becoming other, and is not exactly the same at any fixed moment, that it was the instant before, the idea of a continuous *process of creation* becomes, perhaps, the most important feature in the process of development; in fact it seems, as though the two—development and creation—are almost synonymous. The question: in which of the two factors (viz.: the oak-unity and the external conditions) of the developing process, does the power of bringing about such an act of creation, lie?—is not valid. There can be no separation; the oak cannot develop (create) without the external conditions, nor can the external conditions produce such an act of creation in the sphere of the oak-unity, unless they are taken up and assimilated by the oak. The two are necessary as factors in one continuous creating process. Nor in its progress does the developing object lose its unity; it is ever the same germ which is being developed, and it is ever the same oak which is being evolved; the unity remains through the entire progression. This unity is by its very nature unchangeable: winds may tear away branches; worms may gnaw the leaves; gnarled obtuberances may appear where shapely limbs should be seen; lightning may burst the bark asunder,—but the oak remains an

meagre language furnishes us only with names for marked stages, such as: germ, sprout, sapling, etc., and leaves the *innumerable* other stages unnamed.

oak—the unity is indestructible until death occurs and, even then, the *oak* dies—as a unity. It was the oak-germ in the seed-acorn; then, the oak-sprout, the oak-sapling, the oak-tree and is, now, the dead-oak. Another important thought can be gained. Resolving the oak into its parts and factors, we find the latter constituting innumerable other unities—some higher than the other;—each fibre and tissue forms such a unity and develops from its germ; each branch, twig, and each of the leaves form complete and perfect unities and classes in themselves and undergo developing processes, but all these minor factoral unities are absorbed in the higher oak-unity, which unites them all in one grand whole, in itself,—just as the oak itself is a minor factor of a higher—the world-unity—and is absorbed by it. When now the germ has been developed to its fullest capacity, and has reproduced its like, the oak is in the zenith of its beauty and strength. Now, however, it lives upon its past, and its future years can be measured by the previous capacity of the germ. Slowly, but surely, the tissue hardens and the life-sap no longer passes freely to the extremities; decay sets in; leaves disappear; barren and dead branches fall away, or remain as certain indications of the approaching fate; finally, the grand, old oak is shorn of its strength, and Nature kindly fells it to the earth and buries it beneath its own mould and the leaves of the neighboring forest.

If the writer's design has been realized, the process of development, as it takes place before our eyes, in a given object, has been analyzed and made clear by description. The form of development or of evolution now being apparent to us, we separate the *idea* of the developing process, from the single, concrete object (the oak) and apply it (the *idea*) as the universal form, under which, all processes of life go forward, and it then becomes for us, the *universal law* governing all living, organic processes; universal as life itself, since life, invariably, presents itself as a developing life, starting from a germ environed by proper, external conditions, and tending towards a definite form, which,

when attained and the germ has been reproduced as a product, constitutes that fulness and perfection of its existence, which always comes (under normal circumstances) before disintegration begins. In the idea of the world-unity—of nature as a whole—we can behold a living, organic unity, which takes up into itself all those minor unities corresponding to those which we saw in the oak, uniting them in one stupendous process of world-evolution or development,—as we learn in the practical demonstrations of Darwin. From the latter, too, we learn the immense importance of the external conditions, and the grand part which they play in the developing process.

If the writer has been properly understood, the question has doubtlessly been anticipated, viz.: *where do the external conditions of the world-unity—of Nature as a living, organic Whole—in its process as world-development, lie, and of what do they consist?* They cannot lie *in* nature, any more than the external conditions of the oak-development could lie *in* the oak; they cannot be *material* in their nature, since *all matter* is grasped and included in the idea of the world, of the world-unity,—and the conditions of evolution or development must *always* be external to the developing object, to its germ and to its developing process,—as we have gleaned from the oak—and from Darwin and Huxley.* Darwin, in his system of evolution, has no

* The writer does not feel himself called upon to enter into the question: whether this external condition must, necessarily, be the Providence of the Christian? He is merely dealing with the assertion of the Evolutionists: that Providence is not active within the sphere of Nature, and that the latter develops by reason of her own powers alone, and independent of any and all outside interference of a creating Providence. If, therefore, it is shown that material Nature does not and cannot so develop, without co-operative aid external to it, it is fair to presume, until further denial, that such external, immaterial Existence as external condition, is the Providence so alluded to. The writer does not wish it to be understood, however, that he begs the question above proposed, but merely that it lies outside the direct object of this paper, and that the question has not as yet been raised in the controversy upon the subject of Evolution.

such external conditions for the world-development, and this defect is fatal to the very idea of a world-development; the world-unity as a process of world-development becomes *impossible*. Holding to no co-operation of an Existence external to the germinal beginning of the world, *how* were the latent activities of this world-germ called into a self-asserting life and activity? *What* could this world-germ *assimilate* in order to continue in its progress as a process of world-development? Verily, *such* a germinal beginning is not even like laying the acorn in the palm of the hand, for there, perchance, it may, at least, sprout,—but it is like wrapping it up in sheet-iron! Above any other system of Natural Philosophy that the mind of man has ever framed, does that of Darwin demand and portray—an Existence external to nature, which is active in all the processes of the latter. The very position from which he has withdrawn himself, is his stronghold, and is the only one by which his system can stand—and *will stand*. Saturated, as his genius and philosophy are, with the idea of a world-unity in one, continuous, unbroken process of development, nothing appeared to him to be more fatal to such idea, than the theological assertion that nature is a series of breaks, instead of an organic chain of evolution—as a world-whole; and it is not strange that he found himself compelled to cast aside such an untenable and unscientific idea, since it destroyed the world-unity. But, casting it aside, he threw away *too* much, and retained—no external conditions for the world-unity in its process as world-development. A more miraculous process, and one more contrary to natural laws, could not be conceived of, than a process of development—whatever the developing subject may be, whether it is the world-germ or an oak-germ—which goes forward attended by no external conditions which it can assimilate.

We have seen, in our consideration of the developing oak, that the external conditions must not only be present and active in order that the germ may waken into life, but also, that their presence and co-operation are imperatively necessary

throughout the entire process ; that they must never be wanting for a moment, since, if wanting, the developing process ceases immediately and the process reverses into disintegration. If, now, it has been shown that the world-unity—Nature as a whole—in its process of world-development demands, as external conditions for such development, an Immaterial (Spiritual) Existence lying beyond it, then the only way by which the developing process of the *World-All* can be affected by such external Immaterial Existence, is by the latter entering into, and being taken up by, *every part* of this world-unity ; its presence must be in every atom and particle, in each portion and moment of the developing process,—since only in this way could the whole be affected. No analysis is necessary here : a whole cannot be affected, excepting through all its parts. We are now, perhaps, in a position to view the important point of an act of creation within the sphere of the world-unity in its process as world-development. We again refer to our oak, and we draw : that the entire process of world-development is a *continuous process of creation* ; that the world-unity, in its process as world-evolution, is continually becoming (a higher) other than it had previously been ; that it is continually positing in existence that which, at no earlier period, had had existence, and we then have a *law of creation* immanent in the entire process ; that that, which nature has been, is, at no stage of the process, lost by reason of these changes ; that the power of bringing about, within the sphere of the world-unity, such acts of creation, lie in neither factor (viz. : the world-unity nor the external, Immaterial Existence) independent of the other ; that the world-unity cannot develop (create) without the co-operative activity of the external Immaterial Existence in all its parts,—nor can the latter produce such an act of creation *within* the organic sphere of the world-unity, unless it enters into and is taken up by the latter and in all parts of the latter ; *that the two are necessary as factors in one continuous, creating process.*

When I stand beneath a full-blown oak and pluck from an

overhanging branch, an acorn, I have an undoubted right to infer that this acorn, which I hold in my hand, is the product of a process of development of a certain unity which had its germinal beginning in another acorn. When I behold self-conscious personality in man, as the highest (?) product of nature, I have the right—scientific right—to infer that this self-conscious personality is the product of that process of development of a certain unity, which, also, had *its* germinal beginning in a self-conscious Personality; of which latter, the self-conscious personality of man is a likeness.*

The writer now returns to his former divisions, after having considered the subject of evolution or development at some length, and proceeds to sum up, that, so far as the foregoing thesis is concerned: the first division of thinkers must accept, if they would hold to a world-development, *i. e.*, of nature as a whole, as a unity,—the views of those who hold to the co-operative activity of an Immaterial Existence external to nature, *i. e.*, external to the world-unity;—whilst the second must accept, if they would hold to the idea of a world-unity, the latter as being one, continuous, unbroken and unbreakable, living, organic process of evolution or development as is maintained by the former. What hinders the two theories of Natural Science from being united? Each demands the other! Each is the complement of the other! *Neither one can stand without the other!* The testimony of Nature herself, is in favor of such a

* Against any possible thought of Pantheism in this connection, it will suffice to remark, that Pantheism is as effectually fatal to the idea of a world-development as is Deism, since, there also, the *external conditions* for such development would be wanting. “*** Why, then, should not God stand to each one of us, to each form of existence, in the same relation that we do to our several actions and our different parts? I am in my limbs, in my actions, in my feelings, in my thoughts; they are mine, and yet do not constitute me—do not make up my personality. God, similarly it may be supposed, is in each one of us, is in each form of life upon the earth; but yet none of them is God. As my personality is not to be resolved into my parts or actions, so also God, while present in all His works, retains a personality within Himself.” Philosophy of Pessimism. Westminster Review, Jan., 1876; page 70.

union! Are "*missing links*" still inquired for? There are no "*missing links*"! In the organic concatenation of Nature, in the world-unity and world-development, there are no such things as "*missing links*." There *cannot* be. *Man, himself*, is the "*missing link*" which connects him with that portion of Nature which has preceded him. There is no half-tree and half-sapling; there is no such monstrosity in the orderly evolution of the world, as half-man and half-monkey! When the world-germ, advancing in and through its developing process, by finding its conditions of development in an Immaterial (Self-Conscious, Personal) Existence external to it, reaches consciousness in personality—there is man. We will be informed where that precise point is, as soon as we are told the precise point where the sapling ends and the full-blown tree begins. There can be no such separation in the process of development as to be tangibly marked in such a gross way; it is totally foreign to the idea of the infinite gradation which takes place in development. But yet, when we see the tree, we know the tree; when we see the sapling, we know the sapling:—when we see man, we recognize man; when we see the monkey, we recognize the monkey. A particular monkey has no more been the parent of a particular man, than has Mt. Vesuvius. Man does not become a developed monkey in the process of world-evolution. The world-germ passing up through inorganic matter and the lower species, including that of the ape—in one unbroken process of development—finally reaches, and, in connection with the activity of the External Conditions, *creates man*. It is a very inaccurate assertion, to say that the oak is a developed sapling; the oak is a developed *oak-germ*, passing up through the sapling stage of the developing process. Man is a developed *man-germ*, not a developed monkey. The mode in which the stream of evolution ending in man, has passed upward through the different orders, is still a problem in Natural Science. Whether or not it was through chosen individuals peculiarly adapted and circumstanced to be the bearers and propa-

gators of a gradually unfolding, higher order, is a question upon which the profound investigations of modern students of Nature, are continually casting light. Nor, in conclusion, must it be forgotten that man, himself, is but one of the innumerable factors of the world-unity in its process as world-development.

A few words to the Christian Scientist! May not light be thrown upon the entire subject by the study of the Person of Christ and the manner of His coming upon earth? * If our Lord is, upon the one hand, the full and perfect revelation of *God* (in His relations to the sphere of the world-unity) to men, why can He not also be, upon the other, the full and perfect revelation of *Nature* (in its relations to God) to men? Why cannot Christianity be, as it is, natural as well as supernatural? How was the *new and higher order of existence*, which He introduced into the sphere of Nature, brought about? Was it not by the Divine Act coming upon earth—as it had previously done in the lower orders—and by its being taken up by the latter in living, organic connection? Is not Christ the highest manifestation of the *general law* of an active Providence within the sphere of the world-unity, or does Nature yet look for Another? If we have endeavored to show in our foregoing paper, that the world-unity in its process as world-development, demands a continuous, unbroken and unbreakable, organic process of evolution, brought about and carried forward by the co-operative activity of an external Immaterial or Spiritual, Self-Conscious Being, does not the manner of the coming of Christ into the world, *correspond to this demand and law of Nature*? Cannot the secret of the species then—with all reverence—be read in Him? Is not the *real* Divine world-germ reproduced in the sphere of the world-unity as the highest product of the latter in its process as world-development, in

* "Every step of real advance in the matter of Christology, must be preceded by a deeper knowledge of the nature of God and of man." Dorner: Person of Christ, vol. 3, 2.

Him? Did Christ come as the Gnostics held, or was He born of the Virgin? Did He not found His spiritual kingdom upon earth, by linking Himself organically with the highest order—man—upon earth? In what other way *could* He have become, in life and in fact, the Head of Creation? Truly, Christianity, viewed from the manner of the coming of its Founder, instead of being an objection to the truth of a world-evolution, is the strongest argument to the Christian thinker, in its favor,—and the latter becomes the strongest natural argument in favor of the truth of Christianity,—since they are mutually complemental; the demands of each are met in the other; each completes the other; the form of development still remains the same, *i. e.*, natural, and the germinal beginning of the world-unity is reproduced, in its process as world-development, in the Divine *God-man*.*

The foregoing paper is intended as an endeavor to prove the co-operative existences and activities of the two realms of the immaterial or spiritual and the material, by reasoning from the demands of the world-unity and world-development. Nature, there, has necessarily been regarded under its material aspect alone, and the deductions have been drawn from her record alone. From the natural-material record, however, we are unable to get beyond the point reached, *viz.*: the co-operative existences of the two spheres, together with an underlying, pro-

* "The primal principle of creation—which must also be its final end—cannot be an objective, but must be a subjective one; to be sought for in God Himself. What it is, cannot be determined by the weak creature, who amongst a sea of worlds knows but a single drop—this earth. We must therefore admit, that we know, as little, the primal principle of the creation in God, as we do the final, objective end (*Zweck*) of the same, and, must be content to assert: that that primal principle lies in Him, *i. e.*, in the highest perfection, and, that the world, as the product of God, must correspond to this perfection. This much is self-evident: that the Universe created by God, must be the external expression of His thoughts and is, thus, the *primal revelation of God, with which, no later particular revelation can stand in contradiction*; from which follows, also, that to the extent in which our knowledge of Nature progresses, extensively and intensively, in that degree does our knowledge of God increase and approach perfection." Bretschneider: *Dogmatik*, Band I. 670. (Writer's translation). "

phetic preparation and development towards something higher. Here, however, the natural-material record ceases. Beyond this point, nothing can be learned, in a positive way, from it. Stopping in the material sphere, the immaterial or spiritual becomes nothing more than a mere external condition for the development of a *material world-germ*. But we find that nature, in its process, does not end in the material; that there is a higher stage of development in her sphere, viz.: self-conscious personality, and this already changes the type of the world-germ into a self-conscious personal one. Still higher, we find the wonderful, natural fact of the union of God and man, and we then attain to this fact as the highest realization of the process of nature. We see then that as we rise through the different developing stages of nature, the clearer becomes the process until we reach the full and complete revelation in the person of Christ, who thus becomes the center of the entire process,—whose life becomes the fountain of life, animating and permeating the whole movement,—the principle of creation expressing and manifesting itself in every moment and part of the process,—in whom and from whom alone all things find their meaning. Where the process ends, there also had it its germinal beginning. Ending with Christ it began with Christ; and the development is the development towards the union of God and (nature) man in the person of Christ. Stopping in the material, we would be unable to see the underlying principle of the world, because we disregard and ignore the highest manifestations of nature, viz.: self-conscious personality and Christianity. The Deistic Evolutionist disregards the higher stages of nature; the unscientific Special-Creationist disregards the orderly lower expressions and manifestations of spirit.

Recognizing now, the whole order of nature as we find it in the stages of the material, the self-conscious personal and the Christian, the germ which is being developed and in which the unity of nature finds itself, is certainly the union of God and man. This fact then would not confirm the conclusion which

we reached in the main body of this paper, viz.: that the immaterial or spiritual constitutes the external conditions for the development of the material world-all. We regard it now from our highest natural stand-point, viz.: Christianity, and we find that the opposite is rather the case, or, to be more correct, that the above conclusion is a *defective* one, as any view must be which is based upon only a *portion* of a *process*. In the idea of the union of God and man, we find the three factoral ideas of God, man and their living bond of union. Upon the one side, we see the Absolute, Perfect, Eternal, Unchangeable, Self-Existing God; we see the God-factor ready from all eternity,—but the factor man is still non-existent, wanting. To meet this, creation takes place in the manner we have seen it,—in an orderly, progressive movement through the material up to man—when the second factor comes into derivative existence. The same orderly, progressive movement continues in the sphere of freedom and history until the fulness of the time has arrived, whereupon Christ came to do the eternal will of God, and the Word became flesh. What a glorious, Divine predestination is this! Not an arbitrary predestination of human individuals to heaven or to hell, but a predestination of the union of God and man. *The material thus becomes a condition for the union of God and man*, and is by its very nature and design merely temporary and spatial, and when the *fulness of time* has come, must pass away in the same slow, gradual way as we saw the oak do. We find reproduced over against the Absolute, Infinite, Personal God, innumerable, relative, finite, personal creatures who come into living union with God, in the person of the God-man, Jesus Christ, whose life flows over into the entire economy. The question: whether or not man could have been created without this prodigious movement, is of no account. Man was made in the manner in which he was made, and it is to be presumed that God proceeded in creation according to the requirements of His own constitution, and that finite, self-conscious creatures lower than God Himself, could

have been created in no other way than through a process, of which the one preliminary side is material. But the union of God and man (the latter as the head of creation) brings about an entirely new realm, of which the *world-unity forms but a factor*,—nature becomes superseded and the Kingdom of Christ constitutes the harmony of God, nature and the union of these.

NEVIN H. FISHER.

ART. VI.—THE TRUE CONVERSION OF MAN.

MAN'S redemption and salvation require not only a work to be accomplished for him, but also in him. It is necessary not only that his redemption should be wrought out and accomplished for him in the person of our Lord Jesus Christ, by His incarnation, life, death, resurrection, and ascension, but this redemption must also be wrought in him by a true regeneration and sanctification, involving an entire and radical transformation from a state of nature to a state of grace, from a citizen of earth to a child of grace, and finally a citizen of heaven.

The nature of this transformation or conversion in some of its leading features is set forth in the words of the inspired Apostle,—“Be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God.” Romans xii. 2.

- I. The subject is set forth negatively, as a conversion from a state of sin and death.
- II. Positively as a conversion to a state of grace and salvation.
And—
- III. The end reached, a self-authentication, in the experience and life, of the divine will as good, acceptable, and perfect.

I. CONVERSION FROM THE WORLD.

There is a sense in which it is right and necessary to be conformed to the world, in order to the perfect development of man's moral nature. If we view the world in its normal moral constitution, in the light of the idea of humanity, as unfolding itself in the organism of the family, the state, the interests of business and trade, of science, literature, and art, we will find that our life should unfold itself in conformity with this constitution. The complex idea of humanity becomes concrete in these different forms of human life, and our individual existence cointegrates itself in them, giving us thus the conception of morality, which must then, it is true, find its completion in the idea of religion in the order of grace in the Christian Church. But so far as it goes, the order of the world's life in this view is right and good. The Christian should conform himself to the order of the family as child or parent, of the state as a dutiful citizen, and to his special calling in a profession or in the interests of business and trade. So also science, literature, and art are forms of the world's life, which claim regard in their ethical significance.

But the phrase, *this world*, ὁ αἶὼν οὗτος, is used in a special sense in the New Testament as designating the world as an order of life fallen away from God, and under the domination of principles opposed to the divine will. In this sense the Christian is called out of it and brought into the bosom of another order of life, the kingdom of grace in which the world is to find its regeneration. This world he is to antagonize, he is not to be conformed to it. The word translated *conformed*, means "to be moulded after the scheme of," συνασχηματεῖσθαι.

Our purpose now is to characterize the spirit of this world, and we propose to do so by considering it under two heads, which in the end will prove to be only two ways of setting forth one and the same principle.

1. The principle of this world is a spirit of selfishness, or a

false self-hood. What we mean here by selfishness consists in this,—that man takes into his own hand the determination of his existence independently by his own will, guided by the light of his own intelligence in a like independent way. The full meaning of this false life, which ends in spiritual death, can be fully understood only when we come to consider what is his true life on the positive side. We can only briefly explain what it means on the negative side.

The essence of sin is sometimes defined as selfishness. This, we may say, was the sin of the angels that kept not their first estate, a refusal to be subject to the divine will, and to be guided by the divine truth. Milton says of their leader, that he preferred to rule in hell rather than serve in heaven. So also it was the sin of our first parents in paradise, under the false guidance of the tempter; “ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil.” The temptation here was an aspiration to become self-sufficient in the form of knowing and willing. Shutting out the light of truth proceeding from God, man received into himself only the light of the world apprehended and appropriated by his intellect, and determined his will by a principle which is the opposite of love—the principle of self or self-hood, which antagonizes God, and becomes in the end the principle of hate.

It was not long before this principle began to bear its bitter fruit. From the murder of Abel down through the ages of bitter, cruel strife, it is at the root of all the evil that has come upon the world. It is constantly lured on by the false light of a perverted human knowledge. Science and philosophy in this view are only the embodiment of this worldly wisdom which is vain and puffed up. Not because human knowledge *per se* is evil, but because the contents of man’s knowing now are from the world and not from God. It is as the inversion of the eye of the soul, so that the light that is within him becomes darkness. When viewed in this way, as relying upon itself, the whole course of the development of the world’s science and phi-

losophy must stand condemned as being an attempt to originate a light for itself over against the true light that comes from God alone on the spiritual side of man's existence.

The evil resulting from the principle of selfishness on the side of the will is still greater, just because the will is the deeper organ of man's being. Theoretical evil here becomes practical in the life; selfishness in the will, starting in the assertion of man's independent self-sufficiency, becomes antagonism to the divine—to God. Its very inspiration is hatred to the good. It finds its culmination in diametrical opposition to the good, as expressed in the words of the same poet already quoted, "evil be thou my good," or in those words of Mephistopheles in Goethe's *Faust*, "*Ich bin der geist der stets ferneint*;" I am the spirit that constantly denies.

What its effect has been in disturbing and poisoning the relation of man to man, appears on every page of history. Instead of seeking the good of others in a spirit of self-sacrifice, it seeks to exalt self above others, and in doing so it stops at no crime. Every act of sin, in whatever form, may be traced at last to this as its animating principle. When self has once been asserted against the supreme will of the universe, the will which harmonizes all loyal intelligences in the spirit of love, it is natural that it should assert itself also in antagonism to every other created, finite will, and thus human society is disintegrated and thrown into confusion. Man becomes indeed what Hobbes designated him, a fighting animal! Selfishness has thus become a spiritual miasma that desolates the spiritual life of man, destroying every tender affection, blighting every generous impulse, poisoning every elevating emotion, and quickening the growth and development of every form of immorality and vice. It deifies self, and its religion becomes a worshiping of this as an anti-god, man arrayed in endless battle with the only true and living God.

2. A second characterization of the spirit of this world is, that it reverses the true order and subordinates the spiritual to

the natural, the heavenly to the earthly. Here again we may go back at least to the first entrance of sin into the world in order to find this exemplified. As a being in whom was united nature and spirit, man in his original creation stood, as it were, between earth and heaven. The organs of his being opened on the one side towards the earth, with senses and appetites to take in natural enjoyment, and corresponding organs opening on the other side to receive the light and life of the spirit world, by which the natural and earthly was to be regulated and governed. In his fall he closed the eye of the spiritual against the one and opened the eye of his lower, natural self to the other. "And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her; and he did eat." (Gen. iii. 6). By this fall the sensuous nature of man triumphed over the spiritual. Appetite assumed control, and man came under the denomination of passion. The will in its spiritual form no longer held the helm. Ruled by passion man became a sufferer, as the word itself indicates. Even the nature side of his being, his natural appetites and desires, suffered a wrong, for we know that these when unlawfully gratified lose their freshness and zest. But the greatest evil consisted in the dethronement of the will, for even in the indulgence of passion the will, though reduced now to debasing servitude, is nevertheless active, so that knowing the right, man wills the wrong. His condition here is not that of the animal which has only instinct for its guidance, and has not the power to transgress moral law; but under the sway of passion he becomes degraded below the brute.

This is that law of sin to which St. Paul refers in Rom. vii. 14, *et seq.* "For we know that the law is spiritual; but I am carnal, sold under sin. For that which I do I allow not: for what I would that do I not; but what I hate, that do I. . . . But I see another law in my members, warring against the law

of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members. O, wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?"

But the law to which we here refer reaches out beyond the individual existence of man, and brings to pass sin in a broader view. The temporal good which the world affords in the gratification of mere spiritual perverted appetites, the promotion of self-interest, the possession of wealth for its sake, the gratification of pride, ambition, the love of honor among men—in these man finds his highest good, and thus instead of seeking his proper destiny in a supernatural spiritual world, he seeks it in this world.

Thus not only is the spiritual nature in man subordinated to the natural, but the nature side of creation is elevated for him above the spiritual order in which the natural should find its proper end. Under the inspiration of this evil principle he has erected for himself an abiding habitation on earth and despised and rejected that other country in which his true home was to be sought,—that city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God.

This principle, like that of selfishness, with which it coalesces, will be found also to lie at the root of all forms of sin in the world. As the other makes man his own God, so this makes the earthly and temporal, this *æon*, the end of all his seeking. To this world, as characterized by these two principles, the Christian is not to be conformed.

II. MAN'S TRUE CONVERSION ON ITS POSITIVE SIDE.

Let us pass on now to consider in what man's conversion consists on the positive side, as described by the words, "Be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind."

The change here referred to is one in which man is an actor, over which, under divine grace, he exercises control. We call it conversion, therefore, rather than regeneration, although these

terms, as we know, have different significations in different theological systems. The activity of man here, however, begins,

1. In the surrender of self to the divine will, in the twofold form of receiving into the understanding the light of divine wisdom, and into the will the love of God as its spiritual essence. This is the direct opposite of the principle of selfishness, and it is not difficult to see that it forms the primary positive principle of man's conversion.

As man lost paradise by asserting his own will in opposition to the will of God, so paradise must be regained by submitting his will to the will of God; and as we found the false principle of self-hood asserted in the first Adam, so now we turn to the second Adam, our Lord Jesus Christ, in order to find the true principle of man's spiritual life asserted.

Already at the twelfth year of His age, we find the unselfish self-hood asserted by our Lord. "Wist ye not," He says in response to the inquiry of His mother, "that I must be about my Father's business?" As His divine-human life unfolded itself afterwards, we hear Him repeating to the Jews, "I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of Him that sent me." "My doctrine is not mine, but His that sent me." And when at last He came to the awful sufferings of Gethsemane and Calvary, we hear Him again, praying, "O, my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me: nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt." The whole triumph of our Lord over the power of hell consisted just in this, that in opposition to all temptations to the contrary, He subjected His will absolutely to the will of His Father, God. As He was the Logos of God, the divine word as constituting the truth found utterance in Him against all lying error, and the love of God to man became the substance of His will. Thus by His perfect union with God He perfected our humanity in His person and life, and transformed it from a state of nature into a state of glory in the heavens. Here we find at once the source and the example of man's true conversion in the principle of un-

selfish love. Let us now proceed to examine this principle more definitely.

In his original creation, or in the constitution of his being, man is not self-sufficient or self-subsistent. This might seem to be a mere truism. All are ready to acknowledge that in some way he is dependent on God for his continual existence, although this relation is made to be, in the thinking of many, of the most external character. The relation, however, is of a deeply internal kind. "In Him we live, and move, and have our being." That which man receives from God may be designated in a general way as life. In his fall he became dead, because he deprived himself of this life. So the Scriptures everywhere regard him in his natural state. He is dead in trespasses and in sins. But life, spiritual life, for man when analyzed will be found to resolve itself into wisdom for his understanding, and love for his will. This divine life is restored to him in our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the resurrection and the life for man's regeneration. In the process of receiving this new spiritual life, as already said, we may designate man's conversion as consisting in the unselfing of his being—his understanding and will, as constituting the two sides of his existence designated by mind in the passage we are considering, "the renewing of the mind."

The change here referred to is a radical one, so much so that the subject of it is spoken of as a new creature. This renewal holds primarily in this, that man's whole being swings off (if we may use the expression), from its old centre in self, and finds a new centre in God. The principle of selfishness, as this has been already explained, is overcome, and the will, including the affectional nature becomes infused and informed with divine charity. So far doubtless our readers will go with us, and so far this language will be generally accepted by believers in Christianity. But we must understand here more closely what we mean now by divine charity thus entering the will. Are we dealing with mere words or with real things, with mere no-

tions, or with substantial spiritual realities? Is the principle of love here a living, substantial reality, or is it a mere activity of an organ of man's being? Much turns upon the answer given to this question. It rests back indeed upon the general question, whether our spiritual being in any sense has a principal self-subsistence of its own, so that the activity of its powers depends on what might be called here mere secondary causes, so that the will may receive, not only its motivation, but its very life by the exertion of divine power in an external way; or whether this motivation and essential life proceeds directly from the Lord Jesus Christ through His word. The latter we maintain over against the former. For those who are in sympathy with the general principles of this *Review*, we maintain it on the ground of what they already believe and hold in regard to the substantial character of the life of Christ in the believer. This life, as has long been held in our Reformed Church, is not a mere figure of speech, but denotes a real influx of essential spiritual power from the risen and ascended Lord. For others we maintain it on the ground of the teachings of God's word, which cannot be gainsaid, and the relation of man's nature to the spiritual world. It is not necessary to quote passages to show that the Scriptures, if they mean anything at all, mean something spiritually substantial by the life of Christ in the believer. We say spiritually substantial, because there are still some who will have it that the idea of organic, vital union with Christ involves a physical transmission, as though the word-life, in its primary and deepest sense, does not necessarily mean something spiritual.

But now life for the will is love, and the regeneration or unselfing of the will consists just in this influx of love from the Lord, by which it is turned from its false direction, and made to centre in God. And as the will holds on the practical side of man's being (it is called by Kant the practical reason), the divine love, as the essential life of the will, is one with the precepts of the divine law. Love is the fulfilling of the law.

The two are thus joined as two sides of one and the same thing by our Lord. "If ye love me, keep my commandments." "He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me." "If a man love me, he will keep my words." (John xiv. 15, 21, 23).

Here now we reach what is meant by the unselfing of the will, and thus the elimination or destruction of the principle of selfishness. The precepts or commandments of the divine word or the law of God are in the believer, love in the will and obedience in the life. Self is no longer the actuating principle and the end of man's life, but God. The Scriptures could not utter this truth more strongly and emphatically than they do in such passages as these: "If any man will come after me, let him *deny himself*, and take up his cross, and follow me. For whosoever will save his life shall lose it; and whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall save it." "Except ye be converted and become as a little child, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven."

Sound philosophy must be in accord here with the teachings of Scripture, and true morality must agree with true religion, in which it finds its completion. The first step in the right moral development of the child must start in the unselfing of the will. Its will finds its true life and freedom, not by its own self-determination, but by being brought into submission to a higher will or law uttered through the precept of the parent. So also in a higher stage of morality, the will attains its true freedom, not by a power self-produced, but by an inspiration from the good. Virtue, as moral strength in the will, comes not from man, but from the idea of the good, as an inspiration or infusion of moral power from beyond himself. The true doctrine of morality here foreshadows the substantial nature of religion in which man comes into living union with God unto eternal life.

But this unselfing of man has to do also with the intellectual side of his nature also. "The renewing of the mind" implies

the inflow of truth, which is the light of the understanding, and its inmost essential life. We meet the same question here as between mere words or notions and things—substantial realities. Truth is something objective. It is a substantial element of the divine life for man.

Here also we may refer to the opening words of this REVIEW in its first publication nearly thirty years ago, in testimony that it has from the beginning regarded truth, not as a production of the human understanding, but as an objective power which first apprehends man. “Neither are men by any means to be considered as the possessors, revealers, guardians, defenders, and saviours of the Truth. The branches bear not the Root, but the Root the branches; the branches are not the revealers, but the revelation, of the Root. Man, indeed, lives—and yet not he, but the Truth lives in him. . . . Man, therefore, is the servant, not the lord of Truth, etc.” (Mer. Rev., vol. I., p. 9).

How indeed can any one infer anything else from the manner in which truth is spoken of in the holy Scriptures? Our Lord says He is the truth. “Sanctify them through thy truth; thy word is truth.” “If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed; and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free.” (John xvii. 17; viii. 31, 32). Clearly the truth is here spoken of as something objective, as proceeding from God, as being His word, and as the power in man that sets him free from the slavery of sin. In that consists the unselfing of the mind, when instead of following the light of his own understanding, making idols of his own private opinions, he opens his mind to the presence and power of the truth flowing forth from God. Clearly truth is here spoken of as something different from merely natural truth or knowledge in the form of human science and philosophy for the intellect. It is possessed of moral power. Its origin is not nature or man, but God. It is a power flowing from the spiritual world, and thus a true revelation to man. It is internally and livingly united

with the divine love, and such conjunction between them must continue in their apprehension by man, otherwise truth becomes a lifeless form without essential contents. How they are united in the life of the believer is a question of profound interest, as lying at the foundation of all true religion.

2. We proceed to consider next a second principle in man's conversion, or the renewal of his mind, which we may state thus: the recognition and enthronement in him of the spiritual as over the natural, and thus the choosing of heaven as his portion, and not the earthly. This principle also is exemplified in the life of our Lord Jesus Christ. Although standing in the world as man, and joined on the one side of His life to nature, as is the case with all men, He made supreme account from the beginning of that life which proceeds from God and ends in God, subordinating ever the earthly to the heavenly. When Satan tempted Him with the offer of "all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them," saying, "All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me," He replied, "Get thee hence, Satan: for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve." This grand victory carried with it from the beginning in His life the restoration of the right relation between the claim of the spiritual world holding in God, and that of the natural world-order which man in his fall had erected as an anti-god. It is not the fact merely, that our Lord lived outwardly free from the world, living in the world as not of it, possessing no property, supported by the charity of His friends, taking no part in political questions, and manifesting little or no interest in world-education, in science, and the philosophy of the schools. This might be accounted for in part at least by His special position and work as a religious teacher. In some of these respects, we know, His life was not intended to be outwardly a model for others. All could not live in this respect just as He lived. But the principle to which we refer found its exemplification in Him rather in the fact, that for His life and the life of the

world, the springs and sources of all true existence flow forth from the spiritual world. And this brings us to the thought which we desire here to express, not that the spiritual world as something to come after the present life is far superior to the present, and that a thought or notion of this then is to show the vanity of the present world. That is often brought out in speaking and writing about the spiritual world. In a somewhat sentimental way (for it is a sentiment or notion), the vanity of the world is preached about and made to tell in a like sentimental way in others.

The priority of the spiritual world to which we here refer as affecting the true conversion of the Christian, is not one of mere sentiment, nor yet of mere philosophic thought, but of real being. Here we have to do, not with notions and theories, but with most real things. The sources of man's true life, and his true intelligence as well, are to be found, not on the natural side of his existence, but on the spiritual side, in such a way that he is constantly touched, and affected constantly by its powers, whether for good or ill, in a more real way than by the powers of nature. The true order here is not from nature to spirit, or as it is sometimes stated, "from nature up to nature's God," as though the spiritual world were in some way a product or sublimation of nature. The order is the other way. Nature itself is continually upheld by a spiritual order of existence lying back of it. It is not by the self-subsistence of principials, or what are denominated secondary causes, that the order of nature is continually upheld, but rather as a spiritual world of infinite powers continually project their likenesses in time and space, or externalize themselves. But if this is true of nature, how much more must it be true of man's existence in intelligence and will. Here his true life holds in right conjunction with the world of spirit, which has its foundations then in the Lord, who is the life and the light of the world. In the case of the believer the eye of the soul is open towards this world of life and light, and he is enabled then to place a proper estimate

upon the world in its natural form as vanity. In this new sense of spiritual realities he becomes detached from the vain enjoyments of a mere sensual and earthly life. So also in the more refined and spiritual forms of this worldly spirit, in the apparent lordship of the world which it has attained, in the advancement of civilization and humanistic culture, in the grand achievements of science, in the modern inventions and discoveries, and still more in the profound philosophical systems that mind has organized, in all these, so far as they are relied upon as a true mastery of the world, he finds an appearance and a pretence which in the end must bring only bitter disappointment. Not that these are wrong in themselves,—they are all proper in their place, but when substituted for the true life of the spirit in which alone the world is to be overcome, they become a deception and a snare. We might dwell upon this at greater length, for with all that is said and written on the subject that seems to have a sound of truth, there is in our age a vast amount of unbelief in the present reality of the spiritual world. But we proceed now to consider the third point of our theme.

III. THE AUTHENTICATION OF THE DIVINE WILL IN THE LIFE OF THE BELIEVER, AS THAT GOOD, AND PERFECT, AND ACCEPTABLE WILL OF GOD.

Here we have set forth the result of the conversion of man. It brings to pass in him the only real proof as to the nature of God's will. The divine will can be truly apprehended only in the experience of a life of humble submission to it, and practice of it. No other form of its presence can carry this kind of authentication to man. We have to consider here the difference between the divine will viewed as an abstraction to be taken in by the intellect, and as a concrete order of life in the human spirit, or the difference between merely notional knowledge and essential knowledge.

No one can truly know the divine will except as it becomes a guiding and moulding power in the experience of his life. It cannot be learned or proved by any mere intellectual process. There is a wide difference here between earthly knowledge and angelic or heavenly knowledge. Owing to the divorce between the understanding and the will that has resulted from the entrance of sin into the world, a large portion of man's knowledge is of this merely notional character. This is one reason of the difference. But another perhaps is also the nature of the contents of earthly knowledge as compared with the knowledge of spiritual things. As at present constituted, in his fallen condition, man may know with the understanding without having his knowledge properly joined with the affections of the will. He may know a vast amount of religious truth in this way. But if his knowledge goes no further than this, its contents become for him mere abstractions, vain *simulacra*, idols of the mind. They are like the objects in a dream, mere pictures of the fancy which have no power to satisfy his real wants.

To know, as used in the Bible, means something entirely different from this. It is used there in the sense of essential knowledge. "This is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." "Then shall ye know if ye follow on to know the Lord." "If any man will do His will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself." (John xvii. 3 ; vii. 17 ; Hosea vi. 3). The ten commandments may be learned by the mind or memory. But such mere memorizing is not knowing the divine will. The doctrine of virtue for the understanding is not the presence and power of virtue in the will. Now, to prove the will of God is a result that can be reached only as it enters as a real spiritual power in the will, and is actualized in the obedience of the life.

1. Take, for instance, the divine will in Providence. The doctrine of providence, as it is called, may be taught and learned in a certain way by the exercise of the mere under-

standing. In the beautiful language of the Heidelberg Catechism it is "The almighty and everywhere present power of God; whereby, as it were by His hand, He upholds and governs heaven, earth, and all creatures; so that herbs and grass, fruitful and barren years, meat and drink, health and sickness, riches and poverty, yea all things come not by chance, but by His fatherly hand." That is providence in the form of a doctrinal definition. But the proof or authentication of providence is not to be found here. No theological treatise on the subject can bring this proof. It is learned in an entirely different school, the school of Christian experience, the school in which God teaches and trains His people, as He did the Israelites of old in their journey through the wilderness.

Providence is a mystery. We see something of it on the external side of human life and human affairs. When a nation rises or suddenly falls, when some great catastrophe occurs, or some revolution by which the course of history receives a direction which no mere human foresight could comprehend, men seem to have some sense of a hidden power at work in the world's affairs. But as a power that has to do with every event of life, of individuals as well as nations, it is hidden from human sight and human knowledge. No penetration of the understanding can reach its inner hidden depths in the mind of God. This must be so just because it is the will of God, which can be known only as we come to know God Himself. And yet with this will we all have to do in every event of life, both great and small. How shall we prove what is this good, and perfect, and acceptable will of God? Only, we answer, as this will, uttered through the divine word, enters through faith and penetrates into the affections of the will, and becomes actualized in the submissive and loving obedience of the life.

It is one thing to know theoretically that sickness and death are directed in the providence of God for our spiritual good, so that when a child is removed from the earthly circle of the family by the will of God, it is a visitation of love and mercy

to the living; but it is quite another thing to prove this (not the suffering and sorrow, but the goodness and mercy of God towards us), in the experience of our lives. It is one thing to know theoretically that what is called misfortune and poverty may be overruled for our good; but it is quite another thing for the man of property to see his riches take wings and suddenly fly away. Not here again as regards the suffering that may result. That all experience. But in the midst of opposition and persecution, sickness and death, in the maintenance of faith steadily to cling to the gracious word of God as a light amidst the surrounding darkness.

The problem here is not solved by faith merely, in the sense in which faith is frequently understood. Faith must work by love, without which it is cold and dead. To believe and trust, as the admonition often is urged, even though you cannot understand, is not sufficient. As that admonition is often understood, it renders faith at last something most unreasonable, and those who try to follow it turn providence into a sort of blind power of chance, which is then as blindly accepted and submitted to. But the individual enjoys no true satisfaction or peace in this. But when love is joined with faith, there comes to pass a real conjunction with the spiritual and unseen workings of the divine will, by which God is seen and felt in His relation to us in all our ways. This is no cold, stoic submission as to a fate that cannot be resisted or changed, but it carries with it a felt authentication in the progress of our spiritual life of the good and perfect will of God. It is not the mere observation that results from not seeing with the natural sight, but it is as a radiating light upon our pathway streaming into the soul through the spiritual eye.

2. The will of God is revealed also in the kingdom of grace. The revelation here is in a higher form than in providence. The two forms of revelation cannot indeed be separated. For the Christian the dispensation of providence becomes a gracious order, as we have seen. Still we are accustomed to speak of

the order of providence and the order of grace. The divine will in the kingdom of grace is revealed in the work of redemption in Jesus Christ. One of its purposes is to deliver man from antagonism to the law, and enthrone the law in the spirit of love in the heart. The precepts of the law are the utterances of the divine will. God wills man's sanctification in a holy life.

How now is this holy will of God to be apprehended? How is it to prove and authenticate itself to man in the kingdom of grace? We answer here again, by its becoming an inward moulding power in the life. Theological definitions or treatises cannot communicate it to our knowledge. As light in the understanding, it must be penetrated by love in the will, and come to expression in the obedience of the life. If the process stop short of this, man has no true knowledge of the divine will. But entering thus into his life it authenticates itself as the gracious and loving mind and purpose of God for his salvation. He becomes thus assured that this will is good, and perfect, and acceptable. No merely outward demonstration, no merely external human authority, purporting to represent the authority of God, can thus authenticate it to the soul of man.

The divine WORD is the form of its utterance, and the medium of its communication. This is the *voice* of God, which must be heard and recognized in its true supernatural character. "And when He putteth forth His own sheep, He goeth before them, and the sheep follow Him: for they know His voice." "And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice."

The Word of God is the divine revelation of Himself to man from the spiritual world. Man heard God speak to him at first in paradise, and rejoiced in His word. But when he sinned, he "heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day." It had become to him a voice of condemnation by reason of the entrance of sin, and he hid himself from the presence of the Lord God amongst the trees of the garden.

Thenceforward it became a strange sound in his ears, until in his restoration in the gracious promise in the Redeemer, he turned again and heard and obeyed the voice of the Lord. This voice called him back from his wanderings, and brought him again to his Father's house. Here his soul at last finds eternal rest and peace.

Thus the ways of God are established and authenticated in the true conversion of man. The law of God is not abrogated but fulfilled; first of all in the Lord Jesus Christ, and then in all those who are transformed by the power of divine grace into His image. His conversion ends in his glorification, when every element of discord shall be eliminated, and redeemed man shall take his place among the angels to find his eternal bliss in doing the perfect and holy will of the Lord.

T. G. A.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

BIBLIOTHECA SYMBOLICA ECCLESIAE UNIVERSALIS. THE CREEDS OF CHRISTENDOM, with A History and Critical Notes. By Philip Schaff, D. D., LL. D., Professor of Biblical Literature in the Union Theological Seminary, N. Y. In Three Volumes. Volume I. The History of Creeds. Volume II. The Greek and Latin Creeds, with Translations. Volume III. The Evangelical Protestant Creeds, with Translations. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, Franklin Square, 1877.

This work is one of Dr. Schaff's best contributions to historico-theological literature. It takes rank with his Church History and his Commentary. Its chief merit, of course, consists not so much in any originality of thought which it displays, as in presenting in a scholarly way so much information in a convenient form. It meets a great want in our English theological literature. The Creeds and Confessions of the Christian Church

are more or less familiar to the student of Church-history, but they are scattered through its pages, and much labor is required to trace them up just when needed. Some of them are not given either in Church-histories or Doctrinal-histories. Here they are collected in a convenient form for reference. They are given in the original and the translations, so as to be of service both to the professional and the lay reader. *Hefele's History of the Councils* on a larger scale, covers in part the same ground, but that, of course, is limited to the Church previous to the Reformation, gives nothing to Protestant Confessions, and is only in part translated. The theological public certainly owes Dr. Schaff a debt of gratitude for his indefatigable labor and scholarly ability in bringing out this work. It must rapidly find its way into theological Seminaries, ministers' libraries, and it will no doubt meet a wide circulation among the reading public generally.

Dr. Schaff is so well known in the Reformed Church, in which for so many years he labored as professor, that his work needs no recommendation at our hands. In scholarly research, especially in the field of history, and indefatigable industry, he stands in the first rank of theological writers in this country, and his reputation in this respect is no less in the old world.

The work here noticed is arranged in the following order. Volume I. contains a History of Creeds. It contains over nine hundred pages, and is divided into eight chapters, treating successively, 1st, Creeds in general; 2d, The Œcumenical Creeds; 3d, The Creeds of the Greek Church; 4th, Those of the Roman Catholic Church; 5th, Of the Evangelical Protestant Church; 6th, The Lutheran; 7th, The Reformed; 8th, Of Modern Evangelical denominations, closing with a summary of the Consensus and Dissensus Creeds.

Volumes II. and III. contain the Creeds and Confessions of the Christian Church in full, both in the original languages and in translations. The whole of the second volume is occupied with the Œcumenical, the Roman, and Greek Church

creeds. The third contains the Protestant and modern confessions. In the first volume, twenty-four pages are devoted to the history of the Heidelberg Catechism, and in the third volume it is given in full, in German and English, filling fifty pages. The volumes are of about equal size, and give evidence of the immense amount of scholarly research and labor on the part of the author and editor, and the enterprise and excellent taste of the publishers.

The general subject brought into consideration by this work is highly interesting and important. We can devote to it at present only a few general remarks.

The two most fruitful periods for the production of creeds and confessions are the primitive age and the period of the Reformation of the 16th century. The primitive age stands first in importance. From that age we derive the three œcumenical creeds, the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian. Of these three the Apostles', being nearest to pure Apostolic tradition, is highest in authority in the Church, as it is best suited to liturgical use. It is the only one that can be confessed by universal Christendom. It is in closest sympathy with the language as well as the spirit of the Scriptures, and gives evidence of no theological discussion in its production.

The Nicene, or Nicæno-Constantinopolitan, Creed comes next. It was adopted in substance at the Council of Nicæa, A. D. 325, and enlarged to its present form at the second Œcumenical Council held in Constantinople, A. D. 381. It grew out of the great Arian controversy on the subject of the divinity of Christ. In this we already see the traces of theological controversy in the introduction of theological terms. While the Apostles' Creed gives utterance to faith in Jesus Christ our Lord, as the only-begotten Son of God, this adds that He was the only begotten before all worlds; in other words, it asserts the eternal *generation* of the Son of God. This creed, therefore, contains in substance the distinction between an

immanent or ontologic trinity and a revealed or economic trinity.

The third Œcumenical Creed is the Athanasian, which originated, though precisely how or where is not certainly known, about the middle of the fifth century. It bristles with theological distinctions and terminology. The doctrine of the trinity is here put in something like mathematical formulas. It is called the *Symbolum Athanasianum*, because it contains the view of the trinity so ably supported by Athanasius, and the *Symbolum Quicumque*, from its first word, whosoever (*quicumque*). It closes with what is called the *damnatory* clause or article, "This is the catholic faith; which except a man believe truly and firmly, he cannot be saved." This clause may be understood to refer to the substance of this faith only; or it may refer to the full wording, in which case it certainly sets up a condition of salvation not warranted by the Word of God.

The Athanasian Creed sets forth most fully the theological apprehension of the doctrine of the trinity as a result of the earnest controversies on this subject in the early Church, and in this view possesses a great deal of historical interest; but this very fact—that it is so cumbered with theological definitions and distinctions, renders it less suitable for liturgical use than the other two creeds.

The next most important creed, perhaps, that comes down to us from the primitive Church is the one adopted at the Council of *Chalcedon*, A.D. 451. It contains the last definition of the whole Church in regard to the constitution of the person of Christ, especially in regard to the relation of His two natures, the divine and the human, which are said to be joined in one person, "without confusion, without conversion, without severance, and without division." At a later period the Church decided also that Christ had two wills. In later times the subject of the *Kenosis*, or humiliation of Christ, engaged earnest discussion, but no definition has been reached, which has commanded anything like universal assent.

Very little was done during the middle ages, in the way of advancing the doctrines of Christianity. Practical work for the most part engaged the attention of the Church during this period. Great theological systems indeed were produced, such as the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas, but these were based on the doctrines already settled in the primitive age and added nothing in the way of progress or development.

The Age of the Reformation was the next in importance in producing confessions. While the doctrines of the trinity and the person of Christ engaged the attention of the primitive Church, the subject of *soteriology*, or redemption, came forward at the time of the Reformation. The two principal questions between Romanism and Protestantism are in regard to the authority of the Scriptures and justification by faith. The Roman Church held that tradition is of equal authority with the holy Scriptures, while the Protestants maintained that the inspired Word of God is the only rule of faith. The Roman Church maintained that the sinner is justified by faith and works, while the Reformers held that he is justified by faith only. These differences led to many others, which have wrought a separation between the Protestant and the Roman Church, broad and deep, which three centuries have not obliterated nor obscured.

The Protestant confessions claim to rest primarily on the Word of God, though they also accept and make due account of the primitive œcumenical creeds. They can lay claim themselves, therefore, only to secondary authority. They demand acceptance only as they are based upon, and are supported by the inspired Word of God.

The Protestant symbols of the Reformation derive their main importance from the character of the period in which they were produced. The Church is not equally productive at all times. The period of the Reformation was an epoch in the history of the Church, and therefore possessed greater originality, under the special guidance of the Holy Spirit, than we

can expect in ordinary times. It settled certain great principles for succeeding centuries, until these shall be taken up perhaps by another epoch in still higher developments of the Christian faith.

But the idea of development implies that these Protestant confessions shall not become another *procrustean* bed of infallible tradition to limit the freedom of the Church. Special authority they undoubtedly have, because we recognize in the men and bodies that produced them a special guidance of the Holy Spirit vouchsafed for the necessities of the age; but according to their own declaration they are subordinate to the Word of God, which alone possesses final and absolute authority for the Church.

It is important to keep in mind the distinction between the Word of God and all human creeds and confessions. This distinction holds not only, nor primarily, in the difference in their authority as regards doctrines. The Word of God is not only of divine authority, but it is divine—in its nature and substance. Being the voice or utterance of God it carries with it divine power and grace. Its chief importance lies not in its authoritative use in the formation of doctrines, but in itself primarily as life-bearing. This Word in its deepest ground, of course, is the *Logos*, which was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and became man; but it is no less truly also the Word of God in the Bible which stands in living union with our Lord.

Creeds and confessions have their office and mission, but it is not precisely the same as that of the Bible. This we are to read and ponder, not merely in order to deduce from it certain doctrines, but to receive directly from it the living truth as it flows from the Lord. Hence the Bible does not present truth in what may be called systematic or scientific form according to the laws of human speech or human thought; but it speaks in concrete living form as the language of God. It addresses both the intellect and the will, the understanding, and the

affections. It teaches us of God, and it utters His precepts for the guidance of our life.

Human confessions, or even creeds, can never, therefore, take the place of the Word of God in the service of our spiritual illumination and advancement in the life of grace. It is in the actual reading and meditation upon the Word of God that we meet Him, as it were, face to face, whereas in doctrinal confessions we have only the reflection of His presence. This great truth was brought out by Protestantism as it had never been realized in the Latin Church. Even to this day intelligent Roman Catholics make a secondary thing of the reading of the Bible. They are perhaps more thoroughly instructed in the teaching of the Church, especially in liturgical and devotional formulas, than Protestants; but the reading of the Bible is far more general among Protestants.

As the Word of God is the source, or critical standard, of all doctrinal confessions, so it must constantly be looked to for all right progress in the development of the faith of the Church. Its spiritual depths have not yet been sounded. They contain truths which have not yet come fully into the consciousness of the Church. In a time like the present, therefore, when the confessions of the Church seem helpless to bring about the unity of Christians in the spirit of divine charity, we may expect that further help will come from the Word of God. But in order to this it must be received in its own true character as revealing, not human wisdom, not the science of nature or human philosophy, not the truths of geology and astronomy, but the higher realities of the spiritual world, in the power of which all nature finds its subsistence.

The work which has called forth these general reflections is worthy of a fuller notice, and suggests lessons which deserve a more elaborate treatment than our space allows at this time. This may suffice for the present to introduce it to the readers of this REVIEW. It will no doubt find a wide circulation in our Reformed Church, where its author is so well known.

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF ST. JOHN. By James M. Macdonald, D.D., Princeton, New Jersey. Edited, with an Introduction, by the Very Reverend J. S. Howson, D.D., Dean of Chester. Scribner, Armstrong & Co., 743 & 745 Broadway, New York. 1877.

The work here noticed is a large, handsome volume of about 400 pages. Its external appearance is worthy of its contents. The binding is rich and ornamental, the paper good and the type clear and pleasing to the eye. The maps and engravings add much to the interest of the volume. It is prepared very much in the style of Conybeare and Howson's *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*. In view of the interest that attaches to St. John and his writings, an interest that is renewed and intensified in recent times by the attacks that have been made especially against his gospel, this elaborate work must attract attention.

It presents the life of the disciple whom Jesus loved from its beginning to its close, so far as any information is furnished for this purpose in Scripture and tradition. But as every life stands related to the life of the world around, this life of St. John takes in a general review of the interesting period in which he lived, the land and nation in which he was born, and the history with which his life was connected. It brings out a vast amount of Biblical information. It contains also all the writings of St. John from the New Testament, with valuable notes and explanations. The whole is prepared with an Introduction by the very Rev. J. S. Howson, D.D., one of the authors of *Conybeare and Howson's Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, a work familiar to the readers of this REVIEW.

While the editor, Dr. Howson, commends the work as a whole, he does not commit himself to "the author's view of the meaning of every passage in detail, or even broadly to his general interpretation of difficult parts of Holy Scripture." He refers, as examples, to the remark of Dr. Macdonald that the passage, John iii. 5, has no reference to Christian baptism, and the general scheme of his exposition of the Apocalypse. We question

also the position taken in regard to the time of St. John's writing the Revelation, which he places before the destruction of Jerusalem. But no one would expect to agree in every particular with the author of a volume like this. It is sufficient if it evinces scholarly research, and breathes throughout a spirit in harmony with that of the great Apostle whose life he records. We heartily commend the work. It would be an ornament to any library, and is specially adapted to congregational or Sunday-school teachers' libraries.

THE BOOKS OF THE CHRONICLES. Theologically and Homiletically expounded by Otto Zöckler, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Greifswald, Prussia. Translated, Enlarged, and Edited by James G. Murphy, LL.D., Professor in the General Assembly's and the Queen's College at Belfast.

THE BOOK OF EZRA, &c. By F. R. W. Schultz, Professor in Ordinary of Theology in the University of Breslau, Prussia. Translated, Enlarged, and Edited by Rev. Charles A. Briggs, D.D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in the Union Theological Seminary, New York.

THE BOOK OF NEHEMIAH. By Rev. Howard Crosby, D.D., LL.D., Chancellor of the University of New York.

THE BOOK OF ESTHER. By Fr. W. Schultz, Prof., &c. Translated, Enlarged, and Edited by James Strong, S.T.D., Professor in Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J.

These Books are published in one volume of Lange's Commentary by Scribner, Armstrong & Co., New York.

The remaining three of the twenty-four volumes of this Commentary are in the hands of the printer, and will be published at short intervals.

A HISTORY OF THE NEW HOLLAND CHARGE OF THE REFORMED CHURCH IN LANCASTER COUNTY, PA. By Rev. D. W. Gerhard, A.M. New Holland: Rauck & Sandoe. 1877.

We take special pleasure in noticing this little volume because it is the first of the kind, we believe, that has come into our hands, as the fruits of the historical feeling stirred up in Church and State during our Centennial year. We trust that it may

be followed by many more, which shall not only thus preserve the history of particular charges and congregations, but furnish material for a history of the Reformed Church in the United States.

The first 37 pages are occupied with an excellent introduction, giving a succinct history of the origin of the Reformed Church in the Palatinate, its first introduction into this country, its doctrinal position, and its relation to other denominations. This is done with complete success. We have not seen anywhere a more satisfactory account of the Reformed Church in so small a space. The facts are carefully gathered and well arranged. The style is good. It is well adapted to convey a correct knowledge of the Reformed Church to those who may seek for light on this subject.

But this little book is exceedingly interesting because the congregations of the New Holland charge had their origin among the earliest in the Reformed Church in this country. The exact date of the origin in some cases is not known. The first white settler in the locality of what is now known as New Holland was John Diffenderfer, a member of the Reformed Church, who arrived here in 1728. Other Reformed German immigrants soon settled around him, and a church was organized. In the Zeltenreich congregation the records go back to 1746. But there was a congregation a number of years prior to this date. The Salem congregation was organized and its first church built in *seventeen hundred and twenty-two—1722*.

The charge under the care of pastor Schweitzer—at any rate the Modecreek church—dates back also previous to the organization of the Coetus in 1747. We hope soon to have a similar history from him. We hope the good work here inaugurated will not stop until we have a history of the Reformed Church in Lancaster County, or, still better, within the bounds of Lancaster Classis.

This history by Bro. Gerhard shows that though the Re-

formed Church in Lancaster County is not strong in numbers at present, considering the large population of the county (over 100,000), yet the place where our Institutions have at length found a permanent home is truly historic ground. This book should be found in all the Sunday-school libraries in our Church.

A HISTORY OF THE REFORMED CHURCH WITHIN THE BOUNDS OF WEST-MORELAND CLASSIS. Edited by a Committee of Classis. Philadelphia: Reformed Church Publication Board, 907 Arch street. 1877.

This is a history on a somewhat larger scale than the one just noticed. It is the history of a Classis. It is an *octavo* volume of 232 pages. The introduction was written by Rev. John M. Titzel, pastor at Irwin, Pa. This introduction embraces about 20 pages of the volume. Mr. Titzel is known as a writer of ability in the Reformed Church. He has contributed a number of able articles in the pages of this REVIEW, and is at present an associate and Synodical editor of the *Messenger*. This introduction is written in pure style, and manifests good judgment in the manner in which the author has arranged his facts, and through them expressed the doctrinal position and genius of the Reformed Church.

The remainder of the volume contains sketches of the history of the Classis, and of the different congregations of which it is composed. We have here presented the beginnings of the Reformed Church west of the Alleghenies. The history goes back to the missionary labors of Rev. John William Weber, as early as 1783. Rev. Nicholas P. Hacke, D.D., the third pastor in the Greensburg charge, commenced his pastorate in 1819, and has labored in it to the present time, nearly 58 years. It is not often that a minister is blessed with a pastorate of so nearly *three-score* years in the same charge. Dr. Geo. B. Russell prepared the history of this charge. It is presented with ability, and occupies about 50 pages. The other sketches were prepared by Revs. Lady, Swander, Snyder, McConnell, Love and

Titzel. Some of this territory is familiar to us. The English Greensburg charge which we served as pastor was first divided during our pastorate, and has now grown into some four charges. Though over twenty years have passed we feel grateful to learn that our short pastorate there was not without enduring fruit, and that it is recalled with affectionate remembrance by one, Rev. Jacob F. Snyder, who sat under our instruction in the catechetical class, and that by those instructions he was brought to consecrate himself to the gospel ministry, to which he was drawn, as he says, from his earliest recollections.

The old Westmoreland Classis, organized only thirty-three years ago, "has grown into a Synod, numbering five Classes, fifty-four ministers, one hundred and twelve congregations, with about eighteen thousand baptized and confirmed members."

This book should be in the library of every minister and Sunday-school of the Reformed Church, and deserves a wide circulation also in a wider sphere. Why should not every Classis have a similar history?

WHY FOUR GOSPELS? OR, THE GOSPEL FOR ALL THE WORLD. A Manual designed to aid Christians in the study of the Scriptures, and to a better understanding of the Gospels. By D. S. Gregory, D.D., Professor of the Mental Sciences and English Literature in the University of Wooster; Author of "Christian Ethics." New York: Sheldon & Company. 1877.

Dr. Gregory has become favorably known as a thinker and writer of ability through his work on Christian Ethics. That work takes rank among the best English manuals on the subject in this country. In the present volume he appears as an able writer in Biblical science.

Why four Gospels? The question has received many different answers. It certainly was not by mere accident that the one Gospel of our Lord was written by four evangelists. Four in Scripture is the symbol of the world. Without reference to the symbolism of numbers, Dr. Gregory finds the answer in a

way which seems to confirm such symbolism. The Gospel of our Lord was to be written for all the world. Matthew was written for the Jew, Mark for the Roman, Luke for the Greek, and John for the Christian. There is certainly much to support the theory. No one questions the object of the first Gospel or the people for whom it was written, although we differ from the author in his regarding it as a translation from the Hebrew. St. Mark was St. Peter's interpreter in Rome, and spoke in Latin. His Gospel bears internal evidence of having been written for Romans. St. Luke was a physician, and probably of Greek origin. At any rate, he wrote proficiently in Greek. A pretty good case is made out in the argument that his Gospel was written for Greeks. There can be no question that St. John wrote for Christians, as did also the other three.

The value of this book does not depend upon the correctness of this ingenious theory. Certain other theories may perhaps be applied just as well. The value of the work, apart from this, consists in the number of facts brought out by the author, in discussing his theory in regard to the four Gospels. Therefore it may be studied with much profit whether the reader accepts the theory or not.

The study of these Gospels in their differences or variation is much more profitable than is the attempt to unify them in one Gospel called a Harmony. That they do harmonize is beyond question, but the effort, once so popular, to dove-tail the one into the other, so as to produce one continuous narrative, has clearly proved a failure.

This is a solid volume, eminently adapted for Sunday-school Teachers' libraries.

COMMENTING AND COMMENTARIES. Lectures addressed to the Students of the Pastor's College, Metropolitan Tabernacle, with a list of the best Biblical Commentaries and Expositions; also, A Lecture on Eccentric Preachers, with a complete list of all of Spurgeon's Sermons, with the Scripture texts used. By C. H. Spurgeon, President. New York: Sheldon & Company, No. 8 Murray street. 1876.

A good directory as to what books it is profitable to read and study is always useful. A pretty complete list of Commentaries on the different portions of the Bible, as well as on the whole Bible, is here given. The suggestions contained in the chapter on commenting on the Bible, as contrasted with preaching on brief texts, are valuable. It is a question, however, whether so much reliance should be placed on the method pursued by many Commentators in obtaining the true sense of Scripture. Of this we have not space to speak in this place.

A YOUNG MAN'S DIFFICULTIES WITH HIS BIBLE. By Rev. D. W. Faunce, Author of Fletcher Prize Essay, "The Christian in the World." New York: Sheldon & Company, No. 8 Murray street. 1876.

After a very sensible introduction the Truth of the Bible is considered, next its Inspiration, third the difficulties in regard to miracles, then the difficulties from Geology, from Astronomy, and in regard to Historic Facts. The usual arguments for the truth and inspiration of the Bible are presented with a good deal of force. This book grew out of a course of lectures given by the author in an inland city of New England, where he found a large number of young men not exactly skeptical, but a good deal upset in their religious views. Such are found in every community, and this manual is designed now to reach a broader audience. It is well adapted to meet the wants of such an audience and deserves a wide circulation.

LECTURES ON THE HISTORY OF PREACHING. By John A. Broadus, D.D., LL.D., Prof. in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Greenville, S. C. Author of "A Treatise on the Preparation and Delivery of Sermons." New York: Sheldon & Company, No. 8 Murray street. 1876.

A course of lectures delivered at the Newton Theological Institution, near Boston, in May, 1875. The first lecture is on Specimens of Preaching in the Bible, 2, Preaching in the Early Christian Centuries, 3, Mediæval and Reformation Preaching, 4, The Great French Preachers, 5, the English Pulpit, with an appendix containing the Literature on the Subject.

The above-noticed books are published in good style by Sheldon & Company, and are well adapted for general reading as well as for Sunday-school libraries.

THE TRUTH OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION. An Inaugural Address. By the Rev. John H. Livingston, D.D., First Professor of Theology in the Reformed Dutch Church in America. Pronounced in the Garden Street Church, New York, May 19th, 1785. Reprinted from the original edition.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH in Promoting Soundness of Faith. By Talbot W. Chambers, D.D., one of the Pastors of the Collegiate Dutch Church, New York.

THE PROCESS, TESTIMONY AND OPENING ARGUMENT of the Prosecution, Vote and Final Minute, in the Trial of Rev. W. C. McCune, by the Presbytery of Cincinnati, from March 5th to March 27th, 1877. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., Printers. 1877.

We hereby acknowledge the receipt of the above-named pamphlets, the first two with the compliments of Dr. Chambers.

The first is the original *Oratio Inauguralis* of Dr. Livingston in Latin, and forms a historical document of rare value and great interest for the Reformed Church in America. Dr. Livingston, perhaps more than any other man, exerted a controlling influence in the early organization of the Reformed Dutch Church in this country, and the wisdom of his counsels in regard to the establishment of separate Theological Seminaries for the two Reformed Churches (German and Dutch), was felt for good in our own denomination.

The second is a solid and able sermon by Dr. Chambers, in which he sets forth with much clearness and force the influence of his own Church especially in guarding purity of doctrine. It was no doubt delivered in some connection with the general historical celebration, in the churches, of our nation's Centennial. The Reformed Dutch Church, though not large numerically in this country, can certainly point to a most honorable and worthy history, which justly entitles her to a prominent

place among Protestant denominations that have maintained the faith of the great Reformation of the 16th century. While this sermon is decided and pronounced in regard to the faith of the Reformed Church in America, it breathes a spirit of Christian humility. Its closing practical reflections are—1, humility for believers; and 2, warning to the impenitent.

The third pamphlet introduces a cognate topic, viz.: the duty of maintaining purity of doctrine, when necessary, by judicial process. The Presbyterian Church has found occasion in a number of cases of late for exercising this prerogative in relation to erring brethren. The cases of Prof. Swing, Dr. Miller, and the one referred to in this pamphlet, have obtained no little notoriety. No one certainly can find fault with a Church for judging its ministers according to its standards. These they have accepted and promised to adhere to; and if they can no longer hold to them conscientiously, they are in honor bound to leave the denomination in an orderly way, rather than remain and disseminate views in conflict with these standards. And yet every denomination confesses that these standards are not of ultimate authority. Such final authority can be claimed only for the inspired Scriptures. Within certain limits a minister has a right, therefore, to raise the question, whether at certain points the denominational confession may not be advanced so as to be more fully in accord with holy Scripture. Unless this right be conceded, these denominational confessions would come to be regarded as on an equality with Scripture, and the traditions of the Protestant Church would be clothed with an authority equal to that of the Roman Church. This would arrest all progress in theological doctrine, and prevent any movement towards union in the different branches of the Protestant Church.

This raises another question for consideration, viz.: to what extent these differences in doctrine between Protestant bodies should be allowed to stand as a bar to Christian union. It is coming to be felt and acknowledged more and more that points

of doctrine on which the churches agree are more important than those on which they disagree. The freedom brought in by the Reformation rendered it necessary that these differences should develop themselves. It has become plain that they are not of such a kind as to keep the Churches forever apart, and a strong tendency has set in towards Church unity. This tendency should be encouraged. But in order to this the principle of progress must be acknowledged. All true advancement in the knowledge of the truth must tend to bring the Churches nearer together. Union of the proper character cannot be attained either by a latitudinarianism which is indifferent to the truth, nor by going back in the way of mere reprobation. The only solution is to be found in going forward.

This requires that we shall not be unduly wedded to the old. The truth, we know, is unchangeable, but its apprehension is progressive. The very principle of Protestantism, which appealed to the holy Scriptures against the corrupt traditions of the Roman Church, requires this acknowledgment. And yet there is a disposition on the part of some denominations to pride themselves on their imagined unchangeable character. Presbyterianism, as a case in point, declares that it has not changed—that it is to-day just what it was *fifty years* ago. It seems to imagine that this claim is necessary to its consistency and stability. But the stability of sameness may be the stability of death. No one who knew it fifty years ago, and knows it now, can deny that it has undergone great changes on doctrinal and moral questions. We think none the worse of it for this. It changed its position in reference to the slavery question, as nearly all other Churches did, when the institution of slavery went down in our late civil war. It has changed in regard to the manner of preaching the doctrine of divine sovereignty, or predestination. It has undergone a change, not perhaps yet formally expressed, in regard to the nature of the Christian Sabbath. We need not refer to other changes in customs that once were considered forever fixed. It is idle, and worse than

idle, therefore, for the General Assembly to maintain that Presbyterianism does not change.

It is true that all change is not necessarily progress. It is proper to guard against a false radicalism, but pure conservatism may be just as dangerous. If sameness is an evidence of truth, then the Roman and the Greek Churches may justly hold themselves above all Protestant Churches. What is needed in all Protestant Churches—yea, we may say, in all Christian Churches, Roman, Greek, and Protestant—is to see that history has brought the whole Christian world to the eve of an epoch which requires a new presentation of Christianity all over the world. Rome is no longer the great centre of temporal power which it once was. The Greek Church, which has known no Reformation, is being forced into the moving currents of universal Christian history. The orient and the occident are coming together as never before in history. These great world-movements are rapidly swallowing up many of the petty differences that have held ecclesiastical bodies apart for centuries. Missionaries in China, India, and Japan, confess that denominational distinctions cannot enter into their work there as they do here at home.

This the Churches every where should come to see and acknowledge, and prepare themselves for the new era that is surely coming. To object that no change, no step of progress, can take place until theoretically we can draw the precise line where it is to begin and where to end, is futile and absurd. Changes in the way of progress in Church or State are never theoretically arranged and planned beforehand, but in the way of actual history. And when the march of history calls for them, it argues narrowness and a want of faith to refuse to respond to the indications of Providence and the guidance of the Spirit of the Lord. These general remarks have their bearing on the particular subject of trials for heresy, though we have not space here to point it out. The thoughtful reader will be able to trace the connection himself.

SHORT STUDIES ON GREAT SUBJECTS. By James Anthony Froude, M. A., Late Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. Third Series. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1877.

An interesting new volume containing essays on the following topics: 1. Annals of an English Abbey. 2. Revival of Romanism. 3. Sea Studies. 4. Society in Italy in the Last Days of the Roman Republic. 5. Lucian. 6. Divus Cæsar. 7. Of the Uses of a Landed Gentry. 8. Party Politics. 9. Leaves from a South African Journal. Those who have read the previous volume of Mr. Froude's Essays will be desirous of procuring this. It is fully up to that in interest.

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE. The numbers of *The Living Age* for the weeks ending June 2d and 9th, respectively, have the following noteworthy contents: Mr. Wallace's "Russia," from the *Quarterly Review*; Montenegro, a sketch by Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone, *Nineteenth Century*; Relation of Mind and Body, *Church Quarterly*; A Dutch Milton, *Cornhill*; The Anglo-Indian Tongue, *Blackwood*; The Alkaline and Boracic Lakes of California, by J. Arthur Phillips, F.G.S., *Popular Science Review*; Whist at Our Club, *Blackwood*; Social Position, *Whitehall Review*; Light-Emitting Flowers, *Leisure Hour*; The Celts, *The Fireside*; The Storing of Literary Power, *Spectator*; with instalments of "Pauline," a remarkable new serial, and of Wm. Black's new story, and choice poetry and miscellany.

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THE MERCERSBURG REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1877.

ART. I.—THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE events which with unusual frequency and startling magnitude are transpiring in our immediate social and political affairs, are well worthy of an earnest and careful study. To contemplate these events as for the last twenty-five years they have with overmastering power agitated, and to some extent revolutionized these interests, as isolated facts in our history, and to trace them no farther than to immediate and secondary causes, were to content ourselves with the unsatisfying labors of the partisan politician. In this view, these events would seem to be the transient results of misguided reason and passion, and that it needed only that they be rectified by the application of the necessary force, that the former condition of placidity might be restored, and the machinery of social and civil progress be once more set in regular motion; that the recent civil war for instance, was caused by southern slavery, and the unsolved question of states-rights, and that this question answered, and that institution removed out of the way, the current of our national prosperity returns to its channel, to turn again the wheels of our machinery, and enliven our fields with a fresh fertility.

But it requires no toilsome reflection, to see, that this view fails entirely to bring to light the true significance of these events. Has our late civil strife no more meaning for mankind and for civilization, than a rebellion in Hindoostan, produced by the spirit of caste, or a struggle as to what aspirant shall sit upon the throne of unhistorical China? Have these recent events, notwithstanding the jolts and jostlings which they gave our nation, dropped us again in the same old rut, with no enlarged outlook as to the destiny before us, and no new facilities, and fresh heart for future activity? Have civilization and Christianity no immediate or prospective profit to reckon against the terrific expenditure so lavishly made, and must humanity bewail these events as unhistorical and unpardonable waste? These are some of the questions which it is worth our while to consider.

But it may be further premised, that to consider these events as isolated, or only in their immediate causal relations, would be inadequate to their proper discussion and explanation, because only as we are able to discern the organic relations which bind them vitally to the past and to the future, and to comprehend them in the unity of the development of a grand historical purpose and idea, can we ever grasp their true significance. This purpose and idea, it is easy to see, finds its embodiment in our western civilization, of which our government and nationality are the expression. And only now as we consider these historical facts in the light of the great whole, in the bosom of which they live and move and have their being, can we understand them—can we apprehend their meaning and justification. In a brief discussion, therefore, of *The Historical Significance of the United States*, will opportunity be afforded us, to inquire into the meaning of the events which are transpiring around us, and the destiny, as related to civilization and Christianity, to which they point.

The idea of significance or meaning, as predicated of any fact, presupposes relations. An event without relations, if such

a thing is at all conceivable, has no meaning, but stands out as an anomaly, a monstrosity. In discussing, therefore, the historical significance of the United States, we must necessarily contemplate the fact of our nationality in its organic relations to the grand drama of history, as this, under Divine guidance has been enacted through the ages, upon the stage of the world's life. Thus may we learn its relation to the past, the forces which gave it birth, and the position in which it stands to civilization and Christianity, as these comprehend the whole plan and purpose of the world, its continued existence, and ultimate destiny. Moreover, if we would not fail in the purpose of the task now in hand, we must free ourselves from the exploded notion, that history is but the accumulation of incident and fact, as these have been thrown to the surface of human life, by the force of individual will and caprice, or by the ebullition of national passion and ambitious purpose, and hold it rather to be the power of a common life, flowing still onward as an undercurrent, bearing in its bosom those mighty plastic forces which are ever revealing themselves in the form of human action, and gathering together, from beginning to end, the whole order of vicissitude and event in a common unity of thought and wise design.

The review of the broad field of the history of civilization, must necessarily be exceedingly hurried and brief, and yet sufficiently patient and minute to note its steady onward movement, and mark its epochs, when gathering together the fruits of its expended labors, and the forces thereby developed, it mounts to a higher and richer plane of activity, in obedience to the hand which ever guides it onward and upward.

Upon the slightly elevated plain, contiguous to the base of Mt. Ararat in Armenia, Western Asia,—just at this time the arena in part of the renewed conflict between the Cross and the Crescent,—we find the early dwelling-place of post-diluvian man, and the cradle of civilization. As the years rolled on, and the human race rapidly multiplied, the families and tribes

moved forth in diverging lines to the occupancy of the earth appointed for their habitation. We may readily suppose, that the directions taken by these early families were determined by their immediate surroundings and necessities, totally unconscious of the ultimate destiny which lay before them and controlled them, and of the directing hand that marked out their pathways. Nevertheless each tribe wandered forth charged with a mission, and was led to that locality, where the circumstances of soil and climate, the conformations and reliefs of land and water, of mountain and plain, determined its development, and furnished the means and conditions for the enactment of its part in the great drama of history.

An exceedingly vague, and we may say untrustworthy tradition, of perhaps no more weight than a conjecture, exists, that at the head of a portion of his progeny, Noah himself wandered forth to the east, and from this migration grew up the Mongolian race. However this may be, certain it is that a migration went forth to the east of the Caspian Sea, which, occupying those immense steppes, at once frozen and unsusceptible of cultivation, and hedged in by those gigantic snow-clad mountains, peculiar to Central Asia, followed a wandering nomadic life. And to this day these Mongolian tribes, isolated from intercourse with their fellow-men, remain, overpowered by an unconquerable nature, a barbarous race. From these regions of perpetual cold, and unconquerable reliefs of mountain and elevated plain, a portion of these people, however, ultimately extended to the lower and more hospitable plains of the south-east, and established the Chinese Empire. But coming forth from their dreary northern homes, with energies crushed by overpowering continental surroundings, their powers stunted by the cruel rigor of their climate, and besotted by habits of indolent wandering, entering indeed into a region of more favorable climatic and geographical conditions, but still held down by the fatal incubus of a want of intercourse with other peoples, (for inaccessible mountains cut them off from the south and west), they

responded only partially to their more auspicious surroundings, and reached but an imperfect civilization. Centuries ago China, with a comparative facility reached her civilization, but isolated, and lacking the indispensable nutriment to be derived from communion with the world's life, it turned in upon itself, became stationary, and left her as she still remains, an unhistorical nation.

Did time allow we might indicate the rise and establishment of the higher but still imperfect civilization of the Deccan peninsula. Hindoostan enjoyed the advantage over a large part of the Chinese Empire, of a warm climate, a generous and easily tillable soil, and of nature brought well nigh to its richest fruitage and highest development. Yet with all these advantages, still held down by the hopeless fetters of impassable mountains, of vast and unconquerable plains, the human spirit cringed with slave-like subjection beneath the tyranny of nature, and yielding moreover, to an enervation incident to an almost tropical climate, after an early career of promise in the march of civilization, she long ago in her state of isolation, exhausted her resources and became a stagnant unhistorical people. For centuries have eastern and central Asia, to say nothing of the north where unrelenting winter reigns, remained fixed and stationary. And it has remained for the nineteenth century to witness indications of their awakening from their more than millennium sleep, and of a promise of their being drawn into the current of history.

But thus much in the way of preliminary remark. What concerns us in the discussion now in hand, is not so much the fortunes of those peoples, who like waters drawn aside from the current of the living stream, becoming entangled amid shoals and marshes, amid caves and mountain fastnesses, grow stagnant, or preserve a feeble vitality by restless chafings, or like eddies revolving upon themselves, fail in different measures in the purpose of their existence. It is needful the rather, that we turn to those nations, in the bosom of whose history, the

stream of civilization has moved forward, and who, having contributed to it their several elements and forces, have ministered to the gradual realization of the idea of humanity, as originally formed in the Divine Mind.

Besides these eastward movements, others from the same central point, radiated in all directions to take possession of a desolate world. Each to its appointed locality, where, by the moulding and educating power of the forms of relief of the surface of the country, the climate and soil, the presence of inland sea and river, the proximity of the ocean and the forms and contour of the coast-line, together with the consequent modes and habits of civil life, it might develop its special element of humanity. Thus to be prepared in the fullness of time, to furnish its respective complement, and act its part in the grand evolution of civilization.

It must be remarked, moreover, that the course of history moved not in a hap-hazard way, as destitute of control and guidance. But from the beginning to this day, in a regularly ordered course, in obedience to the organic laws of our human life, and in an unvarying geographical stream, which conducted it from the eastern home of its infancy, to our western stage of its manhood's growth. And most noteworthy, also, is the act that it remained not to maintain, nor returned to increase the historical fertility, in the lands over which it had passed, but flowing still onward in its westward course, it left them as morasses and pools, the prey of stagnation and decay. Especially is this the case with the two earlier stages of progress, the homes of the ancient Assyrian and Babylonian, and of the now characterless and imbecile Greek.

The migration of earliest historical significance, is the one which flowed southward upon the plain of Iran, extending along the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris into Mesopotamia, thence westward to the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, reaching Arabia and the land of Egypt. No portion of the earth's surface could be more favorable for a people, still help-

less in their inexperience and infancy. With a warm climate, and a soil fertilized by the annual overflow of its rivers, which responded most generously to the rudest and most primitive tillage. With plains of vast extent, inviting to an easy and abundant life. Still living under their original form of patriarchal government, these people increased and multiplied, until prompted by an enlarged social principle they formed more comprehensive governments, and rapidly grew into great and populous nations. Here arose the kingdoms of Assyria, Babylon and Egypt. These people not being left entirely without tax upon their industrial energies, what with the uncertainty of the overflow of their rivers; the threatened encroachment of the desert upon their fruitful fields, begetting the necessity of irrigation; an easy but *necessary* cultivation, and a provident forecast against the unproductive season, together with the disturbing urgency of their restless neighbors, they emerged from a state of infancy, to the strength of childhood and early youth. And it was then under an inspiration, born of a contemplative spirit, and quickened by the fiery element of a glowing sun, that they traced the record of their thoughts and actions, their aspirations and fears, which remain for later generations to read in their stupendous monuments and mighty ruins.

But with all their achievements they leave the record of a people fettered by a childlike servitude to the forces of nature. Soon forgetting the terrible lesson of the flood, and letting slip the memory of their fathers' God, they fell under the mastery of nature. They were appalled by her forbidding expanse and her frowning magnitude. The question of plenty or of scarcity and starvation, hung upon what was for them, the capricious floods of their life-giving rivers; while an almost tropical sun, now the giver of life and fruitfulness, and now the fierce consumer of his beneficent gifts, overpowered them with a sense of abject dependence and slavery. And it was just this child-life, not yet conscious of its powers as related to objective nature, this paralyzing sense of subjection, which

deified these powers of nature, and erected those mythical altars before which it paid such a dark and terrible devotion.

But we must not suppose that these peoples remained in a rude and barbarous state. On the contrary they advanced to a very respectable stage of civilization. True in the sciences they made small progress. But in the arts, and in their political relations they exhibited the opening powers of a nature which was destined to a growth and conquest, to the extent and consciousness of which they had not yet awakened. With a lively imagination warmed into activity by a glowing sky, they projected their conceptions of the beautiful, the enduring and the sacred, in their sculpture, their temples and their monuments, the ruins of which have excited the admiration of succeeding ages. But impelled by the dark passions of our fallen life, they early learned the arts of strife and warfare, and what little of their history has reached us, exhibits a continuous page of conquest and subjugation, of the rise and fall of dynasties, and a prodigal waste of resource even to exhaustion and decay.

With all these indications, however, of the wealth of resource which lay embosomed in their humanity, it is easy to note the marks of immaturity and child-life. Even though an occasional personage like a Cyrus, or a Darius should arise, embodying the fullest idea of their civilization, even to the forecasting of the following age, yet did they in turn give place to a weak Darius Codomanus, to be at last overwhelmed by the genius of a maturer civilization in the person of Alexander of Macedon. Were there no other indications of childhood, there were sufficient in their spirit and mode of warfare, at once bombastic and puerile. We need but call to mind the weak and petulant Xerxes, who in the midst of an unnumbered mob rather than an army, goes pompously forth to hurl to their destruction, his tumultuous legions, against the ramparts of a maturer life. Or to the Darius Codomanus, just referred to,

who thought by the gorgeousness of his equipage, the splendor of his retinue, and the magnitude of his undisciplined army, to terrify and disperse the comparatively small, but compact and trained army of Alexander.

In the meantime while this scene in the drama of history was passing through its enactment, and drawing onward to its close, in the bosom largely of the Semitic life, a neighboring people, of different lineage, were gradually elaborating the elements of a newer and richer civilization. Not in the midst of a country of continental isolation, of monotonous plains of vast extent, and gigantic reliefs and contrasts, but in small peninsular Greece. Did even time allow, it is not necessary for our present purpose, to inquire minutely into the origin and growth of this celebrated people. It is enough for us to know that they are part of the Indo-germanic migration, which diverging from the common cradle of the race, to the north and west, swept onward and occupied the entire continent of Europe. In Greece the conditions for a more vigorous growth and development of manhood were abundantly at hand. The reliefs and contrasts of the face of the country, unlike those of their eastern neighbors, were such as rather to encourage than forbid the effort to overcome them. The mountains were not of frowning and frozen elevation; the vallies and plains of an easy traversable extent; the climate, while salubrious and inspiring, was of a more bracing character, stirring to activity and quickening to energy; the soil, exacting a more patient industry, yet responding with sufficient liberality to these conditions. But above all, her maritime relations, served to awaken and invigorate the elements of a fuller manhood. With her shores indented with inlets, and her bays penetrating deep into the heart of the country, her people were stimulated to adventurous enterprize, resulting in communication and commercial relations with other nations and peoples.

Nothing is more favorable to stagnation than isolation. Being saved from this evil, and placed in easy intercourse with

all the nations bordering on the Mediterranean ; invigorated by their own climatic and geographical conditions, and betimes strengthened by the infusion of a still more vigorous and self-reliant blood from their northern neighbors,—notably the Pelasgian influx ; with their agricultural skill and knowledge of the useful arts, the ancient Greeks outstripped their older neighbors in the development of the latent powers of a common humanity. Besides, in consequence of her easy maritime relations to the highest forms of civilization then in existence, she became the early recipient of their noblest achievements in the arts and sciences and letters. All these with a precocious aptness she appropriated, and thereby enriched her naturally vigorous life. So that endowed with a scientific skill, and now armed with the newly discovered knowledge of the uses of iron, she was enabled to describe the line of demarcation between man and nature, and with uplifted head to affirm his dignity as *person*, over against nature as *thing*. Humanity here emerged from infantile subjection and slavery to nature, to the consciousness of mastery and headship.

This is clearly illustrated as well in her painting, her sculpture, her poetry, which at the same time embodies her religion, as in her philosophy. No longer are the now benign, now terrible gods, the symbols of the forces of nature. No longer does an overwhelming pantheism bewilder and suffocate with a universal sacerdotalism. But the person, the man, the hero, the human ideal mounts the altar of worship, and receives the joyous, but alas ! the still misguided homage of the human spirit. The Greek awoke to the consciousness of his personal individuality, and caught glimpses of its wealth and spiritual nobility. All the way from the earliest epic of Homer, to the tragedy of Æschylus and Sophocles ; from the lyric of Pindar to the comedy of Aristophanes, do we everywhere hear the human spirit protest its personal activity, its passions and aspirations, its longing hopes, and denounce its frowns upon all that is unmanly. So in her philosophy, from its infancy in

Thales, to the school of Socrates, standing upon the border line of a higher and more glorious culture, is individual man seeking his moral base, and striving to poise himself upon the fundamental centre of his being.

Greek civilization had made a grand advance upon the childhood of southwestern Asia, and awoke to the consciousness of youth and personal freedom. But like youth, its gaze was upon *self*, and its free activities were asserted against nature, as also against its own social surroundings. Society was yet but an aggregation of individuals, and the social principle feeble and undeveloped. The person was glorified even to deification, but lacked the cohesive organic principle, and consequently even in the celestial realm, the gods contended with each other in unseemly strife, and on earth, man struggled with man, tribe with tribe, and the nation strove to assert itself against the whole world.

The true idea of the state—the subordination of individual freedom to a common objective authority was wanting. This element was maturing and being brought to an utterance by their western neighbors in Italy. The Romans, enjoying the same auspicious natural conditions—schooled by a more rigorous experience, and animated by a spirit of daring adventure and conquest—enriched at the same time by the contributions of anterior civilizations, were enabled to realize, what the Greeks had so earnestly yearned for in their philosophy; and to accomplish, what they had failed to do in the abortive conquests of Alexander, the assertion, namely, of the cardinal principle of unity—the subordination of the particular to the general. It needs not to delay here to tell how this genius of authority went forth to the conquest of the world, and with what merciless severity it trod the principle of individuality under the iron heel of centralization. The elaboration of this principle was the mission of ancient Rome. And how well she accomplished it, whether in the sphere of her mythology, in Jupiter Capitolinus, or in her civil order, in a deified Emperor, her history most clearly indicates.

Hitherto the development of humanity was for the most part in the sphere of the natural, as a disciplinary preparation for the incoming of the supernatural order, as the bearer of its true significance and destiny. It was only at this juncture that the conditions of discipline were at hand for the insertion of the vitalizing principle of Christianity as the leavening power which was henceforth to fashion and control the onward development of human society, and, raising it to the plane of its own church life, conduct it to a finally consummated and glorified civilization.

Under the empire of the Cæsars, man while conscious of his personality, found himself nevertheless the slave of the state. For him his individuality was meaningless—except indeed in the gratification of his appetites and passions—only as conscious of his highest glory in being a Roman citizen. The doctrines of his ethical nature,—of his moral freedom and responsibility, which Socrates and Plato had so striven to teach the Greeks, were for the most part overwhelmed by the more congenial teachings of Epicurus and Zeno the Stoic, and he became at once the votary of pleasure, and the slave of an inexorable fate. The rulers were tyrants, the people were slaves. How the principle of free will, the self-determining power of the individual, by the regenerating power of Christianity came to an organic union with the old Roman civilization, we learn in the history of the Medieval period.

This principle, this new element of civilization, holding as it did from the beginning in the constitution of humanity, and now in the fitness of time brought forth for incorporation in the process of evolution, was during the ages being drawn out and elaborated by the main body of the Indo-germanic races, which had occupied the remaining portions of Europe. These people for a longer period maintained their tribal relations. Their mode of life was wandering and nomadic. They gained their livelihood at the expense of greater labor, and shielded themselves against a severer climate with more diligent care and

forethought. Called upon at the same time to defend themselves against far more numerous dangers, they early learned the lessons of self-dependence and hardihood, while frequent exercise in strife and warfare with their neighboring tribes, caused them to grow into a self-reliant and independent people. They were bold and adventurous, and stood forth in personal freedom, disdaining the restraints of civil law and order. From time to time we discover them making their sporadic incursions into the territory of their southern neighbors, withal to the benefit of these last, in quickening them to a livelier activity in the solution of the civic problems committed to their charge. But the time for the permanent infusion of their element of civilization into the life of southern Europe had not yet arrived. The hour, however, was struck when the aggressive spirit of Rome penetrated their wild homes, and aroused their spirit of adventurous conquest. In rapid succession these untamed hordes overflowed the fertile plains of the southern peninsulas, and overthrew the colossal, but now declining empire. A state of general chaos and anarchy appeared as the immediate result, and for a while it looked as though the edifice of civilization thus far erected, was hopelessly destroyed.

But the commingling elements were homogeneous and not antagonistic and mutually destructive. There were powerful affinities on either hand attracting each other. And they rushed to a coalescence with the noise of an explosion, and commingled in the midst of revolution and convulsion. But unlike chemical action in the sphere of physics—each element losing its specific character and unitedly resulting in a *tertium quid*—these seemingly conflicting factors were happily mediated by the mutual resolvent of Christianity, and the process of a Christian civilization was inaugurated. Thus were the elements of a riper civilization organically united, and a new life with befitting affinities and spiritual appetencies, was provided to go forth upon the mission of humanizing, civilizing and Christianizing the masses of Europe. The earlier centuries of this process

were necessarily marked by an emphasis laid upon the principle of authority. For the spirit of a wild and barbarous independence, must first of all be reduced to the restraints of law and order. And for a while the result seemed to be but the exchange of a political for a religious tyranny. But the element of personal liberty, and free self-determination, although hidden in the process of vital appropriation, never lost its vitality, but all the while was gradually maturing its energies for its permanent assertion in the sixteenth century. Since that time has the course of history moved steadily onward mainly upon her European arena, with various vicissitudes, and in the midst of manifold conflicts and struggles both civil and religious.

The predominant characteristic of European Civilization from the beginning is the prominence of the principle of authority. This was inevitable in view of man's sinful estate. The breaking up of his spiritual moorings in the fall, let go the human will to a selfish and centrifugal tendency, and now that he rises from thralldom to the tyrant forces of nature, to the consciousness of individual freedom, does he naturally antagonize his will to objective authority whether human or divine. It was necessary therefore, all along, that a firm restraint be laid upon this perverseness, until by the sanctifying power of the religion of Christ, he should be schooled to the lesson of a free and joyous submission to all right law and government. Only thus does he become a law unto himself, and is he fitted to enter upon the next higher plane of civilization.

The new life elaborated out of the elements just considered, by the regenerating energy of Christianity, passed northward through the pass between the Alps and the Pyrenees, and effecting a lodgement gradually spread over the remaining territory of the continent of Europe. It found the inhabitants in a state of barbarism, but with a hardy, self-reliant, vigorous manhood. The peculiar constitution of the incoming culture adapted it admirably to the wants of this barbaric life, in turn presenting and finding affinities which enabled it readily and rapidly to

apprehend and transfuse it with its own leaven. No sooner did it establish itself, than its humanizing and organizing powers were brought into play, and we find the old Tribal relations being compacted into more comprehensive forms, rising to the dignity of governments and nations. There had existed anterior to the formation of nations, certain races. These doubtlessly owed their origin to peculiarities of character, language and phases of humanity which marked the families and migrations from which they sprung. These same peculiarities determined their location and isolated them from their neighbors, and in this state of separation they hardened into those features which afterwards distinguished them as distinct races, such as Goths, Vandals, Celts, Picts, &c.

The nations thus founded, were in common partakers of the new civilization which was now possessing the continent. But they were at the same time differentiated by the race peculiarities just adverted to. These differences were constitutional in the several peoples, and hence may properly be denominated phases of humanity. So that while the common mission for each was to elaborate a fuller and higher development of their equal heritage, they could do so only, subjected to the differences of constitution which marked them. It was to be expected therefore, that as their several nationalities were matured in feature and content, contrasts would be revealed, differences of mind, temperament, of disposition and aptitude would characterize them severally. No one measuring the idea of the civilization of the age, yet each one presenting one or more of its features in maturity and perfection. As a whole they exhibited the several complementary sides of a contained unity.

These race peculiarities were further controlling in the determination of limited boundaries and areas. But in addition to this. The condition of the original inhabitants as characterized by a wild personal independence and self-will, called, as already remarked, for the discipline of social law and order. This could be effectually done only within comparatively small territorial

limits. The effort put forth by the old Roman Culture, to comprehend within its grasp, remote nations and different races, resulted in a cold mechanical aggregation, rather a crushing subjection of the individual to the general. It lacked the humanizing spiritual elements of Christianity, to reach the heart and fashion the life in its true sense, and hence it failed of any advance upon a higher plane than its own. But now having been enriched and transformed by the infusion of this ethical and religious spirit, this Roman civilization had developed susceptibilities and affinities which prepared it for an organic apprehension of, and union with the element dominant in the European races. This, as just said, could be efficiently done only within comparatively narrow national limits. The principle of authority, lodged in the head of the government, now softened by the newly acquired consciousness of a parental sympathy, required the facilities of intimate relations and closeness of contact, that it might with a gentler hand and a more affectionate constraint, bend and mould the stubborn spirit of self-will, until in the course of the ages it might awaken the responsive sentiment of filial obedience. Authority exercised at a remote distance, through the intervention of hireling satraps, is severe, forbidding and tyrannical, breeding a spirit either of insubordination or slavery. Contrariwise, a humane and parental administration, made to reach and mould all its subjects, begets that sense of common relationship and family unity, which expresses itself at last in the consciousness and form of a general nationality.

Such was the order of growth and development in European civilization. It was necessary that the continent be divided among the several nations. That the areas be comparatively small, even to the dividing of the more numerous races into two or more nations. And as each one had a task, differing in its specialty, yet equally essential to the whole, it was alike necessary that their territorial lines be deeply drawn, and a comparative isolation preserved; that each one in its place might

perform the work committed to its charge. The result of all this is the several nationalities of Europe as they now exist. Neither one by itself measuring the idea of European civilization, yet as the several complementary factors, in the aggregate they comprehend and illustrate it in its fulness.

But European civilization does not, nor can it reach the ideal of humanity. Like all the preceding stages of history, each one maturing the elements and preparing for a transference upon a higher plane, so that of modern Europe is but a preparation for a farther and still higher advance. What with all her proud achievements, the magnificence of her conquests in arts, and arms, and learning, and the wealth of her mature manhood, she has failed to actualize the catholicity and organic unity of humanity. And it requires no very acute observation, to discern that her several nations are awaking to a growing and intenser sense of this fact. There is a growing feeling, that within their present limits, their missions are well nigh accomplished; and if they would not stagnate, they must find larger room, and new material upon which to exercise their appropriating energies. This is the meaning of the restlessness which characterizes these nations in these later times. There is an oppressive sense of diversity among them, and an impulse after unity. And with no power in their present historical and geographical conditions, to rise above each one's own particular phase of civilization, the common effort is to encroach upon their neighbors and to assert themselves at the expense of their co-ordinate fellows. We may note in this regard, the successful effort recently made toward the unification of the Germanic and Italian peoples, and the nervous and war-like interest with which each and all regard the question of the "balance of power." The conflicts and struggles through which these nations have passed in former ages, had the effect to develop, to energize and compact their several nationalities, but having reached their maturity, they are chafing under their limitations in exhausting and profitless conflicts.

European civilization has reached the historical limit described for it by the finger of God, and if it had eyes to see, it might read, "hitherto shalt thou come, but no further." If the precedents of history—of the infancy of civilization in southwestern Asia, its youth in Greece, and its early manhood in the Roman Empire, are not about to be set aside, then the best that remains for it in the future, if it would escape retrogression through enervating strife, is patiently and in faith to hold the post assigned it, and with parental self-abnegation continue to contribute its matured material to the onward movement which an ordering Providence is still conducting forward in its unvarying westward course.

Meanwhile, while these processes were moving onward on the continent of Europe, the Wisdom which planned it all, and ordered its growth, was preparing a new arena, with space and resource for a higher and fuller development. It is hardly necessary to say that this arena was North America, and that the nation charged with the new mission, was the United States.

A feature of marked peculiarity, in sharp contrast with all areas upon which the preceding civilizations were elaborated, characterizes the territory of the United States. They all contained an element of civilization of their own growth. Their inhabitants were invested with a historical significance. They were endowed with a phase of humanity, peculiarly their own, which awaited the incoming of the older forms from the east, that being apprehended by them it might be borne onward to higher and richer developments. Not so the United States. Here were no elements of indigenous growth. The aborigines, a scattered and savage people—a race of outcasts from the fold of humanity, without significance in the problem, were present as an incumbrance, and needed only to be thrust out of the way. Unless indeed they were to serve the purpose of outside barriers, to prevent a too rapid diffusion of the incoming populations, and by their opposition, to compact the new settlements

and hasten a vigorous organization of states. So far as human life in its proper historical sense is concerned, this country was a desolation, preserved as such, doubtless for its appointed purpose. The materials for the human edifice about to be erected within its confines, were to be brought from the old nations beyond the sea.

Another feature worthy of remark, is the remoteness of its situation, and the efficiency of the barrier which separates it from the nations which were to furnish the materials for the superstructure about to be erected. This isolation was necessary. The European nations having matured and ripened the several elements of their culture, they were called upon in the order of Providence, to furnish the best fruits of their life, for the historical elaboration of a higher type. The man of each nationality was indeed a mature man, but expressing predominantly some one phase of a common civilization, in contrast with his fellow-nationalities. The mission now of the American life was to so combine these different phases, and blend their peculiarities, as out of these several, as species to produce the generic man—the ideal man of this European civilization. This new process, it is easy to see, was entirely different from the preparatory one now maturing its results, and required entirely different conditions and internal administration. An easy transference of the different phases to a near by arena, must have involved an in-weaving of their contrasts in the organization of colonies and states. And these being readily replenished from their respective homes, would have grown into new and different nations, in the precise image of the old. The result would have been to repeat the European process over again. And this was precisely the form which the several nationalities were assuming in our first colonial settlements. We need only call to mind, the attempts which were made to transplant intact, and in organized form, the British, the Dutch, the German, the Spanish and the French national lives, and how it was at the first, that these old forms of culture began to assert

their hereditary peculiarities and exclusiveness, each one trying to crowd the other aside and supplant it.

But notwithstanding this tendency to national coalescence, such was the individualistic character of the migrations in large measure, and such a weakening of the old national ties incident upon a breaking up of the home feeling; such a feeling of alienation after a long and dangerous journey, whose steps were never to be retraced, deepened by the necessary commingling of different peoples in a strange land—all these together with the deep and unconscious cravings for unity, which already were agitating the nations of the father-land, that it required but the ripening of the tendencies hereby generated, and their emergence into intelligent consciousness, that the possibility of a new Europe upon the American continent passed forever away. Great Britain, pre-eminently of all the foreign states, feeling the straitness of her borders, and the largeness of her adventurous and commercial bent, incident to her acquired expertness in the arts and sciences, in manufacture and navigation, sought to transplant her nationality intact. But while successful in dispossessing the Hollander, in driving the Spaniard to the southern continent, in thrusting the German into the wild interior, and in warring with the Frenchman for the supremacy, she was but fostering the spirit, but maturing the civilization, which was presently to utter itself in the pregnant words, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are born free and equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights."

The task to be performed in this western world—the mission with which the United States is charged, as already said, is to take the elements of civilization, matured and brought to a sharp conscious definition, by the nations of Europe, and by a new and higher process of history to evolve from them a unity. This could never be done in Europe. Aside from the insuperable barrier of a Divinely ordained historical mission, the tenacity with which national and home peculiarities are adhered to,

and the whole order of climatic conditions, of geographical reliefs and contrasts, and territorial limitations, the one fact of the difference of languages, is a fatal hinderance. Should some mighty social revolution convulse her nations and reduce her people to a mechanical mass, we would witness the re-enactment of the scenes of Babel, when by the confusion of tongues the children of Noah were broken up into separate tribes. The experience of the emigrant to the European states, is to lose his nationality, and to be absorbed by a strange life. And so must it ever be, while the special social order there existing continues. But with the United States it is entirely different. All the conditions of a cosmopolitan life are at hand.

As to our territorial organization, it is to be remarked, that like Europe, we are divided into several states, but of smaller areas. This is still necessary. The more nearly a government is in contact with its people, the more efficient is it for all disciplinary purposes, and the more effectually can it exert its plastic parental power in the moulding and formation of life and character. While on the other hand, the more readily do the people imbibe its spirit and awake to the consciousness of a common life. The respective state governments are, in all that pertains to social relations and municipal administration, sovereign. In this respect like the European States, with the limitation, however, of an overshadowing General Government. It must not be supposed, however, that they are the *fac-simile* of each other, embodying the same elements in the same proportions. On the contrary, there are marked differences among them, easily discernible. These are caused by their remoteness from or proximity to the sea-board; the predominant European element incorporated in the life and character of the social and educational institutions which have been cherished; and especially by the climate and soil and the face of the country. As is to be noticed in all past history, a vigorous climate, with its more laborious exactions, produces a more self-reliant and ingenious order of culture. And especially where

these conditions are enriched with immediate maritime relations, with their adventurous and commercial bent, does there arise that aggressive and moulding spirit which characterizes the northern peoples. In milder latitudes, with a more fertile soil, exacting less labor in its cultivation, lying inland and without the stimulus of navigable streams and lakes, a more uniform, mild and less demonstrative form of society grows up. While as we proceed to the south, with its enervating heat, and its more productive soil with its accompanying deficiency of skill and industry in husbandry, do we find an aversion to muscular activity, while a heated blood fires the life with inflamed appetites and passions.

Any one at all observant of the peculiarities which mark the different sections of our country, cannot fail to notice the restless activity, the inventive genius and the adventurous enterprise of New England; the patient industry, and conservative tempered activity of the Middle States; as also the fiery passion, the want of physical energy, and the aversion to change and adventure in the remote south. These peculiarities, however, are not abnormalities. They are genuine elements of our civilization. And as in the past, the several elements have been matured and developed as specialities in separate localities, so in this country, in their several latitudes these same complementary factors are growing to a riper maturity.

Thus it is that in a very important and indeed necessary sense, (for each advanced stadium of history gathers up and carries forward all the preceding processes) we are repeating the processes of European civilization in our state organizations. But with these radical differences. The states of Europe are not only sovereign in themselves, but are separated by race lines and are in this regard heterogeneous, by sharply defined territorial boundaries, and especially by the still more effectual wall of separation, the difference of language. At the same time also, they are without the mediation and unifying presence of a general government. The absence of all these sundering

differences, and the presence of a Federal Government are precisely the peculiarities which mark our civilization, and raise it to a higher plane. Theirs is an aggregation, ours is an organism.

As we have seen, American civilization begins where the European ends. This last matured the elements, and generally by schooling the individual will to a free accord and normal subordination to right objective rule, the man was prepared for a state of autonomy, while the former, with no new element to prepare, receives upon an unoccupied area, the material ready shaped and fashioned for the erection of the new edifice of self-government. Whatever may have been the proximate causes which induced the migrations, whether under government auspices; under the leadership of adventures; or communities and families and individuals driven by persecution, or moved by a desire to improve their condition or mend their fortunes, the ultimate impulse unquestionably was a sense of having transcended their state of pupilage and its restraints, and of a preparation for the formation of new relations within a larger sphere, for social and religious and political freedom.

It required time for these people to take root and become established in their new country. Communities were to be formed, towns built, governments founded, and the general machinery of civilized life was to be put in motion. And it was necessary that meanwhile they should enjoy the fostering care and protection of their old home governments. But remote now from the seat of governmental power, with boundless scope for personal activity, and thrown largely upon their own resources and judgment, they gradually grew to a consciousness of the significance of their mission, and a clearer perception of the destiny which beckoned them onward.

It would certainly, however, be too much to affirm, that the founders of our government had a clear apprehension of the meaning of the work they were performing, and intelligently shaped its constitution with reference to the historical issues

which are to be compassed by it. They acted under the inspiration of a Divinely ordered history, unconscious of their inspiration, and controlled by current events, and pressing relations and necessities. They were the willing instruments in the hand of the God of civilization and humanity, and they planned with a depth of wisdom, and wrought with a consummation of skill, they little dreamed of. The formation of the early confederacy was a prudential expedient, necessitated by the task of achieving the freedom and independence of the colonies, upon which they had resolved. Yet, so was this union consolidated and cemented and unified by that long and terrible seven years' war, that its previously undiscovered elements of permanency hardened into a historical institute. And now in contrast with all that preceded it in the evolution of history, we have a large number of States, with sovereign control over their own internal interests, for the education and further development of the several phases of human life as comprehended within their respective borders, all bound together by a General Government, and animated by a common nationality.

This nationality, it will be borne in mind, is the living complex of the different European nationalities, their mature elements of manhood fused into one, becoming thereby cosmopolitan. The facility with which these component nationalities coalesce and flow into one is truly wonderful. Nothing like it was ever seen before, nor can it be accomplished this day in any other portion of the civilized world. In Europe these elements seem to be heterogeneous, repelling each other, or uniting by the absorption of the incoming life. But landed upon the shores of the United States, it is received into a kindred bosom, where losing its separatistic features, it flows into a cosmopolitan life. Thus is it that our American civilization in its ultimate, perfect actualization, will be the ripe fruit of all the past processes of history.

The old Monarchical form of government, is the embodiment of the principle of a *jure divino* authority, as transmitted in

the line of royalty, and presupposes the immaturity and pupilage of the citizen. As such it looks forward to his maturity and manhood, and is the prophecy of his capability of self-government. The Republican form assumes the mature manhood of the citizen, the conscious equipoise and organic reconciliation of subjective will and objective law, and is the expression of neither the one principle nor the other, separately taken, but of their union—as such, of the autonomy of man. It is consequently based upon the suffrage of the citizen. Its rule of law, is not *principle* as abstract and apprehended by the intuitive reason, as in the case of the monarchy, but this same principle as concretely and consciously at hand in the embodied humanity of the citizenship. Its powers are consequently conditioned by the will of the citizen, which will expresses itself first in the organization of the State, and through the State becomes concrete in the form of the General Government, but of limited powers, in consequence of the retained sovereignty of the State. It, the General Government, is therefore, the head of the body politic, the embodiment of the general power and law, which is to stand for the defence and consolidation of the grand unity, and for the regulation and stimulation of inter-state relations and intercourse.

All this now is made possible by a common language. Take this away, separate each State from all the others by the almost insuperable barrier of a different language, and we rapidly revert to the European stadium. Free inter-state communion would be an impossibility, and each in its isolation developing its own particular phase of life would drift farther and farther into separation. But with this effectual means of intercourse, the existing fraternity, the more than easy means of intercourse afforded by our railroad system, and the easy terms of citizenship to the citizen coming from a sister State—the different phases of life and tendencies of growth, whether the fruit of foreign nationality or caused by climatic or maritime or inland conditions, are softened and moulded into a common nationality.

The first century of our national existence, just closed, was required for the work of organization, the exploration of the vast territory, the diffusion of the populations, the discovery and development of our resources, the establishment of easy and rapid means of intercourse and communication, and the general adjustment of affairs for the work committed to our hands. Time would entirely fail me in attempting even the most general sketch of the gigantic magnitude of the work, and the almost miraculous facility and completeness with which it has been accomplished. I can only point to the present estate of the country with its just organized energies, and the absolutely incalculable amount of its undeveloped resources, as the illustration. While the nations of Europe are overburdened with population, and are jostling each other even to the extremity of war, we, with a population but little larger than France alone, have a territory but little smaller than their whole continent. And while they are discovering indication of exhaustion in their material resources, ours are found to be in practically inexhaustible supply. These facts indicate the magnitude of the work before us. For all observation and history demonstrate that the God of Providence has creatively treasured up the means, where the work is to be done, and all material resource has He ordained as subsidiary to His high and holy purpose in the destiny of humanity.

In this preparatory century, besides the tasks just adverted to, it has fallen to the lot of our civilization to correct certain incongruities, and to thrust divers obstacles out of the way. Chief among these were the causes which gave rise to our late civil war. From the beginning there was a question as to the precise limits of State sovereignty, and the extent of the reserved rights. Beside this, there had fallen to us as an inheritance from an older civilization, the institution of human slavery. By rapid degrees this last gravitated naturally to the warmer and less energetic South. Here, it flourished, and redounded to large pecuniary profit, but unfortunately at the

same time co-operating with an enervating climate—enervating to the body, but stimulating to the passions, it served if not to retrograde, at least to retard progress in our growing culture. This, of course, was felt consciously in the whole body politic, and gave rise to effort and counter effort in the direction of its restriction and ultimate extinction. This conflict served to direct attention to the still unsettled questions touching State sovereignty, and to call forth the affirmation, with new emphasis and clearer definition, of the extreme and fatal doctrine, that the reserved rights reached even to the sunderance of relations with the General Government. Meanwhile, whatever may have been the prevailing view in this regard, of the founders of our government, who were in large measure unconscious of the ultimate significance of the civil polity they were about inaugurating, the process of growth, the compacting of the elements, and the awakening of the national consciousness, had led to the perception of the utter fallacy and revolutionary tendency of that doctrine. The consequent resistance with which the attempt to actualize this doctrine was met, may at first perhaps have been prompted by no deeper feeling, than the necessity of the immediate preservation of the Union. But it is now easy to see, that the whole interest of American civilization, as contrasted with European, hung upon the issue. Hence the active, and to our government offensive sympathy, which the secession movement awakened in Europe. Its successful assertion would have been to turn back the stream of history as it had flown down through the ages.

Had the purpose of the Southern Confederacy succeeded, and the South thereby excluded the vitalizing energy and robust vigor of the colder North, as a counterpoise to the effects of her warm climate, and her predominantly agricultural and secluded life, what she must have become in the scale of civilization may be seen in Europe in the same isothermal belt. And this too, not to mention the effects which must have inevitably resulted from the inauguration of a process of disin-

tegration. How this tendency must have been intensified by an expansion of the institution of African slavery with its gradually deteriorating effects upon the social system, it is sad to contemplate.

But all this was an absolute impossibility. Had the separation taken place, it could not have endured. It would have been to fly into the face of physical geography. Unlike Europe our dividing lines of highland and mountain range, all run north and south. Our northern boundary is the only east and west line of separation on the continent. But independently of this, what with the hindering power of the sameness of nationality; the inseparable bond of a common language, and the whole overwhelming force of the world's civilization as ordered and guided by the hand of Almighty God against it, its failure was sealed by destiny.

The struggle, however, was necessary, and abundantly fruitful of beneficial results. Its causes served to mar the unity of our national life, and to prevent that free interflow of the various elements, essential to the equalizing of its growth and progress, and the modifying and utilizing of its different tendencies. The unification, therefore, of our nationality, and its consequent preparation for the solemn task appointed to it by an overruling Providence, required their removal out of the way. And now that the country is recovering from the exhaustion caused by the dreadful struggle, and her powers and institutions are being adjusted to the new order, relieved at last of her former hinderances, and with a spirit invigorated, and at the same time chastened by the trials through which she has passed, she is prepared to bend her energies more immediately to the accomplishment of her mission.

From this general review of the history of civilization, it would seem that the Historical Significance of the United States consists in this:—Without any original material of her own, she receives the matured elements, as these have been elaborated and prepared in different combinations and proportions

by the several nations of Europe, and by a process combining in principle all their individual processes, she in the alembic of a vital chemistry is to fuse them into a homogeneous unity, thus to evolve a civilization in which shall be united all their excellencies, and all their deficiencies be compensated. And by so doing, to produce their ideal. For the accomplishment of this work, we are provided with a country, exceptionally shaped in outward contour and physical geography, and specially located with reference to varieties of climate and facility of intercourse with the whole world, which bears the marks of that wise designing Mind which planned it all, and under whose guidance it is now going forward to a perfect consummation. Our work is but just begun, our energies are just acquiring a skillful cunning, and with abounding supply of material resource at hand, we enter upon this second century of our national existence with joyous hope, and an inviting outlook in the future.

But whatever our resources for independent action, the mutual interdependence of the United States and the States of Europe still exists, and for all that can now be seen, will continue to exist. They can never rise above their separatistic condition of one-sidedness, but must look across the Atlantic for the realization of their ideal. We in turn must continue to look to them for the prepared vital material upon which to exercise our transforming skill. To us, as to their destination for the accomplishment of their final purpose, must they bear their treasures of art and science and learning, together with their accumulation of wealth. For we are their natural heirs, and only in the life of the child, do the life and labors of the parent come to their perfect fruitage. Let no one imagine that we are making high pretensions to heirship. We ask no more than what Europe has given us from the beginning, what she is now giving, and what she always will give—what she always *must* give us. She is sealed to this order by the laws of history—by the entail of an organic civilization, which neither she nor we can break. Some of her nations have turned their eyes to the east. Espe-

cially has Great Britain sought to stamp some of the Asiatic people with the impress of her civilization. But with what feeble results we need not pause to consider. She may draw material gain from her intercourse with them, and transport it to her shores, she may invest in the Turk with the sure prospect of a provoking permanence, but to apprehend their life, to say nothing of the results were it possible, is barred by the laws of civilization itself. The English and the Hindoostanee may live side by side, but like oil and water, you may by jostling mix them, but you can never unite them. The vital conditions of civilization are wanting. If apprehended at all, in this regard, it must be by a life reaching them from the east. The laws of history interdict a march from the west. Hence what England assayed to do, and would have failed but for the strength of gunpowder, in case of China and Japan, the United States effected by mild and easy means. The vital power of civilization moving *towards* the west, can do what the cannon cannot aimed *from* the west.

To attempt a forecast of the future in the history of our civilization, while it might be interesting in the way of speculation, gives us at this time but small promise of profit. And yet we naturally bend inquiringly towards the future. Two questions at this time rise like clouds upon our horizon and inspire a spirit of inquiry. The one, the incorporation of the African element into our citizenship, the other the irruption of the Mongolian race upon our western shores. Regarding them in the light of the laws revealed in the history of civilization, the outlook is by no means promising. In point of time the African is more than a thousand years behind the European. His path in the march of culture, would lead him to the east, where the affinities stretch out westward towards him, and not to the west which has transcended his stadium, and presses onward towards the setting sun. His elevation may be hastened by education, but the development of the intellect is only one factor in civilization. There are many deeply learned Hindoos, but they are Hindoos still.

As to the Mongolian, all that can be said in his behalf is, that he comes from the right direction. He feels the historical affinities reaching him from the east, and he is drawn forth in response. But he finds no congenial bosom. And in turn our life finds no preparation in him. Our civilization by its very constitution requires matured material, the man fitted for autonomy, and other it has no power to appropriate. Our government might, as in case of the African, admit him to citizenship, but like oil cast upon water, he can reach no real union.

But we know not the future. American civilization looks like the closing scene of a drama.—The ending of a vital process. There seems, to our vision, to be no preparation going forward to the westward for our reception. History appears about to produce its ripened fruit, and contains not, as we can read it, any prophecy for the future. None but He whose wisdom and power are illustrated in the whole course of history and civilization, and whose gracious designs are drawing on to their final glorification in the kingdom of His Son, Jesus Christ, can tell, what new departure may be nigh at hand, or whether the drama of human life is really in its last act in the present order of earthly existence.

S. N. C.

ART. II.—DOMINION AND SUBORDINATION THE NORMAL
RELATIONS OF SOCIETY.

BY ALEXANDER HARRIS.

PHILOSOPHERS from the earliest ages have discussed the condition of man with reference to his state in life and society. The questions that have arisen, have been whether it is fixed, as by solemn decree, that to some the sceptre of superiority is given, upon others the necessity is imposed, of being life-long hewers of wood and drawers of water. It has been perceived by all who have been able to penetrate into the mysteries and realities of life, that the great bulk of mankind have been necessitated to occupy those conditions in the world in which they are compelled to labor for the support of themselves and their countrymen, whose capacities have fitted them to assume the directory over themselves and the unreflecting laboring classes. If an adjustment to their varied stations has been arranged by the Omniscient Creator for humanity, then are some (as Aristotle has asserted) born subordinates or slaves, and ever remain such; whilst others come into life clothed with the capacity of mastership as their natural attribute.

This view of existence, which we are now ready to accept as that indelibly stamped upon the face of human creation, seems at first glance to invoke sentiments of commiseration for the classes consigned to be the drudges of life. But this is clearly the result of a one-sided view of the whole of humanity; for it is evident that gradations in society must exist, have ever existed in all ages and nations, and will continue to do so to the end of time. And in the doom inflicted upon our

earthly progenitor, that IN the SWEAT OF HIS BROW, HE SHOULD EAT HIS BREAD, UNTIL HE RETURNED TO THE DUST, we recognize simply the mandate imposed upon man to labor for his support, and for the promotion of his earthly comfort. And all the efforts to free himself from this condition, have resulted in disappointment and in the overthrow of all natural order in society. For do not all labor from the highest to the lowest; but the toil thus exerted is of different kinds and species, and all adapted to the varied capacities of those performing the same; or it at least should be so.

The ancient and modern world until recently, fully recognized the decrees of nature implanted upon the face of universal being; and it is only in modern times that man has openly revolted from the laws of his creation; and thrown states, society, and government, into chaos and seemingly irreparable disorder. The early history of man, as detailed in biblical and other ancient records, unfolds the natural development of society and the dominion and subordination that in like manner arose for the preservation of order and repose. We find that nature in all its relations eschews equality, and provides for perpetuation by making one thing constantly subordinate itself to another; and does so in order that law and harmony may obtain in the aggregated whole of life and existence. Do not God and Nature show this inequality in all men and women, there being no two individuals identically alike, in either mental or physical proportions? And in the first steps which nature has selected in the formation of society, are not dominion and subordination visibly called into existence and made to perform their appropriate functions in all the ways of nature's appointment? In the family state, the husband and father is made to perform the task of mastership; obedience being required upon the part of the wife and children. Nature has accorded to the father the direction in the family sphere, having clothed him with superior strength and capacity (save in unequal and therefore unnatural alliances) to perform the tasks allotted to Him

as the head of the household. And in all the Oriental systems of civilization the family is made the foundation of society; and governmental authority is moulded in accordance with similar views. And these systems are all of them, almost as old as society itself, and have suffered but slight variations since the birth of recorded history.

It is only in European civilization, that contrary ideas have been germinated, but in whose germination radical defects have been allowed to inter-penetrate themselves, and whose influence has permeated, as with desolating virus, the whole of that civilization, and threatens at length to make it a mockery in the preservation of purity, truth, and virtue, the cardinal safe-guards that must be defended and pressed against all assailants.

A conception of later ages that has perhaps done more than all others to disturb the repose of society, is that which asserts the universal equality of all men, a dogma having no support either in truth or in any of the older systems of social life; and which simply is a product of modern infidel philosophy, and one that runs counter to educated thought and the intelligent observation of all classes of men. But the asserted equality being too bald an absurdity as to claim candid support, has been so modified as to declare simply EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW, likewise in itself a manifest untruth. Another destructive error that has taken possession of the modern mind, and which is also a product of infidel philosophy, is that which has demanded and caused the disunion of religion and government, both of which must form supplementary and integumental parts of every complete governmental structure. It is only in our own country, however, that this last error has been able to fasten itself upon the constitutions and legislatures of the country. In all the other states and governments of the world, this evil innovation has been kept at bay; its blighting effects, however, are slowly but surely making their headway in the boasted land of free America, and ushering in a day of crime that must end in the detection and exorcism of the foul fiend of human repose.

In the free school system of the different States of America, the pestiferous fruits of the expurgation of religious instruction from government spheres are showing themselves throughout the whole country; and as yet the real evil with the masses of the people is almost unsurmised. That religion must ever form the basis of education, the world's theologians, legislators and philosophers have ever believed. Archibald Alison, a celebrated European author, says: "Education, if not based on religious tuition, is worse than useless, and every day's experience is adding confirmation to the eternal truth."* M. Cousin, another European celebrity, uses the following language: "Religion is, in my eyes, the best, perhaps the only basis of instruction. I know a little of Europe, and I have never witnessed any good popular schools, where Christianity was wanting. The more I reflect upon the subject, the more I am convinced, with the directors of the *ECOLEES NORMALES*, and the ministerial counsellors, that we must go hand in hand with the clergy, in order to instruct the people and make religious education a special and large part of instruction in the primary schools. I am not ignorant that these suggestions will sound ill in the ears of some, and that in Paris I shall be looked upon as excessively devout; but it is from Berlin nevertheless, and not Rome, that I write. He who speaks to you is a philosopher, one looked upon with an evil eye and even persecuted by the priesthood, but who knows human nature and history too well not to regard religion as an indestructible power, and Christianity when rightly inculcated, as an essential instrument for civilizing mankind."†

The editor of the Philadelphia *Daily Times*, on the 13th of June, 1877, uttered the following gloomy sentiments in speaking of the Pennsylvania free school system: "Nine-tenths of the young criminals sent to the penitentiary have enjoyed its advantages, but three-fourths of them have never learned to do

* Alison on Population, vol. 2, p. 292.

† Rapport sur l' Instruction de l' Allemagne, p. 272.

an honest stroke of work. Surely there must be something wrong about a system which thus recruits the great army of idlers and criminals, and it is not wonderful that many thoughtful men believe, though they scarcely dare to speak it aloud, that our public schools are an evil rather than a good. . . .

. . . They (our children) must have their poor little brains crammed full of all kinds of impossible knowledge of names and dates, and numberless and unintelligible rules, till there is absolutely no room left to hold any of the simple truths of honor, duty, and morality, which former generations deemed more important than all the learning of the books."

Our appalling and still increasing social corruption, as the above writer distinctly perceives, is largely to be traced to the free school system, which affords no religious or moral instruction to the youth of our country. The want of religious instruction in our public schools is an evil that many individuals are free to recognize; and hence the unceasing efforts that are continually being made to have the Bible read in the public schools, in order thereby, as conceived, to produce a higher tone of morality in the minds of the young people than prevails at the present day. The real evil, however, is overlooked by all except a few; which exists from the fact that our government has been established upon a purely secular basis, as if religious conceptions formed no part of man's mental conformation whatsoever.

Rational philosophy and religious faith have hitherto formed constant counterparts in the world's life, and must ever continue to do so, if man is to be governed, as the Creative Mind designed that he should be. But where reason alone has attempted this task, as was essayed during the French revolution, government has always failed, and the same must ever repeat itself. Europe has been prolific in the invention of varied schools of philosophy. She is, however, unable to lay claim to maternity for any of the great world-religions: Christianity, Judaism, Brahmanism, Buddhism or Mohammedanism.

All these have originated in Asia, whence man has sprung. In the cradle of humanity, religious monitions gave the first impetus to correct views of society and government, but as man has receded from his ancestral home faith and reason have too widely parted.

Christianity became the faith apostle for the conversion of the Western world from barbaric superstition, and laid with Oriental tenacity for the union of civil and religious rule the foundations of the various governments of Europe. This union upon European soil has hitherto remained unbroken, though combated with great fierceness by the opposition of the rationalistic classes that are striving for the entire change of society. America, as if to be the refuge of unaided reason, remained for ages in the sole possession of the red man of the forest, awaiting that development which civilization had in store for the new continent of the west. It at length became known to the European world, and has formed for centuries the outlet for those who accept as perfect the gospel of humanity. These active missionary propagandists, have been able to plant their views upon American soil to better advantage than was able to be done for them in the home of their conception. When the revolution of 1776—83 ended in national success and in the independence of the united colonies of America, the equalizing and irreligious ideas of Rousseau, and of his French and English compeers, were thoroughly in the ascendant within the limits of the new republic.

The new American Federal Union, after its achievement of independence of British rule, was specially framed, so as to make it a government devoid of all social classification, and free from outside religious influences. It was intended by its framers to embrace simply civil affairs; and all men were declared before the law as equal. The foundation principles embodied in the Constitution and established as its national charter, were simply the digested thoughts of the European rationalists; and which are now showing their corrupting fruits

in all sections of the country, and in all departments of the government. But as there existed at that period, a classification in life, far more marked and distinct than is now found in our country; and one that had been transmitted by European influences; the doctrine of equality propounded by American statesmen, served no higher purpose than to induce the seduction of the masses into the embrace of the dangerous dogma.

The system of slavery that existed in the country, and the aristocratic connections and exclusive demeanor of most of those who avowed themselves as the champions of the new ideas, evinced that no equality was felt, though in loud and express terms the same had been averred. And, it has been so, through all periods of American history. The individuals who declared that all men are created equal, were by no means ready to act out that equality, which they heralded forth as the most solemn truth that could be uttered. Had they, however, permitted the secret ruminations of their own bosoms to appear, it would have been clear that the new gospel was preached in order that the ministry should be enabled to receive at the hands of their deluded auditors loud huzzas and abundant congratulations. The leading magnates of life, in no age or country, have ever believed in human equality; and they will never do so, until destiny shall roll together the scroll of time.

Before proceeding further, the question of human equality would seem appropriately to demand an examination, in order to ascertain what grounds if any exist, for inducing its utterance, as the status of man's nature. If such there be, they should surely be equally perceptible to all reasoning minds; and that they are not so discernible, even when their existence be asserted, is in itself evidence adverse to their assumption. Are men born equal, because they are found to be possessed of equal strength to undergo the labors of life? All are aware that directly the contrary in this illustration is the truth! Again, are they equal in height, in size, in appearance, or in any other physical contour, in which man presents himself to

our imagination? Are they equal in their capacities for acquiring mental discipline or in any of the departments of educational study? Are they equal in their adaptations for business? The mere propounding of these varied queries is sufficient to show the absurdity of the assumption of human equality. Indeed so dissimilar are all men individually from each other, that no two persons can be found, of whom it can with entire truth be said, that they are identically equal. Yea, even amongst members of the same family great dissimilarity often exists. The distinguished Lord Brougham of England says: "The notion of equality, or anything approaching to equality, among the different members of any community, is altogether wild and fantastic."*

But it is popularly supposed, that an equality before the law exists as regards all men, whether the same be great or small, intelligent or illiterate. This equality, however, will in like manner be found to have eluded our grasp, when we come to search for it and see if within itself it possesses any substantial existence. Equality before the law is less expressive than equality before the Creator, for that would signify equality indeed. But the Originator of the Universe, being Himself the Supreme and Omnipotent law-giver, in His all-wise system of procreation and development, has stamped inequality upon the face of universal nature; and did so for the purpose of effecting acquiescence in just and proper authority. He being in Himself superior to all His creation, infinite variety was needed for that proper subordination that is manifestly intended to exist in all life, whether animal or human. Were all beings entirely equal, in all particulars, no rule could obtain, for each individual would feel equally fitted for leadership with all others; and as a consequence in human affairs, that condition which the philosopher Hobbes conceived as the natural one, eternal warfare of every man against his fellow, would become a flagrant reality.

* Brougham's Political Philosophy, vol. 2, page 23.

But as variety in an infinite degree is stamped upon the face of nature, so also is it written upon the tablets of reason; and as imperishable mementoes fixed in the secret convictions of every human existence. It is this hidden monitor that permits government at all to obtain in the affairs of life; and which evinces that men in their consciences, do not in reality believe, as to human equality, what in the hearing of their countrymen, they profess. In no assemblage of men, whether barbarous or civilized, is full equality accepted, as in fact existing. Some are instinctively recognized as leaders, and usually accorded this position; whilst others never aspire to leadership; nor do their fellows fear offense, though declining to propose such in their behalf. But so hypocritical and delusive has life become, that one of these humble individuals would become highly offended, should any one dare to inform him of his unfitness for leadership, of which, however, his own secret conceptions had already fully assured him. And such is the case, because the public, standing declaration has been made, that *all men are created equal*; and because this utterance has been made the foundation of modern republican institutions.

But is this asserted equality before the law the truth, or is it a delusion; and such a one as entails harm and injury upon those believing themselves benefited by it? That it is the latter, some reasons will be given to prove. Equal before the law, should mean something under republican institutions, variant from what the same expression would signify under empires, monarchies, or Asiatic despotisms. And what does it mean? If the poor man is equal to the rich man, then surely he should be entitled to have equal opportunities with him. Does he have the same, however? Can the poor laborer dress as fine, live as sumptuously, keep as delicate and costly liquors in his cellar, or entertain his friends as luxuriantly as the rich millionaire has it in his power to do? But the advocate of equality may say, that the law leaves the poor man and the rich man equal. And to this we reply: then the law of despotic Russia, and that of

the oriental countries do the same. Indeed is not inequality of condition to-day in all nations, just as striking as the biblical parable of Dives and Lazarus shows the same to have existed in antiquity; before political equality was ever surmised as the basis upon which to construct society?

But is the poor man equal with the rich man in all other particulars? Can he with equal advantage aspire for political promotion before his fellow-citizens? Between two candidates of equal character and capacities, and of the same political party, but of different wealth and social position, which is almost sure to receive the favor of his neighbors and acquaintances? Is not the rich candidate almost sure to receive the preference? And yet this occurs in a country where all men are declared as equal before the law. When two young men are ready to engage in business, which of them sets out with most advantages? Is it not he who can command his ancestral wealth and large family influence? But if either have the superior advantage, are they equal before the law? They surely are not. Again, who can litigate before our Courts with the best prospect of success? Is it he who has his thousands at his command, by means of which he is enabled to employ the leading counsel of his town, and even import famed legal gentlemen from other places; or he who must be content to accept the refuse counsel, or the unpaid barrister whom the Court in its benignity may see proper to designate? Whose son, with average talents, can pass a collegiate career, and enter one of the learned professions with the most encouraging prospects of success? Is it the boot-black's son, or he who has been reared inside a palatial residence, with broad, fertile acres around it? The former can only succeed after years of prolonged effort and assiduous application; and then simply by means of the most suppliant clinging to the classes that control business; for the most malicious envy confronts the needy debutant upon his entry into the higher careers of life, which the wealthy and aristocratic instinctively claim as their pe-

culiar domain and inheritance. Individual instances of success from humble beginnings can always be pointed out; but they are ever the exceptions. With equal capacity, attention and perseverance, the man of wealth ever eclipses his competing poorer brother. Yea, the man of wealth, with fair ability, can overtop for a long period his needy intellectual superior; and unless some accidental opportunity fully discloses the latter's greater capacity, he continues indefinitely to carry away the victory over his indigent competitor. The inequalities already pointed out, as every intelligent man can perceive, are the same as exist between rich men and poor men, in all the other civilized countries of the world. There is therefore no human equality in fact, before the law, or elsewhere, in creation. When a government, therefore, is based upon a delusive theory, the best that can be said for it is, that it must fail. For only out of truth can virtue flow.

Equality before the law, simply imports that the inequalities engraven upon the face of creation shall be entirely ignored in legislation; and that society shall constantly be consigned to chaos, in order that the aristocracy of nature, rather than any other kind, may be able to hold in slavery its subordinates. Like the umpire with closed eyes, within an amphitheatre, the law sits and deceptively says to the contestants, great and small, weak and powerful, "Ye are all equal;" but the result soon demonstrates that the strong and athletic ever carry away the victory. The law in seeming to accord to all classes what is called equality, oversteps its power; for its non-interference in the contests of life allows as great inequality to obtain as did under former systems. It stands the indifferent spectator, and permits all kinds of wickedness, crime and dishonor to become factors in the struggles for superiority. In doing so, slavery is by no means eradicated; but a baser class of masters rise to the places of authority, than could do so under the older forms of social existence. Since therefore slavery and inequality are as veritably fixed in the being of modern so-

called free society, as existed in former ages ; the inquiry most deserving of attention is this : has the world, at length, secured the most just form of subordination attainable ; or that in which justice, right and equity may be able to compete to the best advantage with their contrary evils ?

But God Himself never designed equality. His creation based upon due and requisite subordination is so planned, as to have baffled, and ever thwarted all of man's efforts to remedy what He has seen proper to leave, as He has done, for His own wise purposes. With full equality, as before remarked, no dominion were possible, nor could due subordination be secured. The creative architect has made the inequalities which we see in life ; and thereby He has evolved harmony, in accordance with the immutable principles of justice. He has created some for rulers, and others to be ruled ; or as the ancient philosopher expressed it, some are born masters and others slaves.*

As already intimated, it is an injury to the lower classes in our country, that they should become thoroughly imbued with the belief that they are upon an equality with their rich neighbors and acquaintances. What else is it that induces the large proportion of the poor to labor week after week, and year after year, and expend all their hard earnings in an attempt to keep up appearances ? How utterly ruinous does all such conduct prove in the end ? By attempting to imitate the rich, do they

* It has become an offense to apply the word slave, to those accustomed to regard themselves as freemen, as contradistinguished from chattels ; but language does not in anywise alter facts. The slaves of the Hebrews are not in the Bible designated as such ; and yet all scholars are aware that the condition of slavery existed as really amongst the institutions of the Hebrews as amongst those of the Greeks and Romans. The slaves of the Hebrews were designated as servants, a word by no means arousing anger in the breasts of those occupying a subordinate condition. We use the word slave in no intended offensive connection, but as signifying simply the condition of all men, until they have acquired such a pecuniary independence as to enable them and their families to subsist themselves upon their own means, without being at all obliged to court, or depend upon outside assistance or favors.

not simply weld more firmly the chains of slavery upon their own limbs, and entail it as a legacy to their descendants? But he who wisely realizes his condition of slavery, labors and economizes his dearly earned money; and by so doing, eventually emerges from the situation of his birth, and ultimately enjoys freedom indeed. And this ability to rise from the bondage of labor to freedom, is that alone which really characterizes what we designate as *modern slavery* from the systems that have antedated it. And no system of slavery can be entirely a just one, and in harmony with the decrees of creation, which does not contain within its regulations, some avenues of escape for those desirous of, and worthy of a higher calling.

As before shown, it is wholly a delusion that under republican liberty, poor men have better opportunities to break the manacles of their degraded condition, and rise with greater ease to wealth and honor, than can elsewhere be done. In America, in particular, is this deception everywhere current, because of the many instances of the rapid rise of individuals from stations of poverty to honored positions in the land. But the reason why a larger proportion of the lower classes rise to wealth and comfort in republican America, than in imperial Russia, or in monarchical England, is entirely overlooked. It is not the government, but the new and unsettled country, which affords superior advantages for the destitute to lay the foundations and build up their fortunes. Is it not evident, however, to every reflecting mind, that there is an aristocracy of condition in America, similar in its essentials to that which exists in other lands, and which ever has existed, and will continue to do so, except madness supplant reason, and cause that equality which communism is aiming to effect? Indeed aristocracy under republican and monarchical governments differs only in degree and quality, and in no wise in fundamentals. Both have similar roots and propensities; both are germinated in that universal repugnance for human equality which is common to all mankind, and which thereby evinces itself, as God-

implanted in the race. It exists in life, as by instinct, and seems designed to reward the worthy, the industrious and deserving, who most nearly approximate to that partial human perfection within the scope of individual effort. Aristocracy may consist of various kinds. Any phase of it, is that believed superiority acquired over others, which to the possessor affords grounds of satisfaction. It is natural to man, and the direct antipode of human equality. It is simply the result of self-congratulation upon the attainment of any supposed excellence within the reach of man. All objects attainable by human competition, when secured, furnish satisfaction to the successfully competing aspirants; and the attainment of the prizes lays the foundation for what we designate by the name of aristocracy. As to the development of aristocracy, Lord Brougham speaks as follows: "The diversities of human character and genius, the natural propensities of the human mind, the different actions performed by men, or which have been performed by men, or which have been performed by their ancestors, lay the foundations of a natural aristocracy far deeper and far more wide, than any legislative provisions have ever attempted to reach—because no such provisions can possibly obliterate the distinctions, thus created, by the essential nature of man."*

Just dominion and dutiful subordination are complete counterparts of each other, and together are designed to fill the aggregated whole of life, society and government. The one can only be just and the other dutiful, when made to harmonize with equal and exact justice, as the same flows forth from the source of eternal being. God, in accordance with His wise plan, has fitted all men for varied stations and careers, and for this purpose has created all of them dissimilar; no two of them scarcely being found identically similar in all particulars. We see this vast variety, so far as we are able to penetrate, upon the whole face of universal existence. Some men are created to fill the highest roll in life, and others to occupy the lower

* Brougham's *Political Philosophy*, vol. 2, pp. 23-24.

walks of humility; and to each are assigned the varied feelings, propensities and instincts which severally befit their respective grades and stations, upon the arena of earthly activity. A wise estimator of humanity is ready to assume that each individual, when filling the appropriate sphere allotted to him by his Creator, is most happy and contented; and that he only becomes thoroughly discontented when displaced from that normal groove in society for which nature had adapted him. He fitted for mastery, will undoubtedly chafe, when unjust dominion be exerted over him; and the man born to fill the laborer's roll, will find his greatest human comfort when kindly directed in the midst of his tasks, and relieved to every extent, that superior intelligence and ingenuity are capable of assisting him. When therefore withdrawn from his natural status of subordination in the world, and given the reins of mastery, destruction speedily follows. The question here might appropriately be asked, if there be not men in existence, to whom the assignment of the mastery over themselves does not usually inure to their own destruction, and that of their families? For can he be the best master of himself who fails to comprehend the full requirement and purport of dominion in itself?

But it is dangerous, in this age of believed development and progress, and of imaginary freedom, to intimate that any possible error could lurk beneath the republican or democratic liberty and equality of the nineteenth century. It is, however, well never to be so infatuated with prevailing opinions and impressions, as to be entirely unwilling to hear the discussion of contrary views; as in the world's life, it has often transpired that the ideas of a solitary thinker have revolutionized beliefs and conceptions that have endured for ages. The opinion has become very prevalent, in modern times, that the world has arrived at such a degree of elevation, that all men are fully freed from the chains of bondage; and that time is but required to elevate the lowest classes of society over and above the condition of the most enlightened in former ages. Republican liberty

and equality, and the famed free school-system of America, are believed to be the agencies that are to effect so great and magnificent a revolution. The calm and unenthusiastic observer of society and man is however inclined to doubt the ultimatum of such significant changes, and is tempted to propound the inquiry: if these expectations be, at all, within the range of human possibility. He indeed wonders, if the day is ever to arrive, when the large proportion of mankind will not be, from necessity, as they ever have been, toilers and laborers. At least, he does not conceive that it can be criminal to inquire upon what grounds such stupendous expectations of human elevation can be based; for as believed, they would seem, as if palpable, to the most ordinary observers.

If slavery has entirely disappeared within the range of western civilization, as is claimed, and if an era of republican equality has taken the place thereof, then indeed should we be able to see some of the excellent fruits of this glorious metamorphosis of condition. We would naturally expect to find the citizens to be composed simply of eminent statesmen, judges and distinguished generals, and of such other exalted and enlightened characters as would be worthy to rank with the purest of the sons of men. Of indigent laborers, we should expect to find none; for if modern republicanism has any peculiar equalizing virtues, as compared with other forms of government, elevation above the servile drudgery of labor surely should be one of these. Unfortunately, however, this seems to be one of those evils that are difficult to eliminate from life. But it must be done if modern republicanism ever be able to satisfy the expectations hoped from it; or labor must be made equally honorable and covetable with wealth and luxury. Will they ever become such? Not under the present system of ardent aspiration for the higher departments of life. Universal education, that grand lever that is to elevate mankind far above the most eminent individuals of the dark ages, has many obstacles yet to surmount before it accomplishes what is expected

of it. Can it make all of the coming generations equal in learning and profundity with the St. Augustines and St. Anselms of the medieval epoch? Where will the sustenance of mankind be derived during this period of educating, in so superior a manner, the masses of mankind, up to this high pitch of culture? Methinks a cry for bread will arise that will scatter pedants and pupils far asunder.

Enough has already been said to show the utter absurdity of the attempt to equalize mankind by means of universal education. It cannot be done by that or any other instrumentality. The Creator of the universe never intended this equality; and He has interposed obstacles upon all sides, so that no conceivable means shall ever be able to bring it about. But the unthinking world has been told that equality exists, nevertheless, because it is agreeable to their wishes; and vain and unceasing efforts are made in pursuit of an object that like the *ignis fatuus*, ever eludes the grasp of its pursuers. Universal suffrage has also been put upon the trail of the fond phantom of human aspiration; but this instead of evincing man's equality is the more surely demonstrating his inequality, and that corruption flows from the attempt to seize impossibilities. By means of universal suffrage, the God-ordained systems of dominion and subordination are thrust aside, and the mere conceptions of reason, unimbued with religious influences, substituted.

The question in this connection, naturally presents itself, can society be perpetuated, when a manifest delusion forms its basis, and when religious instrumentalities are entirely laid aside, as forming no necessary portion of governmental machinery? The masses in every country must look to the select few for guidance in ecclesiastical, as well as in worldly affairs; and in a government where no religion is recognized and fostered by the State, a constant decline in church membership will steadily take place. For when the leaders amongst men are seen to pay no devotions to religion, the people come speedily to imi-

tate them. This condition of affairs has already taken place in America; and it will increasingly continue. Morality, honesty and virtue, the cardinal principles of religious belief must also, of necessity, retire from actual life. In America, this has already in a large degree taken place; and now, conscientious men are busied in inquiries, as to what can be done to remedy the deplorable situation.

All, in brief, is the result of permitting sentiment to be molded in accordance with the feelings of the social mob, which has been allowed to become the all-dominant factor in American society and politics. Is this to be permitted indefinitely to continue, without any one daring to sound the trumpet of alarm through dread of that ostracism which each individually fears would drive him beyond the borders of political promotion? In some quarters the scholar has been invoked to enter the arena of politics, without however any definite reasons being assigned, as to why anything is in disorder. The moral reformer has also been named as the one whose services should be employed to help to save the ship of state from apparently impending destruction. All these cries for help indicate that the vessel is nearing certain shoals and quicksands, from which danger may ensue; but they all have so far, failed to call attention to the most pressing dangers, and how they could best be averted. The evils themselves that occasion the most alarm, exist in the fundamentals. A total revolution of existing conditions of society can alone effect the required remedy.

Does that society have a proper existence which the trading politicians carry in their pockets, and dispose of, as they have been doing for years, to the highest bidder? There surely must be something wrong in that section, state or nation, where the degraded and corrupt portion of the community have it in their power to determine who shall be the several nominees, and the elect of the people. When that class of individuals bear sway the worthy and upright members of the body politic must of necessity remain private citizens. And when men of culture

and of upright character have no weight in the selection of the nation's rulers, is not government reduced to a pure sham and mockery? For who in a state or nation have the greater interest in the wise and judicious administration of the public affairs? Is it the men, whose honest accumulations have been carefully husbanded for years, in order that they and their families may have wherewith to guard themselves against the encroachments of want; or they who never added one dollar of their earnings to another, with the view of preserving the same for after years? Government itself is the product of accumulations. For to those who never look to the future, in worldly affairs, all forms of rules become simply despotic deprivations of their imagined liberty. The wild and barbaric state is their natural condition; and progress and accumulation become simply to them oppressive. When, then, civilized society is the result of the industrious and economical incrementations of the sober, steady, persevering classes, into whose keeping should the selection of the rulers be entrusted? Surely not to those whose actual interest in society is felt by themselves to be so insignificant as to be freely bartered for a few six-pence, and often for a draught of rum.

Farewell to liberty, farewell to all stable rule and order, if the officers of government are still in the future as at the present, to be, mainly, the selection of that herd of citizens, who dispose of their votes as of their labor, to the highest bidder. Born slaves, they possess no discernment, as to the proper manner of emerging from their condition in the world; and if they are to continue to be the real rulers, they will keep society as degraded as themselves. For having been taught that they are equal with other men, is it not natural that they should seek to preserve that fancied equality; and this they can only do by electing as rulers those who accept their full creed, and live most in accordance with their own ideas of fraternity. The boisterous, rollicking brawler, has in conformity with modern political tactics become the most successful politician; and he

who by his swaggering familiarities can best ingratiate himself into the good feelings of our American *sans culottes*, is the man that the sagacious partisans must seek out to head their tickets, and defeat that sedate and retiring individual, whose training and culture would amply have fitted for any post of governmental service. The scholar, the cultured gentleman, and the reformer of every grade, sink in popular estimation below par, when it comes to be discussed, who shall be the nominees on the respective party tickets, for the different offices to be filled. An odor of aristocracy seems instinctively to flow from the garments of these classes, and to strike the olfactories of the astute partisans; and as a consequence, the gentry aspirants, as they are termed, are speedily dropped for others, less offensive to the people's leaders. For in the political amphitheatre no such dangerous weapon can be hurled at an adversary, as that styled the *aristocratic charge*. The political aspirant in America, once struck by this fatal javelin, is soon conveyed by his friends to that bourn whence none of his ancestry has ever returned.

Can the sequence of such a political system be aught else than a gradual sinking of the moral tone of society, as we have seen particularly to have been taking place for almost the whole of the last two decades? The fears of Europeans, as well as of Americans, have been aroused as to the perpetuity of republican institutions, in view of the occurrences that have been transpiring in America for the last fifteen or twenty years. George Grote, the historian, a British republican, is recorded by his biographer, as speaking to the following effect: "He once said in conversation with myself, in 1867, about the United States, '*I have outlived my faith in the efficacy of republican government, regarded as a check upon the vulgar passions in a nation; and I recognize the fact that supreme power lodged in their hands, may be exercised quite as mischievously, as by a despotic ruler, like the first Napoleon.*'"* That a great change

* Personal Life of Grote, p. 314.

has taken place in America, thinkers everywhere are beginning to see. Charles Ingersoll, an eminent Philadelphian, in a late production, says: "We know, and only a great public change can account for it, that in the revolution of 1776, a country of some three millions of people, produced illustrious men; and in that of 1860, the same country, ten times as populous, did not produce one. No merit appeared, that was not military. We know that Washington offered the Department of State to nine different persons, of various politics, all of whom declined the first place in the government. We know that now, the appetite for place is universal."* W. G. Dix, another American author, speaks of the depression of moral tone in the following manner: "The fact is humiliating, that the tone of American life is lower since the war, which was supposed to be about to usher in a new era of national honor and culture, than it was before. It may be indeed, that we are in a state of transition from higher to lower aims; but the transition is very bewildering, and lasts a very long time. The promised light refuses to come. The days grow darker every day, and the thoughtful patriot can dimly see little more than a broad and dismal waste, crowded with men ravenous for gain, while those who desire and seek better things, are trampled under foot like dogs." †

In order to remedy the existing evils of government, as they are displaying themselves upon all sides in America, a proper form of dominion must be established; and therewith, that due subordination which equity and duty require. And many have recently propounded to their own reason the inquiry, if this can ever be effected under the existing institutions, beneath whose colors we are now sailing. That a radical revolution of some form or other, must take place in our country, before the government can be made to perform its appropriate functions, is becoming more and more evident to every reflecting mind. And although little likelihood exists, that such changes can in

* Fears for Democracy, pp 121, 122.

† Dix's American State, p. 15.

any manner peacefully be brought about ; and although destiny therefore seems to be reserving us for a terrible ordeal in the career of fate, and which by no means can probably be averted ; nevertheless duty invokes her devotees to labor to counteract the threatening destruction, and to do so to the utmost of their ability. But all effort, in any wise, to prevent the coming disaster, appears indeed to the most sanguine as almost hopeless. For the American Union is freighted with all the hopes of humanity for republican government ; and the cargo is esteemed too valuable and important ever to be unladen, short of universal shipwreck, until the ruler of nations shall have clearly signified His will, as to the vessel's ultimate destination. That ruler has for years been writing significant signs upon the face of time, as if to admonish the American people that something is fundamentally wrong in their affairs ; but to turn back, as it is esteemed, the modern world is wholly adverse ; and no other method of escape from the impending destruction appears to have presented itself to the clearest discerner of the future.

Modern republicanism as manipulated, in itself, is a revolt against the ordained order of society ; and the American Union will be the arena, upon which, in all probability, its natural fruits will most fully mature. Because no fountain, nor refuge for honor exists in the country, almost all Americans, of necessity, bend their efforts to the accumulation of riches ; a struggle no more noble in itself, than could sordid gain, were it capable to do so, esteem its own base existence. Again, what bulwark has independent opinion, in America, to which it can triumphantly point, when it happens to run counter to that which is popular ? It simply has none. As a consequence, extremely few indeed ever hazard the utterance of sentiments which they perceive will only subject them to social and political ostracism. And indeed, the man who does so, is esteemed by his friends and acquaintances, as destitute of that prudence which should characterize the conduct of every individual. The politicians who aim to be leaders, will express no opinion, that might in

any event, render them unpopular. Newspaper editors usually observe the same reticence, as regards the avowal on their part of obnoxious opinions. How then in America is the truth to be disseminated, if it be unpalatable to the dominant masses? Truth in the European monarchies, as the philosopher Buckle informs us, is not so crushed, as in the boasted land of so-called free America. Until some power, therefore, be found in America that will be able to afford a defense for the most obnoxious truth that may be spoken, and form a retreat and full recognition for the loftiest impulses of humanity, she must remain as at present, the forlorn desert, parching and withering all the inspiring motives of man's noblest nature.

It is no wonder that our country can lay no claim to a specific American development. She will never be able to do so, under her present regime, unless her thirst for money-getting can be characterized as such. But she must soar higher in the realities of being, and aspire towards the attainment of nobler objects, than those of mere sensual gain, before she will be able to enroll herself as a self-developing nationality within the world's arena. Where are her schools of art, of history, of criticism, and of philosophy? America can count almost by the thousand, her compilers of school books, because money rewards so abundantly, those who successfully engage in this branch of literature. But can her criticism point to a Chevalier Bunsen, a Baur of Tubingen, or a Wm. Von Humboldt? Noble impulses inspired this class of authors to engage in their arduous researches. But how many shelves in our libraries are filled with American books, written from a higher motive than despicable greed? Genius soars aloft to Olympus, that she may sip nectar with the gods, and disdains to be held burrowing in the earth for gold. She has, however, inspired but few Americans to follow her in her aerial flights. Where can the land of Washington point to her Raphael or Michael Angelo? What sect of philosophy has been founded by her Bacon, her Leibnitz, her Kant, her Hegel, her Fichte, or her

Schelling? She has simply compelled the noblest conceptions of her nature to find scope in her industrial and mechanical activities; and there they must remain until the republican revolution has reached its goal, and ended its world-mission.

That country can never have a development that fully accepts the doctrine of human equality, and ignores that recognition of genius, which alone contributes to the world's highest life. All distinctions being forbidden in our country, there is nothing that can evoke heroic effort within the quiet walks of life. Hence all the heroism of our being is either chilled or reserved at best for expenditure upon fields of barbarous warfare. In civil life, all the incentives of man's nature should be called into activity. All these, however, are driven from America, and must remain in exile, until the day arrives, when for the institutions of the present, a God-ordained dominion and subordination are substituted; when the ecclesiastical will be as highly appreciated as the civil governor, and assigned to as exalted a seat; and when each individual will be allotted to that appropriate sphere of activity, for which nature has chosen him; then, and not till then, will America fully commence her real career of development. Until that period arrives, she is simply able to mass her efforts, and arrange her forces to be in readiness when her ennobled nature will permit that denouement, which the struggling energies of her crushed being are longing to essay.

ART. III.—H A D E S.

HADES, or the intermediate state is a subject involved in a great deal of mystery, and around which hangs considerable darkness, that cannot be fully penetrated. It is different from all other subjects, because it is not only dark to us, but it is itself the abode of darkness and death. For centuries has it been a bone of contention in the Christian Church. Though much has been written on the subject, its doctrine, still involved in much obscurity, is by no means settled, neither is our relation to that abode clearly defined in the Christian consciousness.

The Bible as well as our experience teaches us convincingly every day, that death is the common destiny of all mankind, but the time of dissolution is the special prerogative of God, which He has kept from the knowledge of man. It is not for us to know when, where, or under what circumstances that solemn and painful separation of body and soul may overtake us. In view of this undeniable fact, we should give heed to the solemn injunction of our Saviour to "watch and pray," in order to be able and ready to meet death, without fear and trembling. So powerful and irresistible is death, and so impartial in his operations and overwhelming in his influence, that he is justly called the king of terrors. His universal sway lays men of every rank and position in the dust. Every time we hear the solemn toll of the Church-bell, or stand at the open grave, we are reminded that another soul has left its earthly tabernacle, has bid adieu to this world with all its changing scenes, has winged its flight to that invisible world from whence it will never return. And since all men are subject unto death, and shall rise again at the last day, and stand before the great judge, to render an account of the deeds done in the body,

whether they be good or whether they be bad, and receive a just recompense of reward, is it not, therefore, highly proper to study the nature and constitution of man, and learn as far as possible what his eternal destiny is? We naturally inquire what becomes of the soul when it leaves the body? What is its destination? In what condition will it be during the long interval of time elapsing between death and the resurrection, when body and soul will be reunited?

The generally received opinion is that the soul as soon as it leaves the body enters at once into heaven or hell. But if this were so, its happiness or misery would at once be complete, and the resurrection, as well as the general judgment would have neither meaning nor force, and the word "dead" would have to be dropped from the Creed.

We know that there are some who, not only deny the Resurrection of the body, but even the immortality of the soul, and pretend, at least, to find relief in the gloomy and inglorious doctrine of the utter annihilation of the soul. This theory might be plausible if man was no more than a bird or a beast. But man is an intelligent and thinking being, beautifully and wonderfully made; he is more than the beast, or mere animal matter. Those qualities and powers which raise him above animals, he received by the inbreathing of the soul from his Creator, and thus from above and beyond the brute creation. In regard to the brute creation it is written, "Out of the ground the Lord God formed every beast of the field and every fowl of the air." But in reference to man it is written, "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness." Into man thus created, we are told, God breathed the "breath," not of life, but "of lives,"—the immortal spiritual life,—"and man became a living soul." Man is a compound being, because he is possessed of body and soul, having an animal and a spiritual life. He differs, therefore, from all other creatures, because he is in possession of two lives, while the brutes have but one. He differs thus from other creatures in his entire constitution in body, soul and spirit, being made in the image of God.

Adam "bears the name, (in Hebrew), of the race itself; and it is under this generic title particularly that he is presented to our notice in the sacred history of the Bible. His individual personality of course was limited wholly to himself. But a whole world of like separate personalities lay involved in his life, at the same time, as a generic principle or root. And all these, in a deep sense, form at last but one and the same life. Adam lives in his posterity, as truly as he has ever lived in his own person. They participate in his whole nature, soul and body, and are truly bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh." *

Being endowed with a material body and an imperishable soul, man alone of all creatures was destined for immortality. That he, though fallen from his integrity, shall exist for ever, and await the general resurrection and judgment, is clearly stated in the Bible. That he is subject unto misery and death is no less manifest from the same source, as well as from experience. For "by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned," in Adam and Eve. Death lodged in the very inmost constitution of man's nature as he separated himself from his Creator. Sin is the sting of death. It is not only painful but full of terrors. And it is only when it is ravished of this sting, that we can die in peace, triumphing over death, and him that hath the power of death.

Man's falling into sin and death is not to be regarded as a symbolical picture merely, but as literal history, without, however, entirely overlooking its symbolical meaning. But the meaning of the historical fact lies not in the outward fact merely, but in the interior sense. Sin in its primary conception is something spiritual. The act of the apostacy is in the mind or will. Yet this act had to externalize itself under a proper form of expression. This historical transaction must be regarded as having literally taken place. We are not to suppose that there was a special quality in the tree itself. But

* Dr. Nevin's *Mystical Presence*, p. 161.

the knowledge of good and evil was the experiment of sin, and brought with it a knowledge of good in the way of negation or want, and a knowledge of evil by experience. Man had some knowledge of good before his fall, but not so as to know what its opposite was. He had to come to a clear consciousness of sin. The tree of the knowledge of good and evil was the point where the consciousness of good and evil divided itself. This tree had an objective power, rather sacramental than natural, which shows that the whole narrative carries with it a symbolical sense, allowing that there was a literal tree.

On the other hand, the tree of Life had a sacramental character, not that it possessed any virtue as such, neither was it useless. It was the holy and visible sign of immortality. This gift was suspended on the proper use of it. All this goes to show that man was not in the proper possession of that happy or fixed immortality at first, *per se*, but was to become so by his relation to the world. But this relation might be defeated. It does not just come from creation, but was to be conferred upon him subsequently. By the fall he lost his title to immortality, though this immortality is now secured to him by the fact of its being made good to him in Christ. It required then as now, that man's probation must be successfully passed before he could participate in the divine nature, and be endowed with such a heaven-born gift. Man's probationary period having passed, he could have used the Tree of Life, and the use of it would have been a sacramental transaction, through which he would have reached immortality. Man being excluded from the use of the tree of life, was also excluded from immortality. The relation between the tree of life and immortality was just as real as that between the tree of the knowledge of good and evil in its consequences. The tree of life had no power to confer immortality on Adam the sinner, but it had power to confer it on Adam the saint.

Again, the transgression of the law of God on the side of Adam was not a single act of Adam alone, but was a universal

act, which overthrew the whole authority of God's law. And the immediate consequence of this transgression was, that it opened their eyes, and they saw that they were naked—that is, they had a consciousness of their fallen state.

This fall brought upon our first parents all the effects of God's threatened penalty, "In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." The fall brought them, and with them *the race*, under the power of death physically, spiritually and eternally. "Our death is not a simple dissolution, nor a separation of soul and body, as Christ's was, but our whole tabernacle is fully dissolved, and every part thereof crumbled into the dust and ashes, scattered, mingled, and confounded with the dust of the earth." Man now doomed by his sin, was driven from Paradise, and the tree of life was strictly guarded by Cherubims, so that he could not return and eat of it and live forever, in his fallen and sinful nature. This would seem to imply, (and there is nothing impossible in the supposition), that this fruit was endued with the virtue of fortifying their constitution against the decays of age; and its constant use would have kept their mortal bodies from dissolution. And that they did eat of the tree of life, would also seem to account for the longevity of the antediluvians.*

The effects of Adam's fall did not end in his own person, but extended to his posterity. Adam was the federal head of the race, and God ordained that he should transmit his nature to his offspring, whatever that nature might be. If he remained holy, he would transmit to them a holy nature, but, that, if he became sinful, he must, of necessity, transmit to them a sinful nature, and this decision was to be made before a single being was born. Adam fell, and "when he begat children, he transmitted to them, not the sinless nature which he possessed originally, but the sinful nature he received the moment he transgressed. Hence the fountain of human nature became poisoned at its source; the root of human nature became evil before a

* Bishop Whateley's Future State, p. 15.

single branch or bud had sprung out of it. Hence when Adam begat children, they were in his likeness. Hence all mankind are sinners from the womb.”*

The fact of the fall was no doubt comprehended in the plan of God from the beginning, and interwoven into the constitution of the world, though not resulting from a foreordination, but springing from the free election of man himself. And Redemption was to be reached through this result.

In order to have a proper idea of death, as a result of that fall, we must regard it as a state of darkness, obstruction and limitation, coming only to its complete sense in the intermediate state. This would have been an eternal state without the Gospel. The work of Christ was not only to free man from sin, but also to bring him out of the intermediate state. Without His descent into Hades, Christ's victory over death and hell would not have been complete. The Scriptures recognize four sorts of deaths. The separation from God, the fountain source of all life, is the very essence of each sort of deaths. But as soon as one link of the chain, which united God to man was broken, the ravages of death began their work of destruction, so that not only Adam but the whole human race must die. Having incurred the first kind of death, we become liable to the other three. The second sort of death, is the physical death which we must all experience. Here we have two deaths, both of which belong to this present world. “They are the natural inheritance of every child of fallen Adam. We enter the world in the one, our departure from the world is the result of the other. The other two deaths are experienced in the next world. The one comes to pass in *Hades*, and the other in *Gehenna*. The death in Hades begins at the decease of a wicked man, and terminates at the morning of the resurrection. The death in Gehenna commences immediately after the day of judgment, and is endless in duration. Such, then, are the deaths recognized by, and so frequently spoken of in the word of God.”†

* Sadler on the Second Adam, p. 10.

† Dr. Bartle on Hades, p. 148-9.

The inquiry into the abode of departed spirits has in a great measure been neglected by protestant divines, partly, perhaps, from fear of being accused of holding the doctrine of purgatory, or of being called a Romanist. We should, however, not lose sight of so important a fact or link in the great work of redemption, which is so clearly implied in the Bible statements, and made an article of faith, which is Sunday after Sunday repeated in many congregations. If we had nothing to do, or were not directly concerned with that state which lies between death and the resurrection, we should probably waste no time in the investigation of so unprofitable a subject. When we are about to emigrate to a new and distant country where we have never been, wisdom requires us to make all possible inquiry as to the nature of that country and our wants there; having learned this, we provide ourselves with all the necessary means to make our habitation there as comfortable as possible. Should we not then be much more circumspect in making the most ample provision when we are about to go to the spirit-land, from whence we shall *never*, never return? And since we are certain one day to enter this invisible and mysterious region of the dead, and probably remain there for centuries prior to the morning of the resurrection, it appears to me both reasonable and desirable that we should strive to know something about the condition of our spiritual existence between death and the resurrection.

That there is such an intermediate state of existence is earnestly denied and contended against by some, while it is with equal earnestness defended by others. That there is such a place for disembodied souls is certainly no fancy of philosophy, but a fact which is grounded on reason and truth itself. It is expressly taught in the Apostles' Creed, which, in regard to its soul and substance is the very embodiment of those divine truths which the Apostles taught and believed. It is true, the words, "He descended into hell," meaning Hades, were not embodied in the Creed until about the end of the fourth century,

but they had long before been accepted by the great body of the early Church as an article of faith. "It is most certain that *Christ descended into hell*; and as infallibly true as any other Article of the CREED."* The Church of England made it an Article of religion, and all who received holy orders were obliged to subscribe to it. They had it even set to metre, and sung in their devotional meetings. †

I. In this article it is not our intention to give a history of the development of the doctrine of Hades; this has been done at several different times; but to look more particularly into the fact itself, as the Church and the Bible present it for our faith. That Christ descended into Hades may not only be inferred from doubtful passages of the Bible, but from its general tenor, as well as from its positive statements. And if Christ descended into Hades, He went there for some special purpose. The Church fathers all agree that the soul of Christ descended into the habitation of the souls of the departed. But the *persons to whom* He descended, and the *object for which* He descended has always been a point of difference. Some very ingenious, other very ridiculous and unreasonable expositions have been given in regard to His descent, which we do not desire to notice here; even that He went there to relieve the damned. But if Hades is in the realm of darkness and death, Christ must have gone there to ravish death of its sting, and to free the saints from

* Pearson on the Creed, p. 347.

† "And so He died in the flesh,
But quickened in the Spirit:
His body then was buried,
As is our use and right.

His spirit did after this descend
Into the lower parts,
Of them that long in darkness were,
The true light of their hearts."

its power, and in order to do this, He as *their substitute* had to suffer the pains of hell for them.

But we remark again, that because of this substitute, who transfuses the fruits of His victory into His people, death in the believers' circumstances is not what it is in the unbelievers'. In the believers' case death does not reach the proper citadel of their life, and is followed by the resurrection, which is for the righteous the breaking forth of a higher life, of which they had been formerly the subjects.

On account of his rupture with God, man, it is true, must die, but his soul passes over into another state of existence, where it is detained, perhaps, thousands of years, until the resurrection day. He makes His abode, not in Heaven properly so called, but in Hades, will only issue thence when the archangel's trump shall announce the approaching Judge, when the sea, death and Hades shall deliver up the dead which are therein; when the present abode of departed spirits shall be cast into the lake of fire. (Rev. xx. 13, 14). This is the *second or spiritual death*. (Rev. xx. 14).

This region of departed spirits we call Hades. Hades means the intermediate state; the place or state in which the souls are confined between death and the resurrection, or final judgment. In a word, Hades means the place of departed spirits. Though we use the word place, we are not able to fix the locality, neither are we able to fix the locality of heaven. When the question is asked, where then, is Hades? all we can say is, that it exists somewhere in the universe. But what relation the spirits dwelling there hold to time and space we cannot tell; certainly not the same which our bodies now hold, for they are disembodied spirits.

In the Old Testament the word *Sheol* was used to describe this state and place. It was regarded as meaning a cavity, a hollow subterranean place. Lange in his Commentary says, the "closer definition of the descending evidently indicates the depths of the lower world, the subterranean world, which is

below the surface of the earth." This is no doubt the reason why all who die are said to go down or descend, and returning thence is called rising from the dead. (Gen. xxxvii. 33-35). Jacob said, in reference to his son Joseph, believing the report of his wicked sons, "I will go down into Hades* unto my son, mourning." In Gen. xv. 15, God said to Abraham, "Thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace, thou shalt be buried in good old age." He certainly did not mean that Abraham should be buried with his ancestors, because he was buried in Machpelah, and no one was at that time buried there but his wife Sarah. But he must have meant that Abraham at death should go into Hades, to the souls of his forefathers. The last words, "Thou shalt be buried in good old age," have reference to the interment of his body. In Gen. (xxv. 8), it is said, "Then Abraham gave up the ghost, and died in good old age, an old man, and full of years; and was gathered to his people." In Numbers (xvi. 33), we read about the earth opening her mouth, when Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, "and all that appertained to them went down *alive* into Hades, and the earth closed upon them, and they perished from among the congregation." And Paul says, "That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and on earth, and under the earth."

By the things in heaven are no doubt meant all the angels; by the things on earth are denoted men, and even devils; while those under the earth signify the separate souls of men in Hades. All these passages seem clearly to indicate that the locality of Hades is underneath the earth, if taken literally. But all such expressions must be regarded rather relatively than literally, being borrowed from the common expressions of life. We can after all that has now been said make no geographical boundaries or local limitation for heaven or the intermediate state.

The souls in that region still sustain a close relation to this

* This word is wrongfully translated grave, pit and hell in the Old and New Testaments.

world. To exclude them from it implies that their salvation is complete at death, not needing the resurrection. They must be subject to the laws of this world, though they have gone to the spirit-land, for death is not a transfer to another economy. Heaven and the intermediate state are not lying outside, but are embraced in our present economy; otherwise there could be no resurrection, for this is the full restoration of life under the form that carries out and completes our human system.

By fastening our minds too much upon an intermediate *place*, however, we would at last be compelled to admit a second state of probation, involving either purgatory or a condition of sleep, or the notion of darkness, limitation and obstruction under the Christian economy. This would leave Hades in almost the same condition as it was before Christ's descent. But we are authorized by the Bible to regard the intermediate state after Christ's descent and victory as a place of light and happiness for the righteous.

We also conceive of the departed dead as being around us. But wherever they may be, the intermediate state is in the realm of death, where all is ripening at the same time for the outburst of a higher life, in which this mortal shall put on immortality, and the righteous stand forth as the perfect men in that higher life, which was before lodged in them as members of Christ's mystical body.

But on the other hand we regard Hades also as a state in which the souls are confined and conditioned until the resurrection morning. There may be a preparation in the intermediate state for the resurrection; so far as it may be a probationary state. As this state is one of freedom from sin and positive happiness for the saints, it is called Paradise, by Christ Himself. (Luke xxiii. 43). Paradise means a garden of pleasure, or a region of supreme felicity, full of delicious fruits. We may then speak of believers in this state as being in heaven, yet we must not confound this with the idea of the resurrection heaven. The condition of Hades is one of loss and want, and

belongs to the power and realm of death. Death causes the separation of soul and body, and involves, consequently, the idea of want. The resurrection is represented as the deliverance from death and Hades, and consequently commences in the intermediate state. This state is not one of suffering for the saints, because by virtue of their union with Christ, who triumphed over death and Hades, they, the believers of the Old and New Testament, will triumph over it also. The Old Testament saints may be said to have triumphed over it prophetically. This prophecy has been beautifully illustrated and established by Christ's descent into Hades, and His triumph over its power; so that its character of limitation, darkness and obstruction has been overthrown, and in its place has come comparative light and happiness for His people. Hades must not be regarded merely as a condition, but also as a place or locality. Heaven is a definite locality as well as a state, so is the nether world.

"The doctrine of immortality in the Bible, is such as to include always the idea of the resurrection. The whole argument in the 15th chapter of 1st Corinthians, as well as the representation, 1 Thess. iv. 13-18, proceeds on the assumption that the life of the *body*, as well as that of the soul, is indispensable to the perfect state of our nature as human. The soul then, during the intermediate state, cannot possibly constitute, in the biblical view, a complete man; and the case requires besides, that we should conceive of its relation to the body as still in force, not absolutely destroyed but only suspended. The whole condition is interimistic, and by no possibility of conception capable of being thought of as complete and final."*

This doctrine, if properly apprehended, throws a great deal of light upon many otherwise dark and inexplicable passages of Scripture, which only become intelligible by a proper understanding of the abode of departed spirits. It is true, our rela-

* Dr. Nevin's *Mystical Presence*, p. 171, note.

tion and condition in that abode is not so fully stated as our inquiring minds might desire, yet enough is given to make it an article of faith. In the economy of salvation, as in nature, we must take many things by faith. But if God's plan of Redemption is to be regarded as organic, then there must be an organic relation between the living and the dead. The saints in the intermediate state must stand in some connection with the present world, and with the saints on earth. They cannot be complete without us, as Watts beautifully says:

"The saints above, and all the dead
But one communion make,
Joined to Christ, their living head,
And of His grace partake."

That Christ is the federal head and *substitute* for *man* is perfectly true; but to make the atonement consist simply and absolutely in His death upon the cross on Calvary, because He said, "*It is finished*," must ever indicate a most imperfect and superficial acquaintance with the deeper meaning of the Bible. Nor can the doctrine of substitution, in any proper sense of the word, be made to harmonize with such views. "After this, Jesus, knowing that all things were now accomplished, that the Scripture might be fulfilled, saith, I thirst." Now "all things" here spoken of can only be understood as referring to His earthly sufferings up to that particular time. For there were many other prophecies concerning Him which were not yet fulfilled, but all those up to His death on the cross were now fulfilled, even to the giving of vinegar.

As a general thing, very little positive information is given in the Bible in reference to the detention of departed spirits within the confines of any region, distinct from heaven or hell, during the interval elapsing between the time of death and the day of judgment. Nevertheless we have not a single passage in the Bible, from which it may be directly or indirectly

inferred, "that the soul of man, on its departure from the body, goes immediately into Heaven or Hell, *properly so-called.*"

Heaven proper, or the place of beatific vision, into which no mortal eye can penetrate, nor imperfect creature enter, where God and all higher spirits are peculiarly at home, where the redeemed of earth shall dwell in eternal felicity, is only reached after the resurrection when our whole personality in body, soul and spirit is fully restored in Christ Jesus.

There is but one passage into Hades, but when that gate is passed, the just enter into the upper, and the unjust into the lower compartments, the one into happiness, the other into misery.* Lazarus died, "and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom," and safely housed in blissful repose, or as some have designated it, into blessedness, but not glory. "*Abraham's bosom* is not heaven, though it will issue in heaven, so neither is Hades '*hell*,' though to issue in it, when death and Hades shall be cast into the lake of fire, which is the proper hell."† (Rev. xx. 14). And as Abraham's bosom has a foretaste of heaven, so has the other place a foretaste of hell. The saints here, without any pain, look forward with holy anticipation towards the resurrection and glorification of their bodies, and their eternal rest and glory in their closer union with God Himself.

Hades is, therefore, a region in which the good and the bad are not intermingled as in the present world, but they are separated by a "great gulph," over which they can never pass. (Luke xvii. 26). It would be highly unjust to jumble together the righteous and the wicked in the intermediate state, for such a mixture would unavoidably cause an interference, and mar the happiness of the saints. In our probationary state on earth the good and bad are unavoidably intermingled with one another. But in death this relation ends, and each one is sent to that apartment adapted to its life on earth. Even in this

*See Josephus on Hades.

† Trench on the Parables, p. 379.

world the righteous have no pleasure in the fellowship of the wicked, beyond what our probationary state requires, and would certainly desire to have less beyond the grave.

We have already a symbolical representation in the Old Testament of what this region will be. When darkness covered the land of Egypt, the children of Israel had light; when death was in every house, and weeping and wailing throughout Egypt, the children of Israel had joy, though, yet in bondage, the hope of deliverance was drawing nigh. The power which held them in bondage had already been broken.*

Besides, the mixture of such men as Cain and Abel, Judas and Paul, the holy martyrs and heathens and infidels would not only be unjust, but it would also produce the utmost confusion, and make their second stage worse than the first. Moreover, in the parable of the wheat and tares, the Lord commands His servants to let both stand until the harvest time,—the end of the world,—for fear of injuring the wheat. But at harvest time they shall gather the tares and bind them in bundles to burn them, but the wheat they shall gather into His barns.

Dives and Lazarus are another case in point clearly establishing this principle. Dives saw Lazarus in Abraham's bosom *afar off*, but the distance or gulph is so great that it is impossible to pass over. We are also taught in Revelation, that blessed are the dead, who die in the Lord, and that they shall rest from their labors, while their works do follow them. (Rev. xiv. 13). Here the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.

* "With them was identified, in a peculiar sense, the honor of God and the cause of heaven; and the power that oppressed and afflicted them, was trampling at every step on rights which God had conferred, and provoking the execution of a curse which He had solemnly denounced. If the cause and blessing of heaven were bound up in the Israelites, then Pharaoh, in acting towards them as an enemy and oppressor, must of necessity have espoused the interest and become liable to the doom of Satan."—Fairbairn's Typology, p. 38, Vol. II.

We conclude from these facts, as well as from the general tenor of Scripture, that the good and bad are separated in death; though in the same region, yet divided; the one in light and happiness, the other in darkness and miserable. "There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, when ye shall see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets, in the kingdom of God, and you yourselves thrust out." It is apparent that these spirits can see each other *afar off*, and are able to converse, and hear one another, in spite of the great gulph between them, which they cannot pass. The righteous dead can certainly find no pleasure in the society of the wicked; it is even so in this world, and will be more so in the next. In Proverbs (xv. 11) we are told, that "Hades and destruction are in the presence of Jehovah." From this we conclude that the souls of the saints in Hades are in the presence of Christ, enjoying that blessed state which they only anticipated while in the flesh.

The intermediate state is also a state of consciousness, and not one of sleep. Some contend that the only possible supposition is, that "the soul remains in a state of profound sleep—of utter unconsciousness—during the whole interval between its separation from the body by death, and its reunion at the resurrection."* That the soul should sleep is a most gloomy and comfortless doctrine for those who have friends in the spirit-world. It is horrible even to suppose that the soul will remain in an unconscious state for thousands of years until its resurrection morning and final reunion with the body. This is not in conformity to the doctrine of one of blessed memory in the Reformed Church, who had devoted seven of the best years of his life to the thorough investigation of this subject. Another says, "The soul of man, which, while he lived, gave life to the body, and was the fountain of all vital actions, in that separate existence after death, must not be conceived to sleep, or be bereft and stripped of all vital operations, but still to exercise

* Archbishop Whateley, D. D., *On the Future State*, p. 80.

the powers of understanding and of willing, and to be subject to the affections of joy and sorrow. Upon which is grounded the different estate and condition of the souls of men during the time of separation; some of them by the mercy of God being placed in peace and rest, in joy and happiness; others by the justice of the same God left to sorrow, pains, and misery.”* As there are different kinds of men in this life, the wicked and the just, so there are two societies of souls after death.

Man at his creation had breathed into himself not a life, but lives, a natural or animal life, and a spiritual life. Thus “every man is bound to pass through three stages before he reaches his final home, or destination; and in each stage he never loses his personal identity, because it is a continuation of the same life and same consciousness which never leave him, for, if they did, he could not be the very identical person. The first of these gradations is realized at man’s natural birth, or when he is born into this world; and, for distinction’s sake, I call this development his *temporal* birthday. The second mighty change is effected when the soul and body are severed from each other by the cold hand of death, the latter being committed to the ground, ‘in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life,’ and the former returning to God; and this state in human existence I designate man’s *intermediate* birthday, which extends from the time of death till that of the resurrection. The final, or third change, which man is compelled to undergo, comes to pass at the morning of the resurrection, or the universal Easter, when the bodies and souls of all men shall be reunited; and this change I denominate man’s *eternal* birthday.”† By the term death, then, as applied to a human being, we are to understand nothing more than a temporary disunion, or suspension of life between a mortal and an immortal nature, or the separation of a perishing body from an imperishable soul.

* Bishop Pearson on the Creed, p. 356.

† Dr. Bartle on Hades, pages 57-8.

The saints are said to go to sleep at death. This refers to their awakening or resurrection morning, and not to their condition in the intermediate state. So it is said of Stephen (Acts vii. 60), whom the enemies of Jesus were stoning, that he "fell asleep." This relates two facts, Stephen's death and the certainty of his resurrection. So Lazarus, and the damsel were said to sleep, indicating that they should rise again. If the soul sleeps, how comes it to pass that our Lord went to the spirits in prison, and yet did not sleep? If the dead were in a state of insensibility in Hades, the saints would be absolutely incapable of enjoyment. And the wicked would enjoy a long rest, and the condition of the one would be little better than that of the other. In Isaiah (lvii. 1, 2), the separate souls are said to walk in their uprightness, and in several places in the Book of Revelation they are represented as worshiping God, *singing* and *crying aloud*, and serving God day and night (Rev. vii. 15). How can these disembodied spirits do this if they are in a profound sleep and absolutely insensible? If the soul so sleeps during its separate condition how could Moses and Elias have come to the Mount of Transfiguration? (Matt. xvii. 1-3.)

Moreover, what meaning would there be in the Saviour's dying language on the cross to the penitent malefactor, saying, "To-day thou shalt be with me in Paradise?" He certainly did not mean that the malefactor should that day be with Christ in Paradise asleep and unconscious. Besides, God is not a God of the dead but of the living; if the souls were sleeping, we might say that they existed, but we could not with propriety assert that they *lived unto God*.

Again, if the soul sleeps it can take no interest in the welfare of those whom it leaves behind. But we know from the parable of the rich man and Lazarus that Dives prayed for himself and his five brethren whom he left behind.

These reasons seem to prove sufficiently that the intermediate state is not one of sleep or unconsciousness, but one of happiness or misery as the case may be.

We also maintain that the dead in the spirit would recognize each other. The account given by our Lord of the two representative characters of the human race, Dives and Lazarus, proves most clearly this assertion. Without this, the condition of the righteous would be infinitely worse than it is on earth. Besides, man is a social being, and not to recognize each other in the spiritual world would be tantamount to depriving the soul of happiness. If the past were blotted out we would stand on the eternal shore as a new creation, rather than as a being that had a previous life and history, and that had just entered upon another stage of being. There is no meaning in a crown when memory tells me of no victory won. That there is no recognition out of the body is therefore a most comfortless doctrine, and supposes a most gloomy condition of the soul.*

Moreover, we hold that the departed not only know each other, but that they also know what is going on on earth, and take an interest in the welfare of those whom they have left behind. For in this same parable we again hear Abraham say to Dives, "Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things," putting him in mind of what had transpired in his earthly existence. From this we infer that we carry a full recollection from the earth to the spirit world. And that the rich man did so remember is clear from the language of his prayer which he afterward offered for his father's house and his five brethren; every one of whom he knew was living a life of sin. It is natural to suppose that a soul liberated from a perishing body will be quicker, clearer and more active in its perception, and will not know less than it did while hampered with a perishable body. We may then infer that the wicked have a distinct recollection of all their family matters, at least up to the time of their death, but they may even have a full knowledge beyond, though in a state of gloomy anticipation of the future. They are represented as in full activity, for Isaiah

* See Dr. Harbaugh's work on Heavenly Recognition.

(xiv. 9) says, "Hell from beneath is moved for thee to meet *thee* at thy coming: it stirreth up the dead for thee."

In reference to the righteous dead, they undoubtedly know what takes place on earth, probably of themselves, if not, at least, through their close communion with God and the holy angels, who will not withhold earthly tidings, but illuminate them (Rev. xxii. 5), and especially so if these tidings will increase their joy. We feel justified in drawing this conclusion from the parables of the Lost Sheep and the Ten Pieces of Silver recorded in St. Luke xv. 3-10, and from the prayers offered by the saints, recorded in Rev. vi. 10. Moreover, they would also have the communication of those who come every moment from earth to the region of the blessed.

Besides, it would also seem that the blessed are not affected in their happiness in the spirit world, by the misfortune of the wicked, for we do not see that Lazarus is moved the least in the way of pity toward the rich man in his sufferings.

Again, if Dives prayed in Hades for his five brethren, will not the righteous in Hades also pray for their friends? If we believe it on the one side, we are forced to admit it on the other. If it is done by the wicked, though without effect, is it not more natural to believe that it is effectually done by the righteous? (Rev. vi. 10.) Though we have but little express information concerning the saints, and their capacities in the spirit world, this is no evidence that they know nothing of us. They are raised higher, and possess capacities superior to ours. "The intelligent naturalist looks down upon the lower orders of living beings, sees their movements, and understands their habits, though they know nothing of him. That the saints do thus look down upon us, seems to be evident from Heb. xii. 1; where the ancient saints are represented as surrounding us, and bending over us with intense interest, as the spectators did at the Olympian games over those who strove for masteries."* May not the prayers offered by the sainted dead in Hades

* Dr. Harbaugh's *Sainted Dead*, p. 233-9.

account for the conversion of wicked children or friends whom they have left behind? That the saints in heaven supplicate and intercede for those in whom they feel peculiarly interested on earth ought not to be doubted. This is involved in the very nature of the relation of saints to each other in the Church. The strong are to support the weak. Those who have surmounted the dangers and infirmities of the militant state, and are safe on the eternal eminence, must feel themselves constantly moved in interest for their brethren who are still in the valley of conflict below. . . . That the saints in heaven do affectionately remember those whom they have left behind, supplicate and intercede in their behalf, is not a matter to be inferred merely, it is plainly taught in the Scriptures."* And they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?" (Rev. vi. 10.)

II. We now pass on to consider the relation of Hades to the mediatorial work of Christ. The question here arises, was the work of reconciliation between God and man completed when the Saviour expired upon the cross? Before His descent into Hades Christ had to suffer the penalty of death for mankind. In order that there may be a positive life, there must be a negative death. Christ had to destroy death before He could introduce life into humanity. Are we to understand that expression, "To-day thou shalt be with me in Paradise," to mean that the thief should be with Him that day in heaven? If so, then we will have two ascensions: one while the Lord's body lay in the grave, the other after His resurrection, when He was visibly taken away from His disciples to heaven. To say that Christ meant that Lazarus should that day be with Him in heaven, is to contradict Him when He afterwards said, "Touch me not; for I am not yet ascended to my Father." (John xx. 17.) Such a view is contrary to Scripture. Paradise must, therefore, be a place, separate from heaven and hell, where the

* Dr. Harbaugh's *Heavenly Home*, p. 304-5.

disembodied spirits are imprisoned. Here the believers are still under the power of death, and redemption is not complete until they are delivered from its grasp which is only fully done at the resurrection. Though the believers are thus held under the power of death, yet death has been ravished of its sting.

After Christ's sufferings and death upon the cross, we are told that He was buried, and St. Peter tells us that He was "quickened by the Spirit; by which" (Spirit) "also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison." (1 Pet. iii. 18, 19). Those spirits were not in the tomb of Christ. He went to them and into their prison wherever that prison may have been.

"There are no fewer than *five* interpretations of this passage, every one of which has many able advocates. The *first* considers the "spirits in prison" as meaning the happy souls of "Paradise" into which our Lord and the penitent malefactor are supposed to have gone after expiring on the cross. The *second*, as denoting the lost souls in hell to whom Christ preached after His crucifixion. The *third* regards the "spirits in prison" as referring to the Gentiles who were in bondage to Pagan vices, and to whom our Lord preached, not in prison, but by His apostles. The *fourth*, as referring to the antediluvians to whom Christ preached by Noah, while they were in this world, but whose spirits are *now* chained in prison. The *fifth* interpretation is the one maintained by the Romish Church in support of purgatory."* These views, it seems to me, are rather unnatural, and can not satisfy the longing of an earnest and inquiring mind after truth, neither are they an honest explanation of such passages as refer to this subject. We do not propose to consider here the correctness of these views, but pass on and give what we believe the Bible intends to teach on this subject.

Among the different proofs of Christ's descent into Hades, we will only refer to a few. In Eph. iv. 9, we read, "Now that He ascended, what is it but that He first descended into the

* Dr. Bartle, p. 73.

lower parts of the earth." It is generally understood that He ascended into the highest heavens, and occupies the most exalted position in heaven. Are we not also forced to hold that He descended not only to the earth and grave, but also into the lower parts of Hades? Any other explanation of this passage is unnatural and forced. This no doubt teaches that the soul of Christ descended into Hades, while His body was carried into the grave.

Again we read, "For David speaketh concerning him, I foresaw the Lord always before my face; for he is on my right hand, that I should not be moved. Therefore did my heart rejoice, and my tongue was glad; moreover, also, my flesh shall rest in hope. Because thou wilt not leave my soul in hell (Hades), neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption." (Acts ii. 25-27.) "If the soul of *Christ* were not left in hell at His resurrection, then His soul was in hell before His resurrection; but it was not there before His death; therefore, upon or after His death, and before His resurrection, the soul of *Christ* descended into hell; and consequently the CREED doth truly deliver, that *Christ* being *crucified*, was *dead*, *buried*, and *descended into hell*."*

That Christ both descended into Hades and preached unto the spirits in prison is in the main based on 1 Peter iii. 18, 19, and on chap. iv. 6, to which no other rational explanation can be given. Especially the words, "For this cause was the gospel preached also to them that are dead, that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit." Hermas, one of the Church fathers, taught that not only the soul of Christ, but also His successors on earth, the apostles, preached to the spirits below; that as they followed His steps here, so did they also after their death descend and preach in Hades. If Christ preached to the antediluvians, who were once unbelievers, will not that preaching necessarily have to be continued by others? If not, how can

* Pearson on the Creed, p. 347

we reconcile God's justice and mercy by preaching only to some and not to others? If our interpretation of St. Peter's language is correct, that Christ preached to the dead, He must have "proclaimed to those spirits in the prisons of Hades the beginning of a new epoch, and repentance and faith as the means of entering into the same." We know that the chief burden of the Saviour's preaching on earth was, "The time is fulfilled and the kingdom of God has come nigh, repent and believe the gospel." (Matt. iv. 17; ix. 35.) While His body was held by the bands of death, Christ's spirit carried on the Messianic work. He continued not only to exist in the intermediate state, but to live, and to live employed in the Spirit in which He continued. Who shall place a limit to His power or will while there? Dean Alford concluding his comment on this passage (1 Peter iii. 19) says: "From all then which has been said. . . . I understand these words to say, that our Lord, in His disembodied state, did go to the place of detention of departed spirits, and did there announce His work of redemption, preach salvation in fact, to the disembodied spirits of those who refused to obey the voice of God when the judgment of the flood was hanging over them. . . . It is not purgatory; it is not universal restitution; but it is one which throws blessed light on one of the darkest enigmas of divine justice: the cases where the final doom seems infinitely out of proportion to the lapse which has incurred it." And who will limit the efficacy of this preaching, who shall say that the blessed act was confined to the disobedient in the days of Noah?*

If this view is correct are we not compelled to maintain a *second* probationary state; and to acknowledge that grace extends over into the intermediate state for some at least? Though we speak thus, we do not believe in the doctrine of purgatorial cleansing, neither do we believe in universal restitution.

* Dean Alford's Greek Testament, vol. 4, p. 368.

The primitive Church did not consider it superstitious credulity that the prayers of the righteous, especially when assembled as a Church and sanctified by the celebration of the most sublime mysteries of our faith, might benefit the souls of those who awaited in their separate state the full fruition of their bliss. They pretended to unravel no mystery, nor venture to describe what was the specific advantage which the faithful dead received from this act, yet "the oblations of the faithful in the holy eucharist were made not only for themselves individually, but for the whole Church; and, of consequence, for the dead in Christ; who were held to be a portion of the Church, as certainly as those who were still living in the flesh. They thus kept up in their hearts the memory and affections of the dead, with a pious hope of a reunion with them at the resurrection. And in order to arouse greater interest in this part of the service of the Church they enrolled the names of those for whom offerings and prayers were to be made, and recited them aloud, out of the rolls of the Church. They even refused to pray for such as had been excommunicated, and the sixth general council ordered that the name of Pope Honorius and several bishops be erased from the diptychs.*

It does not follow that Christ descended to Hades to deliver any damned souls, or to translate them from the torments of hell into the joys of heaven. For according to the Bible doctrine it must be written over the threshold of all unbelievers who refused to accept Christ when they had the full opportunity of salvation placed within their reach,

"Laciate ogni speranza, voi ch'entrate!"

Leave hope behind, ye who enter here. "The fearful, and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death." (Rev. xxi. 8.) For such there is no

* G. A. Poole's *Life and Times of Cyprian*, pp. 53, 54, 55, 56.

forgiveness "neither in this world, neither in the world to come." (Matt. xxi. 31-2.)

But if there is no grace in the intermediate state for some, we do not see how any hope can be entertained with reference to unbaptized infants, idiots and heathens, unregenerated as they are, who never had the gospel preached to them, and stood in no living union with Christ before their death. To condemn them in a wholesale way would seem to be not only unreasonable, but also unmerciful and unjust, extremely difficult to reconcile with the justice of God, in saving some and letting others go to destruction, without any fault of theirs.

Besides, would not the Christian Church be doomed to an awful punishment for suffering the heathen world to go to perdition, while she boasts of her high prerogative, and Dives-like fares sumptuously every day, the Gentile world, like Lazarus lying at her door full of the putrifying sores of sin, yearning for deliverance, unrecognized and uncared for. After seriously considering this point, let every one who sits at ease in his rich and comfortable position, after showing so little sympathy and self-denial in the cause of Christ and the propagation of His kingdom, beware to exclude heathens and children from the kingdom of heaven, lest he will at the same time, for lack of zeal and effort in behalf of their salvation, exclude himself.

Not only did Christ descend into Hades to preach to the spirits in prison, but according to the Bible the general plan of redemption required and included that His sojourn among those spirits should be a continuation of His sufferings for human transgressions. We say then that the Saviour after expiring upon Calvary entered upon another state of existence, to Him one of suffering. The devil had gained an apparent victory over Christ when He died upon the cross, but the conflict did not end here; the battle was to be renewed in Hades. Christ "passed through a double ordeal, one of which He experienced in this world, and one in the next world. He suffered two deaths, one being His physical death on Calvary, and the other

the spiritual death He endured in Hades. The sufferings of Hades may be considered as the *first death* in the next world, that is, the death that first takes place after the physical death.”*

Of these hellish agonies Christ was fully conscious on the cross. For we must not suppose that Christ was alarmed at the prospect of crucifixion, for in that case He would have shown less courage than either of the two thieves that died with Him. They met their lamentable fate with heroic courage. But in the Saviour there was a degree of shrinking and horror absolutely unaccountable, unless we can show that He had to pass through greater suffering after His death on Calvary. Does not this spiritual conflict which awaited Christ in Hades, account for the fear and trembling of His soul in the garden of Gethsemane, when He sweated great drops of blood, and exclaimed, “My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death?” Here He prayed three successive times on His knees, saying, “O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me!” This great agony of soul could not merely have been on account of His sufferings upon the cross, but more particularly on account of His terrible sufferings in Hades, where spiritual death held its sway over the disembodied and departed spirits.

What this mighty conflict was which He here suffered we are not told, neither is it for us to know at present. But the weight of God’s wrath rested upon Him which is represented as overwhelmingly severe, and is beyond our comprehension. That He in this conflict was wrestling with the infernal powers, and horrors of eternal death, and was victorious and freed the “spirits in prison,” is abundantly proven by His own departure from thence, of which His glorious resurrection is the triumphant evidence.†

* Dr. Bartle on Hades, pp. 130-1.

† As during Christ’s entire human history there is an uninterrupted, continually ascending climax of revelations of His glory; so there is parallel and interwoven with that a climax (anti-climax) of woe—the nadir of sorrows—which also is only reached after this life and before His resurrection. His last conflict and deepest tribulation He endures in the intermediate state.

That He in Spirit should go among the disembodied spirits was necessary for Him as Redeemer; and that He should destroy the effects of spiritual death upon the soul was equally necessary; otherwise our souls would have been detained in Hades, in a state of everlasting darkness and misery, leaving our redemption incomplete. "Christ dealt with the living in body, with the spirits in the Spirit." Even to the spirits in prison did He as our surety go, so great was His condescension and so far-reaching the consequences of His voluntary, vicarious sufferings. His triumphant resurrection is the assurance of our complete redemption and resurrection unto eternal life.

That our view is correct, and that it was the gloomy forebodings of the anguish He had to suffer in Hades which distressed His righteous soul, can be clearly seen by examining different passages of Scripture. Does He not refer to this when He says, "I have a baptism to be baptized with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished?" He manifests the greatest calmness and resignation while hanging upon the cross, praying for His enemies, committing His mother to the affectionate disciple, and promising the penitent thief that he should that day be with Him in Paradise. And yet, after all this exhibition of calmness and composure, He manifests the utmost distress, and cries out in the bitterness of His soul, "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?" These words of agony can have no meaning, nor can any rational explanation be given, as they were uttered about the ninth hour, but a moment before His sufferings were over, and He passed from life into death, unless we admit, that after His death, while His body lay in the grave, He entered not only into Paradise, but into the lowest abode of spiritual beings, and suffered that awful penalty of the damned who are forsaken of God.*

* Dr. Ursinus in his commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism, declares Christ's descent into hell, thus: "It signifies those extreme torments, pains

The Bible frequently and clearly indicates the sufferings of Christ in Hades. In the 116th Psalm we have the remarkable words, "The sorrows of death compassed me, and the *pains of Hades* gat hold upon me; I found trouble and sorrow. Then called I upon the name of the Lord, O Lord, I beseech Thee, deliver my soul." This can not refer to David, but must refer not to Christ's sufferings on earth, but to His agony in the intermediate state. So in Isaiah, if properly translated, we read that our Lord "made His grave with the wicked, and with a rich man in His death." By this "we are to understand that the soul of our Redeemer was *entombed* among the wicked spirits in Hades, which served as a grave or sepulchre for the temporary confinement of His spirit during its disembodied state." By His grave being made with the rich man in his death, is meant that our Lord's dead BODY was to be interred in the ground of a *rich man*.

Of the Prophet Jonah (ii. 1-4) it is said, whose typical character is beyond question or doubt, "Then Jonah prayed unto the Lord his God out of the fish's belly, and said, I cried by reason of mine affliction unto the Lord, and He heard me; out of the belly of Hades cried I, and Thou heardest my voice. For Thou hadst cast me into the deep, in the midst of the seas; and the floods compassed me about; all Thy billows and Thy waves passed over me. Then I said I am cast out of Thy sight: yet I will look again toward Thy holy temple." The whale's belly here can mean nothing but the intermediate state, and as Jonah cried in the belly of Hades or the fish, so Christ cried in Hades.

and anguish which Christ suffered in His soul, such as the damned experience, partly in this, and partly in the life to come." Again, he says, "Christ was to redeem not only our bodies, but also our souls." P. 231. But the author seems to be inconsistent with himself, in admitting Christ's sufferings in the soul, but denies that He suffered those pains in Hades, but on the cross. We can not see how a substitute can, by suffering physical death, be said to suffer the pains of hell, without going there in spirit, as St. Peter says, he did, and suffering those pains in His soul while out of the body.

The three days' darkness in Egypt which preceded the deliverance of the children of Israel from bondage, afforded the Israelites an opportunity to make the necessary preparation for their final departure, but seem also to have shadowed forth the time during which our Saviour would be in Hades. The three hours' darkness at the crucifixion would seem to have been designated to impress upon our minds the same great fact, as well as to indicate the sad and darkened condition of the world without a Saviour.

The apostles clearly intend to teach that the crucifixion of Christ was not the end of those sufferings, which only found their culmination in Hades. This seems to correspond with what we are told in Acts, where it is written: "Ye men of Israel, hear these words: Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you, by miracles, and wonders, and signs which God did by Him in the midst of you, as ye yourselves also know: Him being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken by wicked hands, have crucified and slain: whom God has raised up, having loosened the pains of death: because it was not possible that He should be holden of it." (Acts ii. 22-24.) The pains of dying are suffered while in the body, but the pains of death are suffered out of the body. To loose the pains of death, means to put an end to them. And loosing those pains "implies that Christ was previously suffering them. Hence physical death in this world and spiritual death in the next were the things done to Christ, or the punishment He was compelled to undergo."

In the Psalms we have the expression, "The sorrows of death encompassed me, and the pains of Hades gat hold upon me." God not only delivered Him from the pains of Hades, but He also raised Him from the region of the departed dead. What could this punishment and suffering in the prison of Hades—the place where Christ was for a time—be, but His deprivation of the smiles of His heavenly Father, and being forsaken of God? If Christ had to suffer as substitute for

sinner on earth, how could He loosen their spirits from the pains of death, without suffering those pains of death Himself, as their surety in Hades? The spirit of the Lord, therefore, was not idle while His body lay in the grave, but “departed, as Peter says, and preached to the spirits in prison. Into the abode of unhappy spirits, unto hell, he descended to redeem those out of it, by His word and His Spirit, who would suffer themselves to be redeemed, and would not withstand His grace.”*

And Christ not only descended into Hades, but He went into the lowest portion of it, and sojourned and suffered there between His death and the resurrection the inexpressible anguish of His soul. In the Psalms we are told, “For great is Thy mercy toward me, and Thou hast delivered my soul from the lowest Hades.” This part to which Christ descended and suffered is the dreadful place of the lost dead; so awful in its misery that the very devils are terrified at the thought of going there, or they would not have prayed the Lord to permit them to pass into the herd of swine. (Luke viii. 31.) If the Son of God trembled, and if the devils were terrified at the thought of going to hell, how will the little sinner feel when he is so unfortunate as to get there? No wonder that some clench their fists and gnash their teeth in agony and despair before they enter there.

The full extent of the Saviour’s sufferings are of course incomprehensible to the human mind. So in reference to the lost, we cannot tell in what their sufferings consist, but we know that they are in a condition of eternal separation, or exclusion from God and happiness. They are in torments. But how great this suffering, and how long it shall continue, or whether they will continue for ages in a most horrible state of suffering and in the end be destroyed by total annihilation, from whence they should never be suffered to return to life again, is a ques-

* Sartorius’ Person and Work of Christ, p. 73.

tion which eternity alone must answer.* Could a more frightful punishment be supposed than the annihilation of an immortal substance?

The atonement which was afterwards to be effected by the death of the Son of God, was beautifully adumbrated by the sacrifice of goats. Goats were no doubt chosen because they represented wicked men. Here they represented Christ in His sacrificial character, as the substitute for sinners, who was dealt with as a sinner as long as He was under the power of death, and thus represented by the goats, but further they could not typify Him. The goat which was slain, represented the death of Christ on the cross, but the goat on which the lot fell to be the scape-goat was presented alive before the Lord, and Aaron was to lay his hands upon his head, and confess over him all the iniquities, transgressions and sins of the children of Israel, to make *atonement* with him, and let him go into the wilderness. (Lev. xvi. 7-10 and 12). Here we see that two goats were necessary; the one to represent Christ's sufferings and death upon the cross, the other to "represent His sufferings in the abode of Hades. We see that the physical death of the Saviour was only the means or channel for reaching that state in which the great work of the atonement was to be effected," for the expiation of man's guilt. If Christ's sufferings had been finished when He died, the one goat would have been amply sufficient to portray that fact. But two were needed to represent the two sides of His sufferings, the one on earth, the other in the world of spirits. "The putting of all the iniquities of the Israelites upon the head of the live goat by the hands of Aaron, whereby the animal became their substitute, was designed to prefigure the imputation of the sins of the whole world to Christ, and to indicate His substitution for guilty man. After all the sins of the Israelites had been laid upon the scape-goat, it was led away into the wilderness, to a land not inhabited, and this forcibly represents the Messiah laden

* Dr. Witsius, on the Economy of the Covenants, Vol. 1, p. 79.

with the sins of all men going into the miserable regions of Hades, and there suffering the punishment due to guilty man.* Though Christ was absolutely innocent in reality and in the sight of God, yet, being a substitute for sinners, He was necessarily regarded as guilty in the eyes of the law."† He had to suffer the whole penalty for sin. Christ, therefore, "made by His own oblation of Himself once offered, a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world."

"If Christ had merely died a corporeal death, no end would have been accomplished by it; it was requisite, also, that He should feel the severity of the Divine vengeance, in order to appease the wrath of God, and satisfy His justice. Hence it was necessary for Him to contend with the powers of hell and the horror of eternal death. We are also assured that "not only the body of Christ was given as a price of our redemption, but that there was another greater and more excellent ransom, since He suffered in His soul the dreadful torments of a person condemned and irretrievably lost."‡

In this sense Peter says, that *God raised Him up from the dead, having loosed the pains of death; for it was not possible that He should be holden of the pains of death.* (Acts ii. 24).

We must, however, remember that Christ has not changed Hades into Heaven, so that which was formerly Hades, has become by His descent and victory over it, Heaven. Hades is still the place of departed spirits, and has not become the resurrection state, but He has changed it into something like Heaven.

* From some texts of Scripture it would appear that a desert was regarded as the abode of evil spirits, and this would still more strongly represent that part of Hades in which the lost dead are confined. (See Isaiah xiii. 21; Matt. xii. 43; Rev. xviii. 2). And in the Prophet Isaiah (liii. 8) we read: "He was cut off out of the land of the living."

† Dr. Bartle, p. 159, 160.

‡ Calvin's Institutes, Vol. I., p. 464-5.

In reference to the length of time in which Christ suffered in Hades, we believe that it corresponds to the time Adam remained in Paradise. We know that God created on the sixth day, first the cattle, then man, after which Adam named the creatures as they all passed before him, and all had their companions, but Adam had none. Then God laid him in a deep sleep, and made woman from his side. This in connection with the whole history of Creation, seems to indicate that Adam did not sin on the day of his creation. The next day was the Sabbath, on which we can hardly suppose that he was driven out of Paradise, even if he sinned; neither can we believe that Satan would leave him long unmolested in his happiness. Christ seems to have suffered in Hades not only the same length of time, but on the very same days in which Adam was in Paradise. In Gen. iii. 8, we are told, "They heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day:" when Adam and his wife had hidden among the trees of the garden. By this cool of the day is no doubt meant the evening of the day. Probably the Sabbath evening. But before God drove them out of the garden He announced their punishment, and also the hope of reconciliation that they might not despair. So that they were by all probability not driven out of Paradise before Sunday morning, the third day of their creation.

By the doctrine of substitution we do not mean, nor is it necessarily implied that Christ should suffer in His own person every degree of punishment which man was compelled to undergo. He truly suffered the full penalty of the law for man's sin, both on earth physically, and also the pains of hell spiritually, but they were not the same in *kind*; the state of mind was wanting, such as remorse of conscience and the state of despair, as well as the hatred of the damned, and besides His sufferings were not eternal. Adam by a single act of disobedience brought himself and all mankind under the power of physical death in this world, and spiritual death in the next; if nothing had been done, all would have eternally perished. What

Adam did in his own person was virtually done for the race, and what Christ did was not for Himself, but for all mankind. Christ's death was our death, and His resurrection was our resurrection.

Christ is our substitute, but if He suffered only a physical death by crucifixion He is not that substitute, since He has not abolished our physical death. To say that Christ did not die to save us from our *physical*, but only from our spiritual death, then He only saved our soul and not our body, which is equally contrary to the doctrine of the Bible, which assures us also of the resurrection of the body. If He did not suffer in spirit, and men are saved from eternal death, He is not our substitute. We must either give up the idea that the work of atonement was finished by Christ's sufferings on the cross, or abandon the doctrine of substitution altogether, which would leave us in our sins. But we know that "through death *He* destroyed him that had the power of death, that is the devil." (Heb. ii. 14). "We are of opinion," says Dr. Bartle, "that expiation for sin was not made on the cross, neither was it effected in this world, but in that prison reserved for the lost in the next world."

All men, as we stated above, must pass through three stages of existence. The first extends from man's birth to his death, during which time the soul is more or less clogged with disease and mortality. The second state of being commences when the soul is freed from the body, and may be said to be quickened because it is free from matter. The third state of existence is that into which man enters after the soul with the body is reunited, after the latter has put on immortality. Christ alone entered upon this last state of existence, having risen from the dead, never to die any more.

This general statement of facts would seem to be sufficient to establish the point of Christ's sufferings in Hades, and convince us that there our reconciliation with the Father was completed.

It is, however, wrong to suppose that, because Christ our substitute has offered the full penalty for sin, that mankind,

therefore, is now in this general way restored to life and happiness. Both the active and passive obedience of Christ must in some real and living way be imputed to His people. The first Adam, the fountain head from which the whole human race was to flow, transmitted by natural generation, physical and spiritual corruption to his posterity, so the second Adam must not only atone for guilt, but must impute and infuse His Holy nature into His brethren. "The first Adam was a living soul, the last Adam was made a quickening" (*i. e.* life-imparting) "spirit." (1 Cor. xv. 45).

We must not regard the objective grace of Christ as a mere outward mechanical imputation; it must become a subjective appropriation in each individual case. But wherever "the will of the individual opposes itself by unbelief and impenitence against God's blessing, His streams of mercy lose their saving effect." * "The earth, which drinketh in the rain, that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them by whom it is dressed, receiveth blessing from God. But that which beareth thorns and briars is rejected, and is nigh unto cursing; whose end is to be burned." (Heb. vi. 7-8).

This appropriation of the divine life is the work of the Holy Ghost, and begets regeneration, by which we are born into Christ, and made partakers of all His benefits, and thus become members of His mystical body. For His life is by the Holy Ghost infused into the Church, and through the means of grace made to flow over into His people, who exercise a living faith in the Son of God. We become incorporated with Christ Himself, by eating His flesh and drinking His blood, and because He liveth we shall live also. In His people thus united to their living Head is carried forward His divine life, and thus they are assured of being made partakers of all His benefits. Upon this glorious truth depends the resurrection of all men. Hence St. Paul says, "For since by man came death, by man same also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all

* Wilberforce on Holy Baptism, p. 38.

die, so in Christ shall all be made alive. (1 Cor. xv. 21). "How? By virtue of a new divine element, introduced into our nature by the incarnation, which has already triumphed over mortality in the person of the second Adam Himself, and by which He is now the principle of the resurrection, for the body as well as for the soul, to all that believe on Him to salvation. There is a natural body, and there is a SPIRITUAL body. The first springs from Adam, the second from Christ. As we have borne the image of the one, in our fallen mortal state, so must we also as Christians bear the image of the other. This will be fully reached in the resurrection."* We must ever bear in mind that the second Adam is the channel through which God bestows heavenly blessings,—“The stream of grace must run to us, through the golden pipe of our Saviour’s Humanity.”†

The Christian salvation, then, as thus comprehended in Christ, is not doctrine for the mind to embrace, but a new *Life*, in the deepest sense of the word. When Christ died and rose, humanity died and rose at the same time in His person; as truly, and really, as it had fallen before in the person of Adam. The relation of Christ, the eternal *Logos*, to the race is as truly organic in all its bearings, as that of the first Adam, only in an opposite way. We must not forget, this is the grand underlying principle of the fall, as well as of redemption. We must constantly bear in mind that Adam had not only sundered himself, but the race which was comprehended in himself from all life in God by sin, and utterly disabled humanity to rise again to a higher position by itself. The second Adam, by the hypostatical union of the two natures in His own person, has elevated again not only Himself as He rose from the dead and ascended into heaven, but the race. “That the race might be saved, it was necessary that a work should be wrought not beyond it, but in it; and this inward salvation to be effective must

* Dr. Nevin’s *Mystical Presence*, p. 226.

† Usher’s *Works*, Vol. IV., p. 617.

lay hold of the race itself in its organic, universal character, before it could extend to individuals, since in no other form was it possible for it to cover fully the breadth and depth of the ruin that lay in its way. Such an inward salvation of the race required that it should be joined in a living way with the divine nature itself, as represented by the everlasting Word, or *Logos*, the fountain of all created light and life. The Word accordingly became flesh, that is assumed humanity into union with itself. It was not an act, whose force was intended to stop in the person of one man himself, to be transplanted soon-afterwards to heaven. Nor was it intended merely to serve as the necessary basis of the great work of atonement, the power of which might be applied to the world subsequently in the way of outward imputation. It had its use indeed, but not as its first and most comprehensive necessity. The object of the incarnation was to couple the human nature in real union with the *Logos*, as a permanent source of life. It resulted from the presence of sin only, (itself no part of this nature in its original constitution), that the union thus formed called the Saviour to suffer. As the bearer of a fallen humanity, He must descend with it to the lowest depths of sorrow and pain, in order that He might triumph with it again in the power of His own imperishable life. In all this, He acted for Himself, and for the race He represented at the same time. For it was no external relation simply, that He sustained to this last. He was Himself the race. Humanity dwelt in His person as the second Adam, under a higher form than ever it carried in the first." *

As stated above, Hades is divided into two compartments; the one for the just, and the other for the unjust. This will account for Dives and Lazarus seeing each other. The one apartment may be called the upper, and the other the lower Hades. Lazarus was in the upper Hades, the blissful locality of the good; and Dives was in lower Hades, the region of misery. "The wicked," we are told, "shall be turned into

* Dr. Nevin's *Mystical Presence*, p. 165-6.

Hades, and all the nations that forget God." (Ps. ix. 17). In Hades the spirit or soul only suffers, in hell both body and soul will be punished. The punishment in lower Hades is inflicted before the judgment day; the torments of hell after the judgment day.

Moreover, we are told in Revelation that after the judgment death and Hades will be emptied, and both shall be cast into the lake of fire; this then is called the second spiritual, or everlasting death. (Rev. xx. 13, 14). In Hades will be left all the wicked souls and the devils, while the souls of all the righteous dead, who were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and had not the mark of the beast, will be taken out to reign with Christ on earth a thousand years; this is called the first resurrection, which is confined exclusively to the good. "Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection; on such the second death hath no power." (Rev. xx. 3-6).

"The three stages of the righteous may be thus distinguished: In this world *Faith* is the leading feature; in Hades, *Hope*; in Heaven, *Love*; while the condition of the wicked is characterized by *unbelief* on Earth; *Despair* in Hades; and *Hatred* in Hell."

Those who shall dwell for centuries within the prison of Hades will have plenty of time to reflect upon the evil and pernicious influences they have exerted on others while passing through this present world. Their evil seeds, having ripened in others, who will follow them, descending into that gloomy condition, and curse them as their evil advisers and the instigators of their ruin.

The perfect future state of the blessed must be regarded as including the whole man, both body and soul. And this state can only be reached after the general resurrection and judgment. If any of the heathens are saved in the middle state, they must be brought to a knowledge of their sins, and a feeling of their religious wants, so that they will immediately accept

Christ, as soon as He is presented. Heathen children dying in infancy, are no doubt saved by a process of grace in the other world, but for us now in the nature of the case, this must remain a profound mystery.* Grace we say, without doubt, extends over into the intermediate state, or all children and idiots, and heathens will be lost, which is in conflict with the justice and mercy of God.

We cannot comprehend how any one can presuppose that grace will end for the heathens at their death. Should all such noble souls in heathenism, as *Æschylos*, *Pindar*, *Sophocles*, *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Plutarch*, *Seneca*, *Virgil*, *Cicero*, *Burrus*, and many others, who have never heard the Gospel of salvation, be lost? No one but an ignoramus, or an unthinking fanatic, will answer in the affirmative. Do not many of the heathens show more zeal in their religious devotions to their idols, than thousands of Christians show to the true God? "If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin." (*John* xv. 22). Faith comes from preaching, but, "how shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher? And how shall they preach, except they be sent?" (*Rom.* x. 14). Those who could not comprehend the plan of redemption in this life, will undoubtedly have it offered in the spirit-world, which is also clear from Christ's preaching to the spirits in prison. (*1 Pet.* iii. 19, and iv. 6). That all will not accept it, is as certainly true, as it is the case in this life. The Saviour tell us that all sins shall be forgiven, except the sin against the Holy Ghost. The heathens cannot sin against the Holy Ghost, because they do not even know that there is a Holy Ghost. Consequently we conclude that the Gospel will be offered to them in Hades, and they will certainly not all reject it. The Egyptians who would obey God's direction were free from suffering, though they were Egyptians.

We say then for the undecided Heathens and Turks, who

* The children in the Spirit-world will probably be under the instruction of angels and saints, and there learn under the gradual opening of their minds, that holy wisdom which they had no time to acquire on earth.

had no opportunity of knowing the way of everlasting life, and even for such Christians as come under the same rule, there is after death a state of grace, and a possibility of conversion and the forgiveness of sins, but upon the very same condition as here, namely, faith in the Redeemer of the world. In a more general sense, all such fall into the same category, whose faith had commenced before death, but without any fault of theirs, had not been fully mature in its development of love for the full communion of the Lord. All such will have to pass through a process of experience and purification as is necessary for the development of the Christian life in the present world.*

Those who have never come into a living relation with Christ and His Church, Dante, in his poem on heaven, hell, and purgatory, places in a condition of negative punishment, the being deprived of seeing God, the absence of blessedness, and an indefinite longing for it. These we might say have, at least, a glimmer of the light of hope beaming around them.

But whatever scheme we may entertain in reference to God's dealings with unbaptized children and heathens in this middle state, we should never forget that such dealings lie largely, but not entirely, outside of the Bible. But this we know, that if they are saved, grace must extend over into the intermediate state, and that they will be saved by faith in Christ, though as disembodied spirits, in a somewhat different way from that in which we are saved.

Hades will be one day our abode, until that joyous or dreadful hour of the Resurrection morning. Lord, in Thy infinite mercy grant that we may be in the number of those who are now in Abraham's bosom. "Enable us to follow their faith, that we may enter at death into their joy; and so abide with them in rest and peace, till both they and we shall reach our common consummation of redemption and bliss in the glorious resurrection of the last day."

D. F. B.

* See Dr. Schaff's *Sünde Wider den Heiligen Geist*, p. 137, 145, 146. |

ART. IV.—CHRISTIANITY AND OUR CIVIL POLITY.

BY JOHN W. APPLE, A. M.

“For the nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish; yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted.”—ISAIAH lx. 12.

THE state is of God and of man. The former part of the proposition, namely, the state is of God, as thus simply stated, is readily acknowledged and accepted as true, by all those who believe, even in a most general way, in God. Here we meet with scarcely any diversity of opinion, for it is instinctively felt, and unanimously believed, that God is in some way or other in the state. But when we come to ask how God is in the state, the proposition assumes another form, and men's views of it differ as widely as do their conceptions of the Providence of God. One view, the most prevalent, and the most dangerous also, is that which refers the state to God as the creator (beginner) merely of all things visible or invisible, known or unknown. It reasons, that, since man is of God, by a single act of creation, and the state of man, therefore, the state is of God. It holds, that God, “in the beginning,” by a single creative act deposited certain principles in the human breast, which then of themselves have produced the institution which we call the state. It makes God to have deposited in his creations, both natural and moral, some inner law (*lex insita*), which, active of and by itself, now moves on in the accomplishment of his plans and purposes. It isolates God from his works, makes him inactive in them, save in their contemplation, and regards him somewhat as a sower who, in time past having gone forth and having sowed his seeds, now watches them grow, ripen, die, reproduce, and rise, of themselves, it may be, to higher forms, in one continuous process of evolution. Such a view does great

violence to the nature, as well as the plan and unity, of creation, and to the being of God himself. The natural and moral worlds do not subsist apart from God by the constant activity of so called secondary causes or forces lodged in them at their beginning, but they live and move and have their being only as they are continually in God. Their subsistence is but their continued existence, and their continued existence is but their continuous creation. The Supreme Cause here, then, which is God, and nothing less, must of necessity be as constantly active as when the worlds were in the beginning called into being. Such a view, also, does great violence to our religious faith. Instead of believing as we are taught,* that God is continually active in us and we in him, and that he touches our life at every point; we are made to believe that we have been hurled away out of his presence, and that we live, and learn, and grow, and—it must follow—ripen for immortality, by virtue of a self-subsistent activity lodged in our nature. In this view, also, prayer were a mere empty mockery. It were merely something subjective: it would have no effect except that which the subject might produce on himself; as, for instance, the proud spirit might be curbed, by humiliating itself in the attitude of prayer. There would be no room here to take in the objective power of grace, and man were his own guide and his own God. These secondary causes or forces, self-subsistent activities in mind and matter,—what are they but so many terms of compromise with the unbeliever and the infidel? Let them have my firm belief, and nature becomes my God, and I have a far more contemptible, and far less efficacious religion, than was the polytheism of ancient Greece or Rome. Take the force that drives the sun athwart the heavens, that moulds the crystal, that rears the oak, that binds the eagle as by chains of iron to its nest on the rugged cliff, that causes men to rise up in judg-

* Acts xvii. 28, Matt. vi. 30, Ps. lxxxvii. 7, Rom. xi. 36, indeed almost every page in the Bible.

ment against wrong, to organize society, to build cities, to enact laws, to found states,—take these forces and make them active of themselves, while their creator sits in some lofty tower in the heavens in the enjoyment of a sweet sabbatic rest, and you erect an Olympus of impersonal forces, you resolve creation into a mechanized automaton, and these forces become the true objects of your worship, if indeed you have any worship at all. Sometimes, we are told that this is a mere battling of words, a warfare of terms. What difference does it make, we are asked, whether you call these activities God, or nature, or secondary causes? Will not the real nature and the course of things remain the same under either theory? But our ideas of nature, God, and man, so far as we entertain any, have more to do with our common every-day life than we often imagine. The practical deductions for our religious and civil life will be vastly different, according as we believe our being to be actuated directly by the great First Cause, or by merely natural causes,—causes acting of themselves according to the prescript of some primitive commandment of God. If we believe, for instance, that natural causes, as generally understood, are sufficient to explain everything in nature and history without any intervention of God, then there is an end to the Providence of God, and politics, legislation, education, and the whole social world must be constructed without any reference at all to God; and any one can easily imagine what a sad wreck of the whole moral order such godless principles would in a short time produce. But this theory of natural causes can never be sufficiently substantiated to cause any fear of its ultimate triumph over the Christian theory, according to which God himself is directly and continually present and active in his creation. In the language of another,* “Thank God nothing of this” (theory of natural causes) “is proved, and every word of it is false. Nature is not explicable without the intervention of God. His-

* Rev. Aug. J. Thebaud, S. J. *The Church and the State, Catholic Quarterly Review, July number.*

tory supposes at its very beginning a Supreme Ruler, whose interposition is visible throughout its whole course. Politics are not left to the vagaries of man, but power comes from God in spite of popular theories. A tyrant is not allowed to do his worst without the fear of a supreme avenger of wrong. Man is not a machine, nor human society a herd of animals. Who dares say that everything is naturally explained, when everything in fact is still a mystery? The more the supernatural is attempted to be expelled, the more the sphere of mystery increases. For the admission of the supernatural is often the only way to reach an intelligible account of the most simple workings in the soul of man, as well as in the external world. Let any scientist tell us how the words of Ovid have always been considered as sublimely truthful: *Video meliora proboque; deteriora sequor*. After this, thousands of questions of the same kind offer themselves for solution without greater probability of success." Natural forces, as they are called, if they are to stand at all, can do so only as they are regarded as so many names of the different activities of the Supreme Being himself. They are the words of the Almighty streaming forth constantly from his person, and supplying the universe with life and activity. It is God's voice we hear in the storm; his being that moves in the mighty waters, that rides in the air with the winds, and stirs in the earthquake; his beauty we see in the sunset; his power and his goodness crushing the wrong and asserting the right. It is God that acts in the grand law of gravitation, balancing the worlds in their solitary paths through the heavens; and that prompts every act of love, of mercy, and of justice amongst men. The state is of God, then, not in the sense that he made man at his birth able of himself to organize and to support it; but in the sense that he constantly supplies the material, the forces, the ideas, which give it substantial life. Justice, law, right, truth, love,—whence are they but from the bosom of the Almighty?

But the state is also of man. It is of him in its external

form and constitution. Through him the moral law, issuing forth from the divine will, runs its course in the form of the state. It is of him in that he is the architect who moulds and fashions it out of the supply of ethical ideas which are always at hand for his use through the ever constant activity of the Almighty.

In this view, the state becomes a projection of the moral law, through the agency of man, in the sphere of time and sense. It is no longer a mere device or contrivance of man's own making, grounded in the fears and wants of his nature. It was more than this even in heathenism. Minos, king of Crete, we are told, received his laws from Jupiter; Lycurgus is said to have derived his state-craft from Apollo; and the good Numa was thought to have derived laws for his people from the nymph Egeria. The sentiment was by no means uncommon amongst them, that

“—by the ruling powers of heaven
All virtues are to mortals given,
Wisdom is theirs, from them are sprung
The active hand, the fluent tongue.”

Indeed in heathenism almost everywhere, there is found such a sense of some supreme being's continual presence and power in the affairs of men, as to exclude all theories, like the social compact for example, which would make the state the creature of mere human wisdom or human ingenuity. So also, the best thinkers of the world, ancient or modern, Christian or profane, everywhere write of the great ideas which nourish the state as constant emanations of a divine mind; and with one voice proclaim him who considers man able of himself to originate righteousness, law, or truth * as insane as Salmoneus of old, who with his brazen car and horn-hoofed steeds, dared to imitate the storms and the inimitable thunder of Jupiter himself. No, man may appropriate the good, he may apprehend truth, he may interpret law, he may develop and consecrate

* Dr. John W. Nevin, July number of *Mercersburg Review*, page 346.

rights; but he never has created and never can create them. And until this conclusion of the ages remains disproved, we are bound to believe that the state is of man, not through any "dead self-action or self-intelligence" on his part; but of him in that he opens his spirit to an influx of those invisible, spiritual forces which come to him from beyond himself, and translates, from the being of God to his own moral life, order, righteousness, and law, in the form and constitution of the state. We know that it is often urged in opposition to this view that man thus becomes a mere tool, and loses his dignity and majesty as a being made in the image and likeness of a God. What! is a man less a man because, forsooth, he does not manufacture the air which he breathes, and which supports his life? We think it adds to his majesty and power, rather than detracts from it, that he is able to appropriate, and live on the most perfect being of his God.

In this view, then, it is evident that the state can only meet its ends in the degree that its members are able to lay hold on, and appropriate, the being and the will of God; just as the body can only meet its ends as it is able to appropriate the elements, as light, food, air, &c., from which it derives its nourishment and support.

How now is this possible? how is this conformation of the human with the divine will to be reached? Can it be effected by pushing out the powers of the intellect by education or culture to their utmost limit? No: men act as they love, not as they think; the best of intellects may become slave to the worst of wills; the will is interior to, and deeper than, the understanding; and, hence, the perverted will needs more than a right intellect to draw it to its true orbit. And so any effort on the part of man alone to reach the end must fail, and be met, like another Babel presuming to pierce the skies, only with confusion of face. The heavens must be bowed down; there is need of a mount Sinai, of a Kingdom of God, on earth to effect it. It is through the Christian religion alone,

that the will of the state can ever make any true and lasting progress toward being conformed to the will of God.

This is not only the voice of all true philosophy, but it is also the verdict of all past history. Christianity came like manna from heaven to a perishing world, and the revolutions which it has effected in the state are as conspicuous as they are mighty. Compared to the light it furnishes to the state, the sublime moral maxims of Oriental nations, the most glorious polity cultured Athens ever had, the grand system of jurisprudence which Rome gave to the world as a perpetual memorial of her greatness and glory, grow dim and cease to blaze forth as lights for the nations. It has developed and sanctified the absolute rights of the individual to a degree which otherwise could never have been attained. It has purified and softened domestic and social relations. It has instituted a law of love and of conscience as a rule of civil conduct over against the rigid observance of the mere letter of the law. It has abolished slavery, and proclaimed instead the sublime doctrine of moral equality amongst men. It has established a public peace and tranquillity before unknown by holding continually before the human vision a destiny beyond the horizon of the present life. It has laid low the barriers between races, and given rise to a universal brotherhood of nations and a world-wide philanthropy. Trojan and Tyrian now indeed live side by side, and are treated with no discrimination. Thrones red with blood, which once ruled the world, have disappeared, and others all white, proclaiming in loud tones, "Peace on earth," have risen, instead, over Christian nations. Christianity, in short, has opened the hearts of men to an infusion of virtue from God, which has sublimed their natures, their laws, their governments, their states.

What now has been said, in this broad and general view, of the state and its relation to Christianity, both in its idea and manifestation, applies, in no less degree, to our own civil polity as a particular form of the state. But the relation which holds

between Christianity and our civil polity is of a special and particular character. The peculiar nature of our government calls for Christianity as the *sine qua non* of her existence. Look at our Civil Polity: Here no crowned head dares say, like Louis XIV. of France, "I am the state," (*l'état c'est moi*). No select few arbitrarily fashion the laws and the life of the nation. It is the people who are the main spring in the stupendous machinery of our government. The people, and they exclusively, are the source and original of all power in the affairs of state. "It is the people's constitution, the people's government; made for the people, made by the people and answerable to the people." Our rulers are but the exponents of the public will and sentiment; they are but the representatives of the people, and not their lords and masters. The springs of our national life do not flow forth from a fixed common central source, as from an inherited monopoly founded on the doctrine of divine right, and then flow outward to the various parts of the republic; but they issue forth first from innumerable sources outside the center, and, bearing with them the various elements of the country, flow inward, and having united in a great central reservoir, as it were, to form a resultant element, the representative of them all, they then flow forth to all parts of the nation, and give strength and life to a union, which has not yet ceased to be a wonder to the world, and which is certainly one of the grandest achievements of modern times. Here then we have a polity originated and upheld continually by the people: *a polity whose virtue depends upon the personal virtues of its people*. Let the people's virtue therefore be lost, let the public morals and the public conscience become corrupt, and no particular administration, though robed in the purity of heaven itself, and armed with the inflexible rigor of gods could save us in the end from political ruin. Where, then, are we to look for this individual virtue, this virtue for the masses, this virtue upon which depends the stability and integrity of our polity but to the Christian religion? If to no other source (and from

what other source can virtue flow from God to man to the extent demanded here?) it can be seen at once what a palladium Christianity becomes of our civil polity; what a palladium of our civil and religious liberty; what a palladium of our domestic peace and social happiness; what a palladium of all those heaven-born rights which we enjoy as citizens of this broad and glorious republic.

This truth was, indeed, instinctive in the minds of the founders of our civil polity at its birth, and it has been uppermost in the minds of its chief and most successful supports ever since.

It needs but a mere glance at our civil polity—at its fundamental principles, and at its history beginning far back in our colonial life, and running down to the present time—to see that Christianity has been not only its informing spirit from its very birth, but also its main strength and stay through its entire existence. Take, for example, that grand doctrine which was wrung forth from our people as they stood trembling on the verge of a bloody and perilous resistance to their parent country, that doctrine which forms the key-note to the Declaration of Independence, and underlies our most excellent laws respecting the distribution, the transmission, and the alienation of property, our system of representation, and of free schools, and, indeed, our whole civil polity—take this doctrine, as we have it stated in the Declaration of Independence, “That all men are created equal; that they are endowed with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,” and view it in the light of philosophy and history, and you will be bound by incontrovertible proofs to confess it to be the outcome of a Christian heart, a Christian mind, a Christian people, even though some of the leading actors in the scene were not individually under its power. Yes, it was Christianity that hovered over our civil polity at its birth, and like an angel of light, conveyed to it life and strength from the Throne of thrones, and the King of kings;

that guarded it in its tender infancy ; that went before it as a pillar of fire in the dark and gloomy night of revolution ; that rescued it from a suicidal death in the gloom and despair of a bloody rebellion ; that threw its arms of protection around it when party spirit ran high, and political animosity threatened it with a deluge of fraternal blood ; that gives it power to-day to hold together in a union, by their voluntary consent, over forty millions of people, scattered, as they are, throughout the length and breadth of this vast country.

But if Christianity be indispensable to the existence of our nation, in a general way, first, for the reason that the State in its very idea presupposes the existence and the assistance of the Christian religion in order to its true and proper development ; and if it be so, second, for the reason that our Government rests on the personal virtues of the people ; *a fortiori*, it will be found to be particularly so at the present time, third, because of the moral and the intellectual condition of the great mass of our citizens. Christianity, whether because the Church has been slumbering, or because the new, modern (skeptical) ideas of God, man, Church, State, salvation, religion, etc., have been so generally accepted by our people, or whether because we are reaping the first (corrupt) fruits of the war, or whether because of a combination of these and other causes, has less hold on our people generally now than at any time, perhaps, of our previous national existence. And in the degree that this is so we find corruption in all places, both high and low. In the South, we are told, the great mass of citizens, particularly the emancipated slaves, do not know the wrong of selling their votes, as it were, by auction. In the North while our citizens know the wrong, they do not fear its commission. Corporations, regarding their own interests paramount to those of the country, do not scruple to rob (if not literally, virtually) their employees of the most sacred and the most precious right their country bestows upon them, namely, the right to vote according to their own free choice and opinion.

The employee often holds his position under the ignominious tenure of exercising his right of suffrage according to the will and dictation of the employer. The wisest and best business man is he who can steal the most without discovery. In business generally there is mistrust and suspicion. The old-style confidence and honesty has been lost. "The honest man is considered one with the ignorant and stupid." In the common walks of life honesty and strict integrity are far below par. As a result of this, also, in the high chairs of the nation there is unprecedented fraud and corruption. What now is the only effective cure for this corruption? what is the only rescue for the nation from this downward course? Find it if you can outside of Christianity. Education and Christianity must be disseminated amongst the masses. Men must know how to live wisely and honestly. The individual voter, it is true, must needs have an education to give him a judgment worthy of a free citizen; but he must also have moral stamina to serve as a light-house for that judgment to conduct it safely past the shoals of bribery, and of undue personal influence to a free and untrammelled vote. When Christianity had a hold on the people, and men were honest in their words and deeds, our Government was pure, and unsullied by the corruption of these later years. In the degree, however, that ignorance, dishonesty and unbelief have characterized our voters, our Government has become corrupt and impure, and the only way to save it now from utter ruin, and to make it more than an experiment simply, is unquestionably through the aid and influence of the Christian religion. And as we said before this can be accomplished only by disseminating Christianity amongst the masses. For, however far a pure administration may go toward reforming the nation, unless you destroy the evil and corruption down in the people we have no lasting surety for our safety. You may lop off the poisonous head of the hydra as often as you please; but so long as the evil principle is active in the veins and arteries, another head will rise up and

take the place of the one you have destroyed. What a work here for the preacher, the lawyer, the Christian !

We have seen, or tried to see at least, that the State is of God in that he supplies *constantly* the ideas which constitute its animating soul ; that it is of man in that as these ideas become actualized in his life he gives it a constitution and a form ; that Christianity, whatever its highest and most important mission may be, becomes a medium through which these ideas, as they flow forth from the will of God, are made more and more to be the essence of the will of the State ; that Christianity is, and has been, in this general way, of great value to our polity as a particular form of the State ; that our Government, depending, as it does, on the personal virtues of its people, demands Christianity as the indispensable condition of its strength and stability ; that it is clearly deducible from the fundamental principles of our civil polity, and from its history, that Christianity moulded it at its birth, and has been its main preservation ever since ; and that, to-day, owing to the intellectual and moral condition of the great mass of our citizens, our only safety, as a nation, is to be found at the hands of the Christian religion.

At this point, now, we are met with the old question of the relation between Church and State ; and here we are told that that question has long since been decided, and that no practical advantage is to be gained now from its consideration. But the question of the union of Church and State has not yet been decided, nor is it likely to be for years to come. We grant that history has given its reproof, in war and blood, to the false attempts which have been made toward its solution in times past ; that it has stamped its irrevocable veto on any such union as was attempted in the time of Gregory VII. or Henry VIII. of England : but does this decide the question ? Is it a solution to the question to say that since every plan of union that has yet been attempted has partially failed, therefore, the two must stand independent of

each other? Such a conclusion becomes a mere begging of the question. It is a conclusion somewhat like the one which the young mathematician often reaches, when, after several failures to reach the proper results in his calculations, he triumphantly concludes there must be a fallacy somewhere in the statement of the problem. Instead of being a problem solved it is one that is now agitating the mighty minds of Europe, from Great Britain to the Bosphorus: one that is gradually finding its way into the political centers in our own country. In the university Christian ethics is grappling hard with heathen ethics; and, indeed, the world over, in education, and in almost every department of life, the question comes up in some form or other, and is as live to-day as it was centuries ago.

According to the view which we have taken of the origin of the State, and of the source of its unfolding life, and of its consequent dependence on Christianity, the right relation between Church and State is to be found, not in their absolute separation, but in their union—in their union both in internal life and external constitution. The theory of a free Church and a free State, as often stated, will not, can not, satisfy the demands of the case.

Just here we are aware we meet with opposition even among Christians. We are told that this position will not hold as a conclusion of our foregoing argument. It may be conceded that the Church is as much of a helpmeet, even necessity, for the State as we have claimed it to be, yet it will not be granted that their marriage or union follows therefrom as a strict logical conclusion. The Church can do all we have claimed for it in a free way, we are told, without being recognized by the State.

Well, we will not claim for our position, then, that it is a strict conclusion following necessarily from a stated premise. We will claim for it merely that it is an inference following most naturally from the preceding positions on the State and Christianity.

More than this we could not desire since the question is as yet involved in so much confusion and debate. As an inference, then, our position is, that, if the State is to accomplish well its mission, it must be united with the Christian Church both in internal life and external constitution. But it may be said this inference clashes with the generally accepted ideas of the ends and the province of the State.

The State, it is said, has nothing to do with the propagation of religious truth. Its ends are only earthly and temporal, as the protection of persons and property. We are told that, if the State can accept the moral teaching of Christianity, it can do so only from a utilitarian standpoint—on account of the safety of its citizens. The State may for instance enjoin the observance of monogamy upon its citizens, but only because such a course is deemed necessary for the protection of its citizens, and particularly for the protection of its women. So, it may adopt the divorce laws taught by the New Testament, but it can do so only on the grounds of utility, that is, it must show that these laws are necessary for the welfare of the State, for the protection of woman, and for the rights of children. So with the observance of Sunday, we are told its observance is enforced because in the sanitarian's view our citizens require one day out of every seven for rest. The teachings of the Bible, in short, are regarded as so many wise suggestions, which are to be tried in the balance of human wisdom, and, if found useful to society and civil order, accepted by the State.

But we believe the State has to do with religion, and the propagation of religious truth; and that too not merely on the ground of utility. We believe also that while Government may primarily be concerned with earthly and temporal ends, it also has to do with moral and spiritual purposes. Man's soul and body are too conjunct to be cared for separately—the one here and the other there, the one now and the other then. Education, we are aware, is considered its own proof; and, for its own

sake and not for the sake of utility, is counted due from the State to its citizens.

Christianity, also, we take it, authenticates itself as a revelation of God, and should on this ground be accepted by, and united to, the State.

But we may state here, as we show hereafter, that, while we believe the State should unite with the Church, and should accept the Christian religion as its law, and should teach the Christian faith and ethics to its citizens, it should do so not with violence, but only in the degree that the people are prepared for such a course.

Exactly what the nature of this union is to be is another question and one with which we are not here chiefly concerned. If government ever was, or ever could be, a full-grown Minerva sprung from the head of human wisdom, if States ever could be built up on theories of the intellect, there would be great gain in solving theoretically the union between Church and State. As it is, however, for all practical purposes, it is sufficient to know, and to keep in view, the fact that in their union only is to be found their true and right relation. Keeping this steadily in view, then, history, and not speculation, or any *a priori* reasoning, will determine the nature and extent of this union so far as it concerns this present life. And just this is what we conceive to be the peculiar, as well as the grandest, mission of these United States—to work out, and determine, historically the proper union between Church and State. The chief point here then is, that our Government recognize the fact that there must be a union between the Christian Church and her civil polity, and that it endeavor to direct its life toward this end as far as possible in its historical development.

But, though we can not foresee exactly what the nature of this union is to be, history and reason, and Christianity itself, tell us, even in characters of blood, what it can *not* be, and give us light in reference to it, which we will do well, indeed, not to disregard.

No union between the Church and our civil polity can ever stand, which will subordinate slavishly and mechanically the one to the other.

The union can not be one that will cause the Church and the State to lose their distinctive characters. The State is an end in itself, and exists for itself, and so with the Church; and each must preserve its identity and distinctive character whatever be the nature of their union.

The union must take place, not outwardly and arbitrarily, but inwardly and voluntarily. The inward union must precede the outward: the consent of the people must precede outward legislation.

This then determines the line of conduct for our Government. Its efforts must look first to an internal and voluntary union. It is to encourage a union of life and sentiment. It is not to enforce virtue or Christianity by legislation; but its laws are to be imbued with the spirit of the Christian religion. From the same religion it must borrow its standard of right and justice. It is not only to acknowledge publicly and officially that God is its Governor and his law its authoritative rule of action; but that Christianity is the only way of righteousness and life for the nation. We want no "corporation" or "test acts" mechanically and arbitrarily hung over the heads of the people, as we see it in English laws, to force the people into the ways of an established Church; but we do want something equivalent for us planted in the hearts of our citizens. This internal union has indeed begun. We are known the world over as a Christian nation; and why? Is it because Christianity is the popular religion of the country; is it because our people are a church-going people; because of the many church buildings which rear their majestic steeples toward high heaven in country and in town? We think rather because our laws are Christian laws; because our civil and political institutions are Christian institutions; because, as has been held by some of the highest courts in this State and in others, Christianity is

a part of the common law of the land. We can scarcely touch one fundamental principle of our civil polity without being made sensible of this internal union; without seeing how the Church life and the State life here flow into and interpenetrate each other. Take the laws respecting marriage in the Church and State and you at once have a bond of union. Take the oath in our courts of justice, and what would be its security for property, for reputation, for life, if robbed of the religious obligation which Christianity gives it?

But this internal union already begun deep down in the invisible springs of our national life, must gradually become outward and external. Some element will rise up in opposition to the Christian character of our State or national institutions, and necessitate judgment, or action of some kind, on the part of our Government. These opposing elements are already heard rumbling in the life centers of our country, and clearly indicate the heavy storms which are ahead of us as a nation. A large part of the foreign-born population, for instance, united with an unchristian element, of our country, are urging vigorously that, as there is an entire separation here of Church and State, it is contrary to the genius of our institutions to enforce the observance of the Sabbath by the civil law. So, also, polygamy and free-love rear their viperous heads with impunity in opposition to the right of the law to sanction and to defend those institutions for the family, purely Christian in character, as monogamy for instance, which have become dearer to our people than their lives, and which have given security to our home life and made it radiant with the Christian virtues—purity, peace, holiness, love. Here, then, we arrive at a position where the course of our Government becomes clearer and more tangible than before. Its duty is now no longer merely to foster and encourage Christianity among all its citizens and subjects by example, by the spirit of its laws, by moral suasion; but it is confronted with a given case upon which it must pass judgment in the way of legislation.

From what standpoint, now, is our Government to act; what premise is to govern and direct its legislation? And just here we are aware we tread on disputed ground. One premise of action is, no matter what may be the sentiment of the people, the law in its external expression, from whatever source it may derive its spirit, must not, dare not, know or recognize any religion as such above the other religions of the world. The law must be neutral, and be acceptable to Jew, Turk, Infidel and Christian alike, the one as the other. It must be shaped in its external form at least with reference to a Christian people to-day, so as to suit a Jewish or Mohammedan America fifty or a hundred years hence. This premise is in perfect accord with the theory, which we have already noticed; which holds that there should be no union between Church and State.

We are told by those who advocate this premise that such is the spirit of our constitution; which says, "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of a religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." But the establishment of a religion outwardly and arbitrarily by force of law (and what but this can the constitution here mean unless it be inconsistent with the theory that the will of the people shall be the law of the land?) is a very different thing from recognizing a religion by law so far as it has already been established by moral means in the life and in the customs of the people. The words of Judge Story may not be inapplicable in this connection when he says, "It is impossible for those who believe in the truth of Christianity as a divine revelation, to doubt that it is the especial duty of Government to foster and encourage it among all the citizens and subjects. This is a point wholly distinct from that of the right of private judgment in matters of religion, and of freedom of public worship, according to the dictates of one's conscience."*

What now is the premise of action which we would suggest for our Government, holding, as we do, to a union between Church and State? It is this:

* Exposition of Constitution, page 260.

Our Government is not bound to hold itself independent of, and separate from, the Christian religion. It is not to occupy a neutral ground in its legislation in respect to cases which arise between Christianity and other systems of religion or infidelity. And here let us hear Judge Story again: "The right of a society or government to interfere in matters of religion will hardly be contested by any persons who believe that piety, religion and morality are intimately connected with the well being of the State, and indispensable to the administration of justice."* It has a right to recognize Christianity by law in a degree commensurate with its free establishment in the institutions and the customs of the people; which point, we think, could easily be maintained on the recognition which our Government gives to the will of the people. It has a right, nay, it is its duty rather, to defend the Christian institutions of the land from the attacks of the infidel and the non-Christian, and that, too, as we have before stated, not only because they are conducive to the good and welfare of civil order; but first, and mainly, and chiefly, because they are Christian institutions rooted and grounded in the life of a Christian people. This premise, in our view, marks out the only true, at least the only safe, course for our nation.

Let it, therefore, be adopted by the nation rather than that other premise which we have noticed, and which has been stealing like a subtle poison into the veins and arteries of our nation. Let it be stamped in bold characters on the front of our legislative halls. Let it burn as an eternal watch-fire in the minds of our rulers and our people, far beyond the billows of conflicting opinions, and safe from the storms of debate.

Then we have a security everlasting, for our country—its Christian laws and its Christian institutions—from a host of godless political demagogues, of infidel and immoral subjects, who would impiously rob it of its altars, its household gods,

* Commentaries on the Constitution, volume iii. page 722.

nay, even of its very life's blood. Then we may look for the marriage bells, golden bells, to ring out in this *our* land, *our* country, *our* nation the true nuptial union between Church and State. Then the stains which now disgrace our political records will be blotted out; and vice, with all the thrones which she has erected in civil life since the State was, will fall down before the advent of virtue and honesty in their fullness among men. Then the State prodigal will find its true home where life and nourishment will flow to it in unbroken streams from the King of kings, and from the Lord of lords. Then, indeed, wars having ceased, the harsh ages shall grow mild; and the State shall

“See golden days, fruitful of golden deeds,
With joy and love triumphing, and fair truth.”

Pursuing the other course, as indeed it may, its end like that of nations going before in the march of decline and decay, will be that described by Albion's reckless bard—

“There is a moral of all human tales;
’Tis but the same rehearsal of the past,
First Freedom, and then Glory—when that fails
Wealth, vice, corruption,—barbarism at last.”

ART. V.—THE ESCHATOLOGY OF MODERN SPIRITUALISM.

BY REV. JOS. HENRY DUBBS.

It is now nearly twenty-eight years since the movement known as Modern Spiritualism originated at Rochester, in the State of New York. Its beginnings were sufficiently humble, not to say contemptible. "It originated," says William Howitt, "in the ordinary visit of what the Germans had denominated a *Polter-Geist*, or knocking-ghost; but either the temperament of the North American public was more favorable to its rapid development, or the time had come in the more general scheme of Providence for a more full and decided prevalence of spiritual action; for it spread with almost lightning rapidity, assumed new and startling forms, and rapidly established itself into a great and significant fact in the minds of more than five millions of people of all classes, professions, and persuasions."

With the so-called "phenomena" of spiritualism we have on this occasion nothing to do, nor are we called upon to decide upon its merits as a pretended supernatural revelation. No doubt the vast majority of these "manifestations" are mere tricks, and, indeed, spiritualist writers are not wanting who speak with the utmost contempt of everything of the kind. "So long," says Andrew Jackson Davis, "as men care to be deceived by tricks of *legerdemain*, whether performed by spirits in the body, or outside of the body, they will certainly be deceived in ninety cases out of a hundred."

Whatever may be the character of Spiritualism, the fact remains, that it is one of the most remarkable signs of the times. It has its prominent advocates in all classes of society in Europe and America, and no less than fifty periodicals are said

to be published in its interest. Among its outspoken advocates have been mentioned, without contradiction, such names as those of Profs. Hare, Mapes, and Bush; Hiram Powers the sculptor; Whittier, the poet; Phœbe and Alice Cary; Sir Roderick Murchison, the geographer; William and Mary Howitt; Prof. De Morgan, the distinguished mathematician; Prof. Crookes, the leading chemist of Great Britain; Alfred R. Wallace, who shares with Darwin the honor of having originated the theory of evolution by natural selection as the origin of species; Baron Reichenbach, Ruskin, Tennyson, and many others.

A system which in the quarter of a century has gained such a multitude of eminent adherents, cannot be ignored or magisterially ruled out of existence. Personally, we have neither seen nor read anything which would incline us to acknowledge its pretensions; but are rather inclined to regard it as a delusion, based, perhaps, on certain imperfectly known laws of nature, and rendered possible as a rebound of the pendulum from the cold and heartless skepticism which characterizes the scientific thinking of our age. Its one great truth is borrowed from the Church—it is the reality of spiritual communion; which, however, can only be normally enjoyed in the Communion of Saints.

All this has, however, but little to do with the questions at issue. The subject has become sufficiently important to demand attention, and it must not be said of us (as Spiritualists are fond of saying) that we are, “like the Gadarenes, in so far that instead of investigating the supernatural, we desire it to depart out of our coasts; or, like the astronomical professor at Padua who, after denying the discoveries of Kepler, refused to look through a telescope, for fear he might be compelled to renounce his cherished opinions.”

In studying such a subject as this—which is fast becoming a system of doctrine—justice demands that we should confine ourselves to the utterances of its most eminent exponents. We are told by spiritualists that it is much easier to hold commu-

nication with wicked earth-bound spirits, than with those who move in higher spheres; and that wicked mediums often attract lying spirits, who not only confirm them in their erroneous opinions, but often take an insane pleasure in leading on their victims to utter ruin. "To condemn Spiritualism," says Crowell, "because a few like these, through their grossness and ignorance attract evil influences, is as irrational as to condemn preaching because some preachers degrade it, and some hearers pervert it." "Spiritualism," says Epes Sargent, "is no more responsible for nominal spiritualists than Christianity is for nominal Christians, among which may be counted Free-love Anabaptists, Mormons, and the brigands of Italy."

As we have no desire to treat any one unfairly, we propose to limit ourselves, on this occasion, to certain assertions concerning the nature of the world to come, found in the writings of so-called Christian spiritualists, by whom we understand those spiritualists who claim—we think unjustly—that their system is identical with primitive Christianity; and who proclaim their belief in the Bible as a correct record of a supernatural revelation of which modern spiritualism is a necessary and natural continuation.

In our remarks concerning the Eschatology of Spiritualism, we confine ourselves to what is generally regarded as the first part of the subject—the spirit-world and the condition of its inhabitants, as described by spiritualists. "It is remarkable," says Rev. Chas. Beecher, "that though spiritualists differ widely on almost every conceivable point of Theology and Philosophy, their views of the nature of the spirit-world are essentially the same, whether uttered in America, Europe, or Australia."

Of course, in a paper like the present, we cannot hope to do more than offer a few notes on several books which we have recently been induced by curiosity to read, and whose statements we generally present without note or comment.

Spiritualism claims to differ from former pretended revela-

tions by more fully developing the subject, and thus rendering many things clear which before were indistinct and doubtful. St. Francis, Stilling, Bœhme, Swedenborg, and others, it is said, had glimpses of the spirit world; but they were like voyagers who touch at different points of an unknown continent; they saw but little, and their views were greatly influenced by their preconceived notions. Now the great multitude of spiritual visitors have enabled us to get a more consistent idea of that higher creation, and if not to describe it accurately, at least to map a portion of its outlines with tolerable exactness.

Spiritualists agree that the world to come has a real, substantial, and in a certain sense a material existence. Christians generally would, perhaps, be ready to accept this statement, but as uttered by spiritualists, it has a meaning of its own; and though some writers are careful to say that the spiritual world is not "material," it is plain that they merely mean to say that it consists of a purer and more refined form of matter than that of which this world is composed. It must be remembered that nearly all the advocates of modern spiritualism assume to be scientists, and according to the mode of thinking in which they have been trained, can conceive of no form of existence which is not purely material. Hence they regard the spiritual as a legitimate subject for scientific experiment and inquiry, and seek above all things to establish its material existence. Let the following extract from Crowell's "Primitive Christianity and Modern Spiritualism," suffice as a specimen of their apologetics:

"Oxygen, nitrogen, carbon, and hydrogen, are the principal elements in all matter. They are gases and invisible, yet when combined and organized they become visible and apparent to all the senses, and why should there not be still more ethereal elements—gases if you please—which in like manner combine to constitute a sublimated spiritual world; a world to which our natural senses are not fitted nor intended to discern, nor appreciate? Is not this possible? And if an All-wise

Being has created all that exists, is it not probable? and does not the greatest difficulty in the way of believing that it is so arise from a pre-existing, and perhaps a dominant doubt of the existence of this great intelligence? for if His existence is fully admitted, we cannot deny that He could create such a world as easily as this, and the only question to be settled would be the one of its adaptability to our spiritual necessities and desires."

In full accordance with this view, the mystery of death is declared to be "a change of externals, by which the real man is instantaneously removed to a higher plane." Spiritualists are fond of calling it "a mere chemical change." "The change is as natural," they say, "as passing into sleep, and the awakening from slumber. Death is but entering upon a true and free existence, an enlargement of the field where all the spiritual faculties can find room and scope for their exercise."

There is therefore ordinarily no suspension of consciousness in death. The individual may be unconscious at the moment of dissolution, in consequence of previous disease, but with death he suddenly awakes in the apparent possession of health and strength. In this respect modern spiritualists do not fully agree with Swedenborg, who, if we remember rightly, says that waking to consciousness after death is a gradual process—a drawing out of the real man from his earthy form, which is accomplished by the mediation of angels. The discrepancy is accounted for by the assertion that Swedenborg, by suffering his mind to dwell on the particulars of this process, came to think, that as it included so many *momenta*, it must necessarily occupy an appreciable period of time. On this point all spiritualists are agreed, and insist that they have constant revelations in confirmation of their theory. Thus, for instance, Gerald Massey, an English poet of some distinction, asserted in a lecture delivered in Chicago, in 1874, that his wife appeared to him frequently after her death, in accordance with a previous agreement; and that on one occasion he received a communication from her through the celebrated medium Home,

in which she said, "'O Gerald, when I turned on my left side, and had got through, I could not believe it. I kept on talking and thought you had suddenly gone deaf, as I could not hear you answer me.' This was exactly," said he, "what had occurred to me on this side of death. I had kept on talking, and she did not hear." "I have no doubt," he continued, "but that this truly represents the continuity of consciousness in death. Death has no power over the spirit; it simply changes the conditions of existence, not existence itself, and its powers are neither increased nor diminished, but they are exercised in greater perfection, with greater freedom, and in a wider field."

Extracts of this kind might easily be multiplied; but we must hasten to say a few words as to the Spiritualistic idea of that state into which man is admitted by death.

The question as to the locality of the world to come is one that has been very extensively discussed, and has given rise to a multitude of more or less plausible hypotheses. Dr. Harbaugh, it will be remembered, in his work on "The Future Life," considers and refutes a great number of these, and finally settles down to the opinion, that heaven is probably situated in some distant star or planet.

On this subject Spiritualism speaks very confidently. "The spirit world," says Crowell, "exists within the space through which our vision ordinarily ranges. It is a substantial world, though not in the ordinary sense a material one, and is much nearer to us than most people suppose. In fact its lowest sphere is in close proximity to our earth." . . . "Spirits reveal to us," he continues, "not only the existence of a spirit-world, but tell us it is divided into spheres. All agree that there are at least seven of them, and my spirit friends are unanimous in the declaration that there are many more; but confining our attention to the first seven, these are placed one above the other, at unequal distances, together forming a series of belts or zones encircling the earth, much as the rings of Saturn encircle that planet, and each adapted to the state of the spirits that inhabit it."

"The most intelligent spirits, even when communicating through the best mediums, differ in their estimates of the distance between those spheres. There is a very general agreement in their statements, that the second sphere encircles the earth at a distance of above sixty miles from the surface . . . and that the seventh sphere is distant less than one thousand miles from the earth."

"The six spheres above the first," to use the words of Prof. Hare, "are concentric zones or circles of exceedingly refined matter. They have atmospheres of peculiar vital air, soft and balmy. Their surfaces are diversified with an immense variety of picturesque landscapes, with lofty mountain ranges, valleys, rivers, lakes, forests, trees and shrubbery, and flowers of every color and variety, sending forth grateful emanations."

The lowest or earth sphere, it is asserted, is the one which falls within our atmosphere. It is occupied by millions of earth-bound spirits, and is frequently visited by those who ordinarily dwell in higher spheres. Many of the spirits of the first sphere are supremely miserable. With no aspirations beyond this world, they long for the gratifications of the flesh, while memory remains to torture them. There are however beneficent arrangements whereby in the course of time their souls become purer and happier, and then they rise, by virtue of a law as immutable as the law of gravity, but acting in an inverse direction, to the place in the spiritual system to which they are suited.

We cannot enter further upon the consideration of the conditions of spiritual existence, as indicated by spiritualists. Though spirits possess faculties and means of communication, of which it is impossible that we should form any conception, it is generally agreed, that the spirit world differs principally from ours in its greater extent, and in its higher capacities for human development. We even see it stated in the papers that Andrew Jackson Davis is preparing extensive maps of the "Summerland;" and, however ridiculous this statement may

appear, it is certainly remarkable that, though spiritualists dispute about minor particulars, as geographers might be supposed to do concerning the configuration of a newly discovered continent, there appears to be no difference of opinion among them as to the general accuracy of these representations.

The whole subject is sufficiently curious, but our limits forbid us to consider it at greater length. We cannot, however, resist the temptation of making one or two concluding remarks on the general subject of Spiritualism, which will be found to apply with special force to its eschatology.

Its whole conception of the spirit-world is of the earth, earthy. Not only is its bald materialism utterly repugnant to the soul accustomed to dwell on genuine spiritual verities, but its views of the world to come appear to be taken from a purely earthly point of observation. The idea that the spiritual world consists of a series of concentric circles, surrounding the earth, for instance, reminds us irresistibly of the Ptolemaic system of astronomy. It is such a system as might be expected to emanate from a mind that regards the earth as the centre of the universe; for though spiritualists speak of spiritual regions lying far beyond the spheres with which we are familiar, we are led to suppose that all of them have the earth for their centre. All this, it will be conceded, is more likely to be characteristic of a merely human notion than of a supernatural revelation.

Spiritualism, as a whole, is certainly not Christian, though it may, and often does, assume to be the highest development of our holy religion. If the spirits be tried by the law laid down by St. John, it will be found that they do not from the heart, confess that Jesus Christ has come into the flesh. They may make the confession in words—they generally declare that Jesus is the head of the spiritual kingdom—but of the great fact of the incarnation they appear to be profoundly ignorant. This in itself would be enough to condemn the present manifestations of spiritualism.

There appears to be much in this system which savors of the necromancy which is so strongly condemned in the Old Testament. We are aware that spiritualists have a way of explaining away these scriptural prohibitions, and that they are always ready to charge those who offer this objection to their incantations with committing the sin of the Pharisees, who ascribed Christ's miracles to Beelzebub ; but we cannot resist the impression that spiritualism bears a much stronger resemblance to old-time necromancy than to a supernatural revelation. This however is a subject on which we cannot enlarge.

We can only hope that in the midst of the superstition and delusion which now justly renders spiritualism a by-word and reproach, there *may yet* be found some truths which will inure to the temporal and spiritual advantage of mankind ; and that in due time mysteries will be made plain, which now appear to be beyond the reach of the human understanding.

ART. VI.—THE VOCATION AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF
THE AMERICAN COLLEGE.

THE American College in the early history of this country was modeled after the English College. This was the case with those first established, of which there were eleven before the American Revolution. They were arranged with a four years' course, having four classes, Freshman, Sophomore, Junior, and Senior. The Colleges that have been established in various sections of the country since have, for the most part, followed this model. These early Colleges were established in the interest of higher education and culture, for the purpose mainly of preparing young men for the study of one or other of the learned professions. As a general rule the Colleges of this country, both in earlier and later times, have been established and supported by the Church and private munificence. State Colleges and Universities are of a later date, and are very few in number compared with the class already referred to. An investigation will show that although these Colleges, especially in earlier times, and to some extent in later times, received aid from the State, yet they cannot be regarded as State institutions any more than a State institution becomes a private one by receiving private donations.

These Colleges are distinguished, on the one hand, from the high-school or academy, which is designed to provide an education preparatory to College or to the ordinary industrial and business pursuits of life, and from the University, on the other hand, as this exists on the Continent of Europe, which provides for a post-graduate course of study in some professional calling. Some Colleges in this

country, it is true, have attached to themselves the University feature in the establishment of departments of law, medicine, theology, etc., but generally these professional studies are pursued in institutions or under supervision specially and solely provided for this purpose. They are not a product or outgrowth of schools of a lower order, either in idea or fact, for the earliest Colleges in this country were established either before or simultaneously with such schools, and they have from the beginning given direction and guidance in one way or another to the common education provided for the people.

If we inquire as to the difference between a College and a high-school or academy, we might say that whereas the latter provides only a preliminary and partial course, the former provides a more extended and complete course of education. The main branches of such complete education have been substantially settled and fixed for centuries, embracing Philosophy, Languages, Mathematics, and Science. Each of these has its branches again, giving us the whole curriculum of the College, which it is not our purpose now to treat in detail.

When we say that this curriculum of the College embraces a *complete* education, we use the word of course in a relative sense. As human knowledge is progressive, there is a sense in which education is never complete. But a liberal education ever seeks and must find a relative conclusion and end, where it may be said to be complete for the purposes it has in view. It embraces in the main branches already named the best settled results, in a preliminary or rudimentary way, of the world's scholarship, so far as these can be comprehended in a four years' course of study. After the preparation in the primary school and the academy, this is the period of time generally agreed upon as sufficient to prepare young men for professional study or such pursuits in life as require liberal literary culture. The course opens up in one way or another the whole field of human knowledge. To the departments of

philosophy, languages, mathematics, history, literature and science, can be traced the numerous lines of human knowledge of every kind. Their mastery in the College prepares the student with the discipline and the appliances or preparation for pursuing his investigations in every direction. Viewed from the advanced position of culture, of literature and science, occupied by the world's ripe scholarship, it may indeed be said to furnish but the rudiments, the beginnings of mature education, and in this view the end of a College course on graduation day is therefore properly called *the commencement*. But viewed from the standpoint of the common-school and the academy, it differs from them, in embracing the whole circle of human knowledge and in carrying forward to completion the education there begun.

But this distinction would be somewhat unsatisfactory. It would indicate only a more advanced academic course of study and furnish nothing definite to mark its completion. This would give us rather the idea of a German Gymnasium than an American College. It would carry with it, indeed, the more complete drill and culture of mind which is sometimes held to be the main, if not the sole, object of a College course. That such extended drill and culture is of great importance no one can doubt. But it is a one-sided view to regard this alone. This must appear when we consider that truth, which is the subject-matter of all study and knowledge, is possessed of substantial objective contents, and is to be sought for ultimately for its own sake, and not merely for the purpose of the drill and culture of the mind. Otherwise a College course would be turned into a mere system of mental gymnastics, truth would be turned into a mere means of discipline, and the faculties and capacities of the individual human mind would be elevated above universal mind or reason in the form of truth, which, in the end, would be to deify man.

While discipline of mind is a highly important feature in College training, and certain forms of study seem to have this

only in view, so that the particular subject matter may be forgotten afterwards without any serious loss, yet it is felt that knowledge must have objective and permanent value also. There is a difference we know in different kinds of knowledge. Some forms are purely notional, take no hold of man's essential being, and may be received, retained, or lost without affecting the life. Other forms have to do with being, and challenge assent and acceptance on the part of the student as regards moral purpose and will. The one form is preparatory to the other. The full meaning of a branch of study is not to be found in itself, but in its relation to others and to the whole. The training of the College course comes to its completion, we may say, in *philosophy*, which is the science of general principles, in the light of which all sciences find their proper meaning.

Scientific knowledge, as such, has to do with the phenomenal and notional. In itself it can have no essential value or moral bearing. It does indeed rest back upon that which is essential, for the phenomenal creation, with its wonders and mysteries and laws, is the projection in forms of time and space, the shadowing forth, of a real spiritual universe that is unchanging and eternal—a universe of essential being. All science should stand in the element of faith in such a spiritual world, but its province as science is not directly concerned with this. It reaches this self-consciousness, as we may call it, in philosophy, which sheds light upon other forms of knowledge and gives to them direction and meaning. Mere scientific knowledge coming from the earthly side of man's being, in itself separately considered, has, therefore, no essential contents, no moral direction, and no real spiritual value. It has an office in the disciplining of man's intellectual powers, and it is a power in relation to earthly existence. It opens up the forms and mysteries of the phenomenal universe, and one side also of man's existence. It teaches the laws of human thought and human speech. It lays bare the strata of the earth and measures the distances and weight of the heavenly bodies. It fathoms

nature's laws in their uses and appliances for man's temporal welfare. But if we stop here it is not difficult to see that this knowledge is neutral in its moral bearing, and may, therefore, become a power for evil instead of good. Hence the question is now being raised whether education in this purely scientific form is a real benefit, a real good or not, and whether the State is accomplishing a really profitable service by carrying it forward in higher stages in her high schools and normal schools. Statistics are quoted to show that such purely mental scientific education has no power to restrain men from evil. We refer to this, not as an argument against science or scientific knowledge, but only to show that education cannot stop in these forms of merely scientific knowledge, but must go on to some relative completion in a self-consciousness as to the meaning, the ends and purposes of all true education. This we find in philosophy—in the true and proper sense of the word, the love of wisdom in distinction from mere notional knowledge. Philosophy has to do with truth as absolute in distinction from truth as relative and finite in merely scientific study. It confronts us with the region of absolute, eternal, ideas, fundamental among which are the ideas of the *Good, the Beautiful, the True*. We have to do here with eternal, unchanging, objective *being*, in distinction from mere thinking and knowing. The absolute truth, which is one and unchanging, passes over into the finite for the mind in the form of relative ideas, which are the subject of philosophic study in its different departments of metaphysics proper, æsthetics and ethics.

In this department of study the student is confronted with the spiritual side of his existence, the spiritual world from which his true and higher life proceeds; for man's life is two-fold, on the one side earthly and sensuous; on the other spiritual and divine; and the proper end of the former is to be reached only in the latter. A proper doctrine of metaphysics must show and grant that truth in its spiritual substantiality is one and absolute, and that science is only the form in which it

reveals itself from the earthly side of man's existence. In æsthetics the beautiful is an absolute idea proceeding from the sphere of absolute being and revealing itself in finite forms in the constitution of man and of the world, and reaching a kind of second creation in the sphere of art through human genius, which is Godlike in that it can project a creation of its own. And highest of all in ethics, the doctrine of the good, we have to do with the absolute in the form of will, the doctrine of virtue, duty, of right, and social cointegration, as these constitute the whole moral order of human society in its broadest sense, and of man's ethical perfection.

It is easy to see that philosophy in this sense of it has to do with positive being and not merely notional knowledge. It has to do with life and living, and the student feels himself confronted at every step with a challenge as to his acceptance of the presence of these absolute ideas looking to the perfection of his being. The intellectual and the moral are here made to flow together in a way that they do not in mere scientific enlightenment. Scientific discipline is necessary in order to a proper study of philosophy, and is of great value, but it is only when the student comes to the study of final ends and ultimate causes that he feels his moral nature thus challenged. This is the only kind of philosophy worthy of the name—the love of wisdom. It is the philosophy which was struggled for by the divine Plato, but which he was unable fully to reach without the light of revelation. There is another sort which came in, in part, perhaps we may say, through Aristotle, and revived during the middle ages, which leaves the substance to grasp the form merely, a system of mere dialectics, with its endless logical distinctions and subtleties, which in the end leaves man famished so far as all true and essential knowledge is concerned. It became an endless treadmill in which man ever returned to the same beginning, never making a step of real progress. It had no power for man except to sharpen his wits, and it was no wonder, therefore, that the world grew weary of

it, abhorred it, and at the Reformation cast it to the winds, in order to try a new and better career of human study and investigation. Nor is it to be wondered at that in casting away the useless formalism of dialectics they threw away for a time also the true idea of philosophy, and instituted a *novum organon*, which by its doctrine of pure induction and its acceptance of only secondary causes, erred equally on the other side. The sad results we have seen in the sensationalism of Locke, the deism of England, the infidelity of France, and the rationalism of Germany. But philosophy, in its true sense, did not perish, and therefore resting in a firm faith in Christianity it is able still to assert its high prerogative as the love of wisdom and the immediate guide for scientific knowledge and education.

In this character it clearly constitutes the relative end of the college course, and as such it rules and determines the beginning, superstructure and completion of a course of liberal education. It is the light which illumines the whole pathway of instruction. It confronts us with the fontal source and end of all knowledge, which is the sphere of the Absolute, and this is only another name for God.

It might seem that in assigning this high prerogative to philosophy as a directing and ruling power in education, we are unmindful that this belongs only to Christianity. But such is not our meaning. We freely grant that philosophy is not a light in and of itself. *It* must be illumined by the light of Christianity and be made to rest in Christian faith. This we have hinted at already, and we shall consider this point further on in our remarks. What we mean is that relatively speaking philosophy occupies this high position.

We have now reached in a very brief statement what we mean by saying that it belongs to the character of a college education, that it should reach its completion in a sound system of philosophic teaching, without which its different branches of study reach no union, but like scattered streams waste themselves in the desert sand. A college without a system of phil-

osophy is like a vessel on the bosom of the sea without compass or helm. It may spread its sails to the wind and move with great velocity, it may display great power (for knowledge is power), but it will have no given direction. It will be at the mercy of the winds and waves, and will be liable at any time to drift into quicksands or be dashed against the rocks. A college does not discharge its responsibility that has not a system of reigning thought in the form of philosophy. This responsibility cannot be evaded. Some philosophy in the form of general principles will in one way or another control and direct the spirit of the institution. This is according to the constitution of the human mind and the order of human life. The general always and in all spheres rules the particular. Human life and pursuits are always under the direction and sway of general principles which determine their character, though for the most part men are not fully conscious of them. All men, indeed, are guided by a philosophy, though generally it is not their own, but accepted from others. In the same way a college will necessarily be under the guidance of a philosophy, whether systematic or not, but it may be in the way of a mere blind following. In all such cases it fails to meet its proper responsibility either through incapacity or indifference.

Colleges have a grave responsibility here, not only for themselves, in the way of a proper self-understanding, a self-consciousness which directs their own work, but also in other spheres of life, and this in different ways. The majority of the leading minds that control the affairs of Church and State, receive a college education. They will to some extent at least carry with them in after life the principles instilled into their minds during their college course. Subsequent professional study and the rugged practical experience of life will to some extent modify these, but they will return to assert their power. These principles are universal. They relate to man as man, as an individual and as society. They assert a doctrine of virtue and duty for all men in every sphere and relation in life.

They point out the divinely ordained order of the family and the State,—of the whole social economy. Their influence here will assert itself in one direction or another. If these principles are unsound, who can measure the influence for evil they will exert through educated minds and men of power? Errors and defects in mere scientific attainments may have but small effect. But let a man's views of the moral nature of man, of virtue and duty, and of the moral order of society, the family, the State, be false, and who cannot see that it will work as a moral leaven for evil so far as his influence extends. And if on the other hand they are sound, a corresponding influence for good will be exerted.

Then we may refer here also to the influence of colleges on education in the various schools of a lower grade. True there seems to be a separation here between the higher and lower education of our country. The common schools are entirely under State control and the colleges under different control. But such is the law of life that in one way or another influences will descend from the higher to the lower. Through scientific investigations, through the dissemination of views, through text books and teachers, the influence of the colleges will reach out and exert a more or less moulding influence on education at large, and most powerfully in the way of general principles. Just at this time especially the problem of State education is struggling to find its own true end. What shall be its limit? What are the fundamental principles that should direct and animate it? These questions can be answered only from the standpoint of sound principles as to the true nature and end of all right education, and here the colleges will serve as guides and direction to a greater or less extent, directly or indirectly.

In these remarks upon the importance of philosophy in a college course we can, of course, mean no undervaluation of the different branches besides that are pursued. These enter as necessary integral elements of a liberal education, and the college is responsible that they shall be

thoroughly taught. The course of study laid down in the ordinary college curriculum is not arbitrary, but its selection is the result of centuries of experience as to what study is best adapted for the discipline and culture of the mind. None of these can be omitted without serious loss. Therefore it pertains to the responsibilities of every institution bearing the name of a college to provide for sufficient, accurate and thorough instruction in all the branches and departments thus laid down, while at the same time it brings them to a conclusion in its general system of thought.

II. Having now considered what constitutes a complete education in a college distinguished from an academic education, we proceed in the second place to define and determine its calling as distinguished from a University, and all such institutions as have for their direct object some practical pursuit in life.

It is true that all proper education looks to such practical end, and serves as a preparation for it, but not just in the same way. The University or the Technic school has such end for their immediate and direct object. The University, for instance, provides a post-graduate course. The teaching and lectures are occupied with professional studies, or with certain departments of learning intended for those who for some purpose wish to make them a specialty. Theology, Philosophy, Law, and Medicine, have special faculties or lecturers, while scholarly instruction is imparted in the more advanced departments of the different sciences. Universities of this kind have a specific character different entirely from the American College. They are intended for a different object and a different class of students. The Gymnasias of Germany correspond more nearly in their nature and object to the American College, while yet they are somewhat different.

Then there is a department of education which has come into prominence of late years, called scientific and technic, which provides specially for the study of such branches of science, as refer more directly to the practical pursuits of life.

In some cases these studies are provided for in special institutions devoted solely to them, while in others they are conjoined with the old regular course in a college. The tendency has been growing of late years in this country to introduce such scientific courses, as they are called, into the curriculum of the regular college so as to produce institutions of a mixed character. Students then at their own option are allowed to pursue either the regular classic course, or a mixed course, combining the classic and the scientific, or merely the scientific course. Such provision has no doubt been made, in order to satisfy the practical tendency of life in America, and the strong desire to utilize education directly in relation to the pursuits of life. Such sciences as Chemistry, Mineralogy, Metallurgy, Geology, Mining and Engineering, have a direct bearing on practical pursuits, and can be directly utilized in opening up the wealth and promoting the industry of the country.

Such education, as in the case of that of the University, unquestionably has its place and calling, and for those institutions that may be prepared to make the trial it may be proper to join it with the regular college course. But in that case the result is, not a college pure and simple in the old established sense, but a mixed institution. We do not propose to discuss the merits of such education any more than that of the University. We only refer to them in order to distinguish and describe more clearly the character of a college education in its nature, meaning and object.

In distinction from such institutions it is the object of the college to provide an education that shall have for its primary object liberal and humane culture for its own sake, or we may state it as the liberal culture of man as man, for his own sake primarily, and then for the practical uses to which it may be applied. As under the first point we considered the nature of a complete education objectively considered, we now have to consider the subject of such education, which is man, in the full and free development of all his powers. Man is an end in

himself, and not merely an instrument for some end beyond, himself. He is the end of the whole natural creation, the crown of all God's works. The world is indeed his dwelling-place. He was made to rule over it, and utilize it for his own proper purposes and wants. As in his fall, he was doomed to cultivate the ground and eat his bread in the sweat of his face, it has become a necessity to study the laws of nature, and put forth effort in order to use the world for his temporal support and comfort. In this view he becomes, so to speak, a part of the natural world, and must find in it the means of his physical and industrial advancement. Yet there is room here to consider the education of man as man, looking primarily to what he is, and what he is to become by the proper discipline and culture of his high powers.

An education looking to this end, man's development and completion as man, must be liberal, that is, free. The freedom of man consists in living and moving intelligently and willingly in harmony with truth and law. As applied to the intellectual powers, it consists in their development by the presence and power of truth. Man is in no respect self-subsistent. His true life comes from beyond himself. The body is dependent upon outward conditions for its growth and preservation. By a divine power working through nature, he receives his constant ability to live and move from the air he breathes and the food he eats. The mind is related in a somewhat corresponding way to a world or sphere of being in union with which it exists and expands. This is the world of truth which is the form in which life reaches the intellect. The human mind is a form of spiritual existence, a capacity, but its essential life comes from beyond itself. The mind is made for truth. Truth can enter it only by the activity of the mind in appropriating it. The mind at first is narrow, unfree. It takes partial and imperfect views of things, and is under the tyranny of mere opinions. Truth on the other hand is the very breath of mental freedom, it is broad, universal, free. As the mind

enters the sphere of truth, in the legitimate exercise of its powers, it begins to experience the same breadth, catholicity and freedom. It is, indeed, not the less bound, but its bondage now is free in harmony with universal and necessary laws. Its thinking is not partial, private opinion, but according to the laws of truth. In short, that intellect is free which is bound by the truth, and only by the truth.

His æsthetic nature is challenged by the beautiful. As he receives the beautiful into his being through the phantasy, the artistic element in his nature is awakened and developed in the cultivation of grace and refinement. The earth is not only useful, but it is also beautiful. A temple is not only constructed for the accommodation of its worshipers, but as it rises in beautiful structure, bold proportions, and appropriate decorations, it mirrors forth the idea which it represents. So man, the crown of the world and the temple for nature, should reveal in himself the reflection and reproduction of the idea of the beautiful.

His ethical nature is made for the good. This is the highest element of his nature, and the one in and through which alone all the others can come to their proper completion. In its rudimentary forms the will is unfree. It exists in the form of mere blind appetency, of inclination, desire, passion. To become free it must receive into itself the substance of the good. It must become unselfed in order to find its true self-hood. The will is then only free when it becomes a willing organ of moral law, and is inspired by love. Then it is released from bondage to mere impulse and passion, to mere caprice and selfish purpose.

Such humane culture may be obtained to a certain extent and incidentally, it is true, in the cultivation and study of some practical branch of education, but in such case this culture is partial, one-sided, and defective. Only where it is set forth as the primary object in view, can it be reached in the full sense. Such general culture is of a higher order than any

merely partial culture, and it gives to this latter its true dignity. It is truly an ornament to man in all conditions in life. The lawyer or the physician is admired and esteemed for his professional knowledge and skill, but it is expected that his training shall not be entirely limited to this. In the important position he occupies in society, it is expected that his culture shall also be general as in his character. If with all his imperfections and failings, we can say with BURNS, "a man's a man for a' that," so with the best special and professional skill, we may say a cultivated man is a man in addition to all that.

A liberal education is indeed practical in the highest and best sense, for a man who is thoroughly disciplined and cultured is the least prepared to turn his attention with effect to the practical pursuits of life, whereas one who lacks such preliminary culture will be less competent to master the study of such practical calling. So also the man who is liberally educated will be able not only to fill his particular calling, but above and beyond that, he will be able to act his part in general society and for general interests. For lack of this full and general culture the various professions have been losing that commanding position, dignity and influence, which they formerly possessed. The tendency has been to crowd into them without sufficient preliminary training, so that the complaint is that the professions are overcrowded, and the standard of culture is lowered. We do not mean by this that true culture may not be found outside of a college. Some of the best cultivated men in public and professional life in our country, have not been graduates of a college, but as a rule this culture is acquired by the time and study prescribed in a college course.

To this end the curriculum of the college is arranged on a system which has received the sanction of ages of trial. It has remained substantially the same in our American colleges. It embraces a four years' course of discipline in the study of language, mathematics, natural science, history, literature and

philosophy, each pursued in a free way for its own sake, without immediate and direct reference to the practical uses to which it may be applied. The principle here involved is susceptible of easy illustration. The human body is formed for practical uses aside from or along with its being the outward organ for the spirit of man, which is its highest purpose. Primarily its development and discipline should have reference to its relation to the spirit. But in regard to its uses for ends and purposes of a worldly nature outside of man, the best preparation for a particular service primarily is the full and equal development of all its powers. Suppose a man needs a strong arm to wield the heavy hammer, shall he in the period of youth begin to strengthen that member specially, before his body as a whole has attained its full development? Clearly not; for the strength and power of each part depends on the healthy condition of the whole. Let the whole body receive a symmetrical development, and then there will be time and room for the special discipline of any part to adapt it to special uses and pursuits. The same is true of the mind. A well disciplined mind is prepared at the proper time to apply itself to special, intellectual or scientific pursuits, besides being prepared to occupy a proper position in relation to the general affairs of society; whereas the mind that has been early disciplined with reference to one pursuit, is in danger of becoming weakened and dwarfed in relation to others.

The proper subject of education primarily is man, as man, with reference to the completion of his manhood, and after that, special education for particular callings and pursuits of life. All, indeed, cannot attain this with the present condition of society, for all cannot secure a liberal education. But it is just here that the responsibility of a college in the old sense finds its limits. There are other institutions in which those who do not aim at a liberal education may be educated, and they are necessary and proper in their place; but for those of the other class referred to the college is certainly limited to one particular work.

"A liberal education, in its very nature, regards not primarily any ends of business or professional work. It is not without reference to these, indeed, as an ulterior object, since all true human culture must show itself to be at last practical in some way; but what it aims at immediately, and for the time being exclusively, is the cultivation of the mind for its own sake. • All may easily see that this is something very different from forming the mind to be a fit instrument simply for securing other interests which lie outside of itself, and are not therefore at once of its own constitution. Training for such outward utilitarian purposes (whether in lower or higher forms) involves, of course mental culture—a discipline, as far as it goes, of the student's capacities and powers. But it is not, as such, liberal or *free* training; because the mind is held bound in it always as means to an outward end. Only where education has its end in itself can it be truly of this high character. That is just what the term *liberal* properly here means."*

The utilitarian theory is unsound and unsafe as a principle generally, and it is dangerous when applied to education as a ruling factor. It can set no limits in defining what is useful in the ultimate sense, because for that purpose man must be viewed in relation to his final end and destiny, and what that is no mere human wisdom can determine. It is a true principle in its place, but it is not a fundamental or primary principle. It cannot understand and define itself, but must look beyond itself for this light. If you ask what the useful is, no satisfactory answer can be given from the principle itself. What is good and true is always useful in the end, but we cannot say that what is useful in the ordinary sense of the word is always good and true. Its application in education often, and always ultimately, runs into absurdity. Education is thus sought to be made practical before it has fairly begun to be theoretical. Even into the primary and rudimentary forms of education it is often introduced, only to bring confusion. The

* Dr. Nevin in Catalogue of Franklin and Marshall College.

cui bono is applied at every step and its proper answer can never be given without reference to another principle. A given study may discipline and improve the mind—that certainly is useful, but not, it may be, directly for any practical end beyond the mind itself. To commence with this principle is reversing the true order. The inquiry should first be, what is true and good, and its utility will follow.

Thus far we have aimed at elucidating two points—1st, that the education provided by a college reaches a relative completion in a *curriculum* of studies which forms the introduction to the whole field of learning, and reaches its meaning in a system of philosophy; and 2d, that this education is designed primarily for the full and free culture of the student. But in reference to both these points we may now say that they would be entirely unsatisfactory and fall into confusion, without the introduction of a still higher guiding principle in education. Philosophy furnishes principles that serve as a directory and guide for the education which it completes and crowns; but what is the light and guide for philosophy? We know as a fact that it does not contain in itself the power of self-direction in the truth. It is not infallible. On the contrary it has often gone astray. Philosophy may be true or false, good or bad, according as it receives or does not receive the true light that comes from a higher source. There have been as many systems of philosophy as of religion. They arise through great minds and the spirit of an age, flourish for a time, and then pass away and give place to others.

It is only in Christianity as a divine revelation that philosophy and science in general can find a sure and steady guide to the truth, or rather perhaps we should say in the author of Christianity, who is Himself the light of the world, the light that lighteth every man coming into the world. He says of Himself, "I am the light of the world; He that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life." These words of the founder of Christianity stand out alone, as

compared with the words of the wise men of the world, in their high assumption, and in the sublimity of their utterance. They assume that He alone who utters them is able to direct all human thinking into the truth. He is the light of all true philosophy.

So also while in education man may be postulated as relatively an end in himself, yet in the absolute sense his end is God. While we may speak of a culture having man for its end, culture for its own sake, yet it is true also that man is to be educated for the divine and heavenly, where only his true destiny is to be reached. Whereas, therefore, it would be degrading to educate man merely for an earthly end beyond himself, seeing that he is himself the end of the world, which was made for him, and not he for it, yet to refuse to recognize the end of man in God would be to reject all faith in the Creator of the Universe and deify man, which would be accursed idolatry.

These two points need to be somewhat amplified in order to reach our conclusion as to the relation of Christianity to education and the position of a college in regard to this subject.

Human knowledge in the highest and best form man is able to attain by the mere light of nature is not a sufficient guide without the aid of revelation. It may be said that truth in every form illumines its own pathway, and therefore if man will follow the light of science step by step, with a love of the truth, he will be safely guided; that while revelation is necessary to enlighten man in regard to religious questions, yet for its own ends and purposes the human intellect can direct its way in the sphere of merely natural truth, so that science and philosophy may be successfully pursued apart from any supernatural light and help. But truth is one and universal although it may come to us in different ways. The law that the higher sphere of knowledge and being illumines and determines the lower is as fixed and necessary as the order of the universe.

Man illumines nature, matter comes to its meaning in mind. Nature could not interpret itself. In itself it could have no

meaning. It was only when the human spirit was created that a spiritual light dawned upon the world and revealed its mystery and meaning, just as the natural sun reveals its outlines to the natural eye. As the end of creation man was the type that moulded and modeled all the processes of nature below him. The end was in the beginning as well as in the result and the efficient causes. We do not reach man from nature according to the Darwin hypothesis, but we reach nature in its apprehension and interpretation from man. There is, it is true, an upward nixus everywhere apparent in nature, and this is the truth in Darwinism, and a great truth it is, too much and too long overlooked. Every step and process in the order of nature, from the lowest to the highest, adumbrates and foreshadows man, illustrating the mysterious words that man, in one view, is formed and fashioned in the dark places of the earth, and this is the meaning of the equally mysterious word, that God made man out of the dust of the earth. But the archetype and the light which moulds and illumines the processes of this grand result come from above, the inbreathing of the Spirit, according to the words, God breathed into his nostrils and man became a living soul.

Hence we say that the only light that can reveal the meaning of nature is man. If this be true, then we are forced to the conclusion that the only light that illumines man and reveals his nature and destiny is God. The idea of man is the light of all science of nature. The idea of God is the light of man, of humanity. Much indeed has been gained for the cause of truth by the manner in which Darwin and his school have pointed out the types and resemblances of man in nature below him. But the crystal or the plant, or the mute animal cannot see or know this. It is only man in the light of the idea of man that can understand it. Equally true, is it, then, that humanity reaches its meaning only in the light of the idea of God. *Deus nos personat*. Nature, it is true, reveals God, but only in the light of the idea of God. That idea in man pre-

cedes the light and voice of nature, and that idea comes not from nature, or from man, but from God. It is God-given, revealed from above. If man could derive the idea of God from nature, nature would be God; and if he could originate it from himself, then man would be God. Hence we are driven to the alternative that either pantheism is true, or the knowledge of God comes by revelation from God to man.

The conclusion we reach here is, that human science and philosophy must receive its light and direction from above. The world's history and experience abundantly prove this. Ancient heathen philosophy sought by its own light to solve the destiny of man, but it failed. Religious error became the source of error in other spheres of knowledge. The greatest and the best of ancient sages acknowledged that man could not attain to a knowledge of the truth unless some one came down from above to teach him.

"I dare say that you, Socrates, feel as I do how very hard or almost impossible is the attainment with any certainty about questions such as these in the present life. And yet I should deem him a coward who did not prove what is said about them to the uttermost, or whose heart failed him before he had examined them on every side. For he should persevere until he has attained one of two things: either he should discover or be taught the truth about them; or, if this is impossible, I would have him take the least and most irrefragable of human theories, and let this be the raft upon which he sails through life—not without risk, as I admit, *if he cannot find some word of God* which will most surely and safely carry him."—Phædo, i. 414.

We have now also covered our second point. As science and philosophy, education in itself considered, needs for its completion the knowledge of God, so also man, the subject of education, is not an absolute end in himself, but must find this end in the one Absolute Being who is the end of all things. And

this, not only in the way of knowledge, but also in the form of will. Man cannot reach his ethical completion in his own strength. He cannot actualize in himself what he knows. Knowing the right he pursues the wrong.

I do not propose to enter upon an argument to show that, a revelation being postulated, the only absolute revelation is that given to the world in the Sent of God—the Lord Jesus Christ; and that therefore the Christian religion is the only absolute religion. Before this audience I assume this. The point now to be considered is as to the vocation and responsibility of colleges in regard to Christianity.

Their history throws much light on what has been all along designed on this subject in their founding. All the early American colleges were founded, not by the State (although some of them, perhaps all, received State aid at one time or another) but by church influence and private beneficence. Provision was made in them for imparting religious instruction. This in the earlier times, was strictly enforced. It was not for a moment thought that education and religion might be separated. They were united according to the traditions brought over from the old world. It has continued a marked feature of colleges in this country that they have always maintained this union of education and religion. The idea of conducting education without positive religious teachings came in at a late date in the education of the country. As our government favors no particular religion while it equally protects all, it was felt that the public schools should be free from any religious bias. We do not propose to consider this point so far as the State schools are concerned. We merely note as a fact that the system of higher education, as carried forward in our colleges, differs in this respect from that of the State schools. And just here it is, we think, that the highest responsibility devolves upon them. It belongs to their vocation to maintain the union of Christianity with education.

It is well for the education of our country that this is done

in those institutions which give direction in one way or another to all our schools. Here the last results in education are wrought out, here are the sources of influence and power. If education in these higher institutions were in any way antagonistic to Christianity or even neutral, the sad results would soon be felt in all our schools. As it is, a healthful, leavening influence has gone forth and moulded more or less the general spirit of the nation in this respect. The public schools are consciously or unconsciously moulded by it, as well as by the general Christian life of the nation. Whatever may be the necessity theoretically in regard to religious teaching in these schools, it is universally conceded that practically they ought to reflect the spirit of the people and be open to the influence of Christianity in the way at least of sound Christian morality. The spirit and customs of the people here are more potent than abstract theories. Teachers are expected to enjoin the precepts of the Christian religion as the basis of the conduct of the pupils, and in many, especially the high schools, these precepts are daily read from the word of God. On this point they will naturally adapt themselves to the wants of the people in any given district.

Precisely how this relation between Christianity and education in our colleges should best formulate and assert itself is a question not yet solved. In some colleges, under direct church care and influence, the symbols of the church are taught. In others equally positive on the general subject, the religious teaching is of a less sectarian and more catholic character. Generally the requirements are of such a character that no offence is given to the religious beliefs or conscientious scruples of any of the students. Religious teaching of a strictly denominational character, if provided for, is limited to those who may wish to avail themselves of it. Such teaching, it is generally conceded, may be referred to the appliances of the church.

But the chief point here, as we think, turns upon whether the teaching and life of the college as a whole is under Chris-

tian influence, and especially whether the sciences and philosophy taught are permeated by Christian principles. There may be a great deal of direct religious teaching, in a somewhat external way, where there is at the same time a divorce internally between this and the reigning thought that prevails in the institution. An un-Christian view of science or system of the philosophy may prevail alongside of strict Christian teaching. In this way skepticism and infidelity often come in to steal away the good results, while direct formal Christian teaching still continues to be employed.

In saying this we do not mean to detract from the importance of positive Christian teaching in our colleges. We rather urge it as highly necessary. Not only in precept, but in all its appliances Christianity should be domiciled as the inspiring genius of a college. It should be there in the way of living organization. The college should live and move in the bosom of the Christian Church. This has often been overlooked. Christianity is not mere letter and precept, but it is life. It is not an abstraction but an organized power with a body as well as a soul.

But in addition to this it pertains to the vocation of a college to do something in the way of bringing Christianity and science, or education, into internal organic union in an objective way. It is not sufficient that they shall merely stand side by side, each maintaining its own independent rights. Neither can science and philosophy now yield themselves in such a merely external way to the subserviency of religion, as in the Middle Ages. The emancipation of thought that took place at the Reformation must find a different solution of the problem. There must be freedom. Philosophy and science must freely receive the light of revelation, and seek for an inward harmony between them. Thus, philosophy and science, still holding their own sphere, become Christian in the true sense. The light of reason yields to the guidance of revelation without surrendering its own independent prerogative. As Church and

State seek thus to harmonize their relations freely, so also, religion and science find their inward union.

This problem may indeed be said to remain as yet unsolved. We may grant that the harmony between religion and science is not yet accomplished. Perhaps it will not be fully until the new creation shall have lifted up and glorified the old. But the standpoint of a Christian college is that of faith—a firm faith in the fact that the two are ultimately in harmony. This already is much. It freely admits the light of revelation in the work of learning, and studies science in the spirit of humble faith in the one Lord of the whole universe, of the spiritual and the natural.

If such be the true calling of an American college in distinction from educational institutions of other grades and types, then we may readily find the limits of its responsibilities. These are only commensurate with its calling. Its claim to existence demands that it shall do and do well the full work of a college. This work as we have seen is very specifically different from that of a mere academy. Its curriculum should honestly and faithfully embrace the complete circle of scientific and humane studies, and its instruction in these should be equally honest and faithful. Its standard of scholarship should not be lowered to win a mistaken popular favor or to crowd its halls with students. The influence and power of its work depend not on numbers, not on quantity so much as quality. Indeed it should be placed above the temptation of seeking patronage by departing from its fixed course at any point. It should provide a finished culture for its students. It should train them to be thinkers, so that in scholarship, culture and power of thought they may adorn the republic of letters into which it introduces them.

Holding fast to this character and calling there is room for progress, of course, in the work of colleges. They should keep abreast with the constant advance in science and literature, and the methods of teaching. But an institution claiming only to be a college is not responsible for not providing a kind of

education which does not belong to its calling. And here lies its chief power, in being true to its calling and fulfilling it with efficiency. Instead of aiming to diffuse its power over every sort of training, like some mammoth business houses that aim to absorb and monopolize every branch of business in one, even if it had the means, it should seek rather to reach efficiency and depth in its one distinct work. To attempt such branching out without the means, thereby weakening what it is doing in order to do more, would be unwise and insane.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

HANDBUCH DER CHRISTLICHEN KIRCHEN-GESCHICHTE FÜR PREDIGER UND GEMEINDE-GLIEDER. Vollständig in zwei Theilen von H. J. Rutenik, Th. Dr. Ev. Ref. Buch-Anstalt, 991 Scranton Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

The history of the Christian Church is a field of inquiry so full of instruction, so rich in spiritual wealth, and yet so difficult to be thoroughly explored and intelligibly represented, that although we have numerous works on the subject, some extensive and designed chiefly for scholars, and others simple, brief and compact adapted to the wants of Christians generally; yet there is still room and occasion, especially in the Reformed Church of the United States, for another work conceived and wrought out like the one before us, from the Reformed point of observation, and holding in view particularly the needs of the Reformed population on American soil; and the Rev. Dr. Rutenik deserves the thanks of his brethren for producing a book which in many respects is well fitted to supply this demand.

Based on extensive reading and careful study of authorities, this work, written in a clear, forcible style, aims at a representation of the origin and progress of the Christian Church under both the general and particular aspects of history. We have neither a merely general survey nor only a detailed account of persons and events. We have rather both in one. The general view of the world before and at the time of Christ, and of the church in its

origin and progress, and the author's conceptions of successive epochs and periods of history, are filled out with a judicious selection of interesting events relating to persons and times. So successful has Dr. Rutenik been in combining these opposite elements that his "Handbuch" is to some extent both an interpretation of the good and evil forces operating in ecclesiastical history, and at the same time an illustration, by particular facts, of these general forces. Thus it becomes in reality what it purports to be: a hand-book for ministers and people. We take pleasure in adding that the result of his industry merits a place among works of reference on church history in the libraries of all our ministers.

For those who know the author it is needless to say, that these volumes are written from a positive Christian stand-point. His history moves in the element of unquestioning faith in the divine human person of our Lord, and in the divine and ultimate authority of the written Word. Fashioned by the spirit of the Protestant Reformation, and animated by the life of the Reformed faith, the author recognizes the true and good as well as exposes the false and evil forces active in the medieval no less than in the Primitive ages; and in accordance with the promise of Christ, he affirms the presence of His Holy Spirit in every period and epoch, as well as the agency of Satan and the wickedness of men. On most questions we can accept his general views as sound. Even where we must dissent he is, in our opinion, to be regarded as emphasizing elements which without doubt enter into the course of history. Where we dissent we see deficiencies, and one-sided conceptions rather than downright errors and groundless notions. The pervading tone of the work is positive, firm, hopeful, cheerful and healthy. We have discovered no morbid tendencies in any direction. Though Protestant and Reformed, this History is free from bigotry.

The limits of our notice forbid a particular review. Though we must take exception here and there; yet the "Handbuch" of Dr. Rutenik possesses such solid merit, and is so well adapted to its purpose, that we commend it to general attention and confidence. In a form suitable alike for the clergy and laity, it exhibits within small compass the whole field of church history.

The first volume covers the first fifteen centuries; the second is

devoted to the Reformation and to the manifold developments which have since then appeared in the domain of church life. We suggest that some one make a similar contribution to our literature in the English language; or "upset" the excellent work of Dr. Ruttenik.

E. V. G.

A REVIEW OF THE POLITICAL CONFLICT IN AMERICA, *from the commencement of the Anti-slavery Agitation to the close of Southern Reconstruction; comprising also a resume of the career of Thaddeus Stevens.* By ALEXANDER HARRIS. New York: T. H. Pollock, Publisher, 37 Park Row, 1876.

The author of this book, a well-known member of the Lancaster (Pa.) bar, with whom for years the interest of letters has stood higher than the interest of mere professional business, is already favorably accredited with the public by other productions of his pen, among which may be named particularly his "Biographical History of Lancaster County." Looking over the volume before us, we have no hesitation in saying that it shows a decided improvement on all his previous writings so far as they have come under our observation. The subject, of course, is of the greatest interest and importance; while the treatment of it is managed with what seems to us to have been the most faithful industry and care. The book is written with clear method, in interesting and pleasing style, and is valuable as a comprehensive summary, or synopsis of the general train of events in our American history, which came to its full significance at least through our late civil war. Such a work on such a theme in the nature of the case, must be estimated from the stand-point of the writer, with due consideration of the lights and shadows it is found to take upon itself necessarily from this as a tower of observation. Mr. Harris leaves us in no uncertainty whatever, with regard to what his own position is in this respect, as a historian of our national struggle. He made himself somewhat famous, it is known, by his steady opposition to the war from its inception to its close; and the view he takes of it now in his history, is ruled by a corresponding condemnatory judgment throughout. But he has maintained, nevertheless, we think, what must be regarded as on the whole a predominantly calm and candid tone in his record of facts and things as they appear to his own mind. A

purely *objective* portraiture of such a historical subject is hardly possible in the present generation. Some coloring of interest and passion is sure to enter into the work, however honestly intended. It is much, if only there *be* such honest intention and endeavor in the case; and to this praise (which in these days we hold to be great praise) the author of the book before us appears to be justly entitled.

N.

THE CHRISTOLOGY OF ST. JOHN. A Synodical Sermon by John B. Thompson, D.D. New York: J. J. Little & Co., Printers, 10 to 20 Astor Place.

This is a somewhat remarkable sermon to be delivered before a Reformed (Dutch) Synod, and to go out with that synod's *imprimatur*. It aims to set forth the view of the person of Christ and of Christianity that has been taught and emphasized in the Reformed (German) Church for more than a quarter of a century. Christianity is essentially life, and that life is the resurgent life of Christ in His people. "It was necessary," the sermon says, "that this divine life should be manifested in the likeness of sinful flesh before it could become ours. It must be adapted to our capability of apprehension. So also it was necessary that it should triumph over sin and death in the human nature of Christ before it could avail to accomplish this mighty result in us. *For this reason the Lord died and rose again*, that as He lives so we may live also; *holy, happily, eternally*. The life which He shares with His people is even now His resurrection life, &c." We must assert "the *immanence* of God, along with his *transcendence*. John was not afraid that the theology which he had learned of Jesus would lead to Pantheism. It is the cure of Pantheism, as well as for Deism."

All that, and much more, of the same kind that might be quoted, is well spoken. It is just what has been written in articles and preached in sermons for years in the German Reformed Church. But when our ministers and teachers maintained that the object of the death and resurrection of Christ was that He might live in us, it was charged as being a denial of the atonement; and when it was asserted that His resurrection life dwells in us, it was charged as being Pantheism. And yet here is a Reformed (Dutch) Synod endorsing all that as preached by one of its own ministers.

The only complaint we have to make against the sermon is that in one of the notes the author does gross injustice to the "sister church of the Heidelberg Catechism pure and simple." He there says that our Church, "like that which follows the Anglican cultus, has largely fallen off into externalism. The prevailing doctrine in both is that of the mediation of material existences, of bishops, or of sacraments, or both, between us and Christ, thus lapsing into the formalism of the ante-Reformation period. On the other hand the other Reformed churches, constrained by their system, *do not make prominent the doctrine of divine life in Christ for us.*" He seems to know us only in the liturgical movement that has agitated our churches. But before that, and deeper than that, has been the theological movement that has been distinguished just for "making prominent this doctrine of divine life in Christ for us." If any Reformed church in this country, or in Europe, has ever emphasized this doctrine, certainly ours has done so. If the author had been familiar with such writings among us as Dr. Nevin's *Mystical Presence*, he would doubtless have given us credit for this.

But we can readily overlook this error in view of the rich Christological truth which the sermon contains. If it is at all read and understood in the Dutch Church, it must certainly appear as a new gospel. And yet it is the teaching of the Heidelberg catechism, and what is more, it is certainly the Gospel according to St. John.

We would be willing to yield much that has been aimed at in our liturgical movement, if this Christological doctrine would be unanimously accepted. We believe that in the heat of discussion and party strife, too much stress on both sides has been laid upon the mere question of liturgical worship. So far as this Christological doctrine underlies the liturgy, it is indeed important and vital, but we do not believe that mere forms of worship are worth as much contention as has been bestowed upon the matter in our church. Worship may be equally acceptable with or without a formal liturgy, but the Christological faith set forth in this sermon, and for long time emphasized in what is called our Mercersburg Theology, belongs to the foundation of things in the Church.

T. G. A.

A VOCABULARY OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL SCIENCES, &c. By Charles P. Krauth, S. T. D., LL. D., Vice-Prevost of the University of Pennsylvania New York: Sheldon & Company, 1878.

We have room merely to announce the publication of this valuable work and acknowledge its reception from the esteemed editor. We shall try to find room for a fuller notice of it heretofore in connection with a new work on the History of Modern Philosophy, which has been sent to us but not yet received. For students in the department of Philosophy it is certainly a necessity. No other department of study is burdened with so large a class of technical terms, just because no other department is so extensive, and has to do with so many difficult problems. This work is not a mere dry vocabulary, but its brief definitions often throw a flood of light upon the most difficult subjects. To make it what it is has required a full mastery of the whole field of philosophic study. Besides this mastery, Dr. Krauth has, as he modestly says, "a working acquaintance with the languages which are the main repositories of philosophic thought." The literary public will highly appreciate this additional contribution by Dr. Krauth to a department of study which is rapidly coming to receive increased attention in the institutions of this country.

MODERN PHILOSOPHY, from DESCARTES to SCHOPENHAUER and HARTMAN. By FRANCIS BOWEN, A. M., Alford Professor of Natural Religion and Moral Philosophy in Harvard College. NEW YORK: SCRIBNER, ARMSTRONG and COMPANY. 1877.

A substantial volume of 484 pages, price three dollars. It is a work on Modern Philosophy, and not a history, as its title indicates. It is not intended therefore to take the place of such works as Morrell or Ueberweg. It does indeed give a history of some of the leading modern systems, with interesting biographical notices of their authors or founders; but its principal object is not merely historical. Nor is it a mere commentary on these systems. "Aiming to be thorough and impartial in setting forth the opinions of others, I have also held it to be a duty frankly to avow and earnestly to defend the whole doctrine which appeared to me to be just and true, whether it was also of good report or not." The author,

although not a clergyman, has definite convictions respecting the fundamental truths of theology. "Earnestly desiring to avoid prejudice on either side," he says, "and to welcome evidence and argument from whatever source they might come, without professional bias, and free from any external inducement to teach one set of opinions rather than another, I have faithfully studied most of what the philosophy of these modern times and the science of our own day assume to teach. And the result is, that I am now more fully convinced than ever that what has been justly called 'the dirt-philosophy' of materialism and fatalism is baseless and false. I accept with unhesitating conviction and belief the doctrine of the being of one Personal God, the Creator and Governor of the world, and of one Lord Jesus Christ, in whom 'dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily;' and I have found nothing whatever in the literature of modern infidelity which, to my mind, casts even the slightest doubt upon that belief."

This is certainly satisfactory as to the Christian stand-point of the author. Of course this in itself is not a guarantee that he is able to present a satisfactory criticism upon the great philosophic systems of modern times. Nor are we prepared without further examination of the book to say how far we could agree with his philosophic views. But from what we know of the author through a former work on Political Economy, and from the cursory examination we have made of this, we feel satisfied that it is a work of ability and will prove a help in understanding the system of thought brought forward in the work. Its notice comes down to the present time, ending with Hartmann's Philosophy and Metaphysics of the Unconscious. We will endeavor to give a fuller notice of the work in a future number of the REVIEW.

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